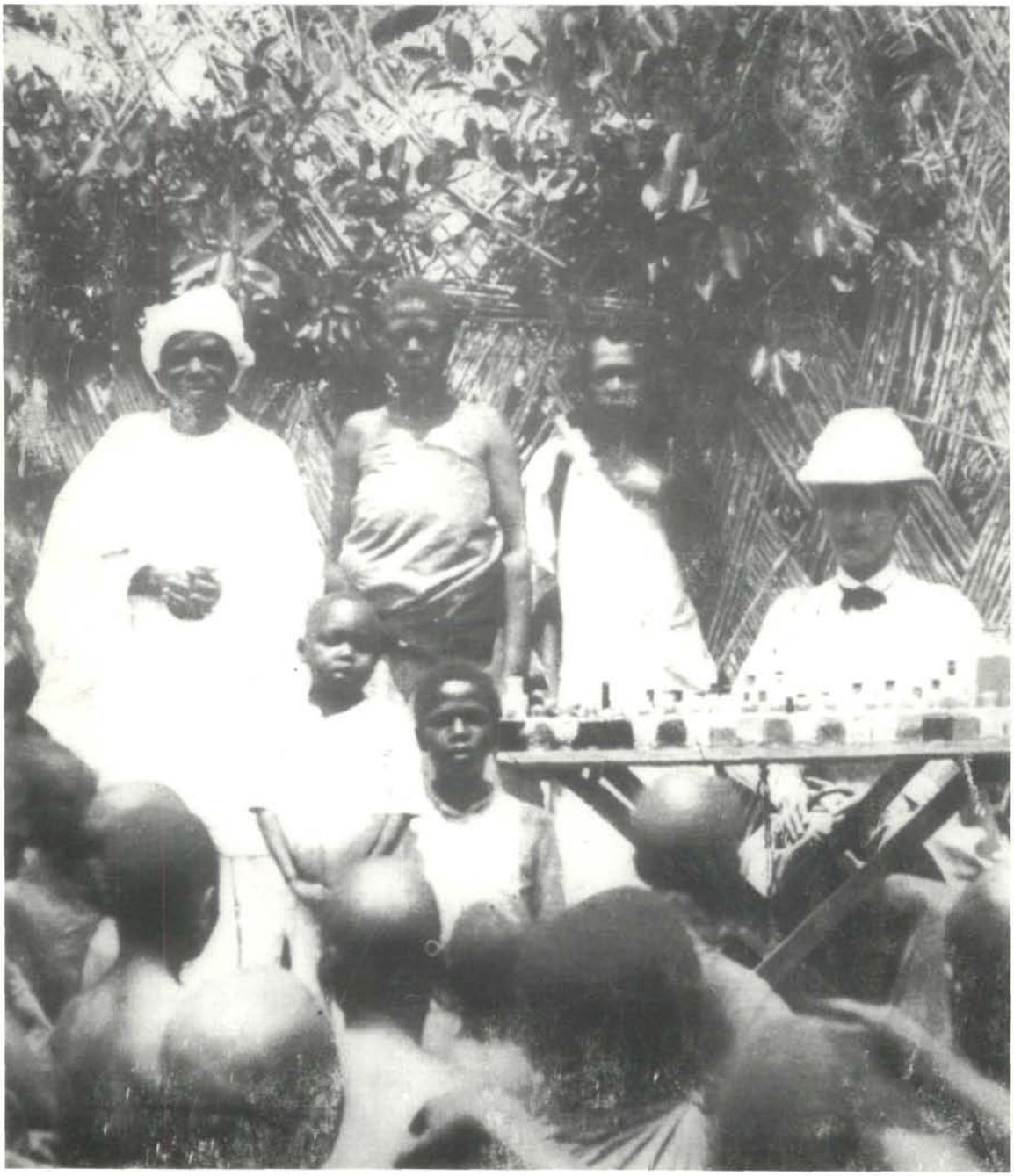
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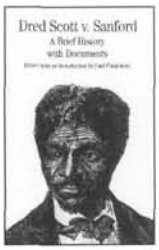
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Cover illustration: Detail from "Dispensing Medicine on Safari," by A. R. Cook, n.d. Standing next to nurse Katherine Timpson (Mrs. Cook) at a dispensary outside a chief's house in rural Uganda are local notables, presumably the chief (in white) and one of his wives, wearing barkcloth in the customary style. By contrast, two little boys facing the camera are dressed in Church Missionary Society school uniforms.

First published in A. R. Cook, *A Doctor and His Dog in Uganda* (London, 1903), facing page 184. This book was a selection of Cook's letters home, edited by his sister-in-law, Mrs. H. B. Cook, and published as an inspirational book for young boys. The photo was later reprinted in Cook's memoirs, *Uganda Memories* (Kampala, 1945), with the above caption. Copy of the photo courtesy of John Rowe, Northwestern University. See the full picture on page 1387, in the article in this issue by Luise White, " 'They Could Make Their Victims Dull': Genders and Genres, Fantasies and Cures in Colonial Southern Uganda."

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In This Issue

Luise White uses rumors of vampirism associated with colonial medical technology to analyze responses to Western biomedicine among the peoples of southern Uganda. She frames the issue in terms of broad questions about historiographical method and the use of evidence. White argues that one particularly rich form of evidence consists of formulaic stories that do not accurately depict events or conversations. By reading such evidence—whether oral or written—as genres, stories told with set elements of plot and narration, she contends that it is possible to see in both sets of evidence common vocabularies, images, and concerns. These shared presentations provide historians with useful and specific tools for analyzing past experiences not recoverable with conventional methods. White develops her argument through a creative analysis of written medical missionary sources about medicine in colonial southern Uganda together with local Africans' oral accounts that white people captured them and took their blood. She concludes that reading both sets of sources as fantastic and formulaic stories—in this instance, the stories are both *about* injections, dispensing medicine, and anaesthesia and *told with* injections, dispensing medicine, and anaesthesia—allows historians to see what was new about colonial medicine and which of its innovations had power because they replicated African methods of healing.

David A. Bell looks at a critical moment in the history of modern nationalism, when the French Revolutionary government attempted to impose the French language upon the republic's large rural minorities and thereby link language and nationality. His insightful exploration of this effort is a significant contribution to theoretical work on nationalism as well as to our understanding of the history of religion, revolution, and France. Taking issue with earlier interpretations of the language policies as the inevitable outcome of revolutionary politics or Enlightenment linguistic theory, Bell instead situates them within a complex interplay between the revolution and Roman Catholicism. He does so by first showing that the revolutionary debates over whether to make use of local languages or suppress them were closely bound up with the revolutionary restructuring of the church and were waged disproportionately by clerics. He then contends that before the revolution, the clergy alone among France's literate elites had seriously attempted to learn and make use of the local languages (for evangelical purposes) and that the revolutionary debates often paralleled Reformation-era ones over religious uses of the vernacular. In this respect and many others, Bell concludes, French Revolutionary nationalism, with its goal of forging diverse multi-lingual populations into a single nation, arose both out of and in reaction to the Catholic Reformation goal of bringing these same populations and others together into a single church.

Diane P. Koenker recounts gender conflicts in the early Soviet printing industry to call for a rethinking of the history of the Russian working class and to pose new ways of approaching the history of workers under socialism. She

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convincingly demonstrates that the shop floor offers a unique opportunity to examine the language, behavior, and attitudes of workers as well as the ways in which gender structured social relations in socialist Russia. Drawing on studies of working-class gender experiences in other societies to create a comparative framework for her analysis, Koenker assesses three forms of shop-floor confrontations between women and men: sexual harassment, skills acquisition, and wage policies. She argues that these conflicts led to a masculine definition of class in the workplace and a bargain between an industrializing authoritarian state and its male workers that increasingly marginalized women on the shop floor. She also suggests that changes in the way women expressed gender attitudes, from an emphasis on individual rights to class solidarities, may have been an adaptation to these developments. Koenker concludes that the shop-floor conflicts illustrate the growing gulf in the early Soviet period between the "emancipation of women" as an official and empty project of the revolution and the construction of gender roles in a revolutionary society.

Regina Kunzel argues that in the post–World War II United States, popular culture competed with families, religious and medical authorities, and social-service professionals to shape the meanings of single pregnancy. Demonstrating the richness of popular fiction as a historical source, she develops that argument by re-creating a moment in the production, circulation, and reception of popular stories about unmarried motherhood when, in 1949, single pregnant women wrote letters in response to a story published in *True Confessions* magazine. While her presentation of the story and responses to it illuminates the contours of postwar sexual culture and young working-class women's participation in it, Kunzel also addresses important issues about the historical application of theories and methods that try to link representation and experience by suggesting the inextricability of these women's experience from its representation. Considering the ways that popular magazines may have provided women with cultural scripts by which they could plot their own stories, as well as the ways in which women might have transformed those scripts, Kunzel raises intriguing questions about the relationship between representation and material life that has emerged as a vexing debate among historians.

A review article by **Michael Kazin** describes and evaluates the past four decades of scholarship about the socialist Left in the United States. He uses Daniel Bell's influential 1952 book-length essay on American Marxism as a point of departure. Bell accused leftists of foolishly adhering to an impractical, otherworldly dogma that doomed their political project. Kazin assesses subsequent work by New Left scholars that attacked Bell's thesis and argued that most socialists were not deluded utopians but were engaged in the reform crusades of their day. These historians contended that the defeat of these socialists by more powerful groups and deep-seated ideologies should be

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viewed as a tragedy, not a farce. In evaluating this debate, Kazin acknowledges the weaknesses of Bell's thesis and points out the virtues of the comparative approach that many historians, themselves influenced by the international dimensions of Marx's thought, have taken. He contends, though, that Bell's critics have evaded addressing the failure of Marx's categories derived from Europe to explain the particular development and conflicts of American society. Kazin concludes his review with the admonition that historians of the Left must transcend both romance and condemnation.

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"They Could Make Their Victims Dull": Genders and Genres, Fantasies and Cures in Colonial Southern Uganda

LUISE WHITE

THIS ARTICLE IS ABOUT MEDICAL HISTORY and historical methodology. It describes the encounter between Western biomedicine and the local peoples of southern Uganda.[1] It argues that oral accounts of African rumors that white people captured Africans and took their blood can be read alongside medical missionary writings about triumphant drugs and vanquished superstitions to illuminate the context in which Western biomedicine was practiced. This essay is not about the clash of beliefs or of technologies; it is about what technologies were believed to be and about how much power was invested in their application. It is about cures that were rubbed on the skin or inhaled; it is about needles and scalpels that penetrated the skin and invaded the body.

The two sets of sources I use overlap only to a degree. The missionaries recorded their arguments with and treatments of Africans in monthly fund-raising magazines published from 1899 to about 1935. The Church Missionary Society's *Mercy and Truth* (after 1922, *The Mission Hospital*) was published in England; it contained authored vignettes that were not always less fantastic than the oral source material. Nevertheless, they provide a chronological record of colonial medicine unlike any other: missionary medicine was the most prevalent form of rural health care in Uganda until the 1950s, and it represented itself in stark contrast to African medicine for at least as long. Moreover, in Uganda, missionary medicine positioned itself well within imperial science.[2]

Earlier versions of this essay were presented at the Shelby Cullom Davis Center at Princeton University, the University of Michigan, and the seminar on the body at the National Humanities Center. I am grateful to all the participants for their comments and suggestions, as well to Timothy Burke, Randall Packard, Ellen Schrecker, and Megan Vaughan. The research on which this article is based was funded by the American Philosophical Society, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the National Humanities Center, and the University of Minnesota. John Rowe generously provided the photograph.

[1] "Southern" Uganda is often used as shorthand for the Bantu-speaking parts of the country. In Bantu languages, the prefix changes the meaning of the noun, thus *Bu*ganda is the country or polity, *Ba*ganda the people (sing. *Mu*ganda), *Lu*ganda the language, and *Ki*ganda an adjective.

[2] Ann Beck, "The Problems of British Medical Administration in East Africa between 1900 and 1930," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 36 (1962): 275–83; Steven Feierman, "Struggles for Control: The Social Roots of Health and Healing in Modern Africa," *African Studies Review*, 28 (1982): 73–148; Megan Vaughan, *Curing Their Ills: Colonial Power and African Illness* (Stanford, Calif., 1991), 56; A. Chilube, "The Clash between Modern and Indigenous Medicine," *Makerere Medical Journal*, 9 (1965): 36; John Comaroff and Jean Comaroff, *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination* (Boulder, Colo., 1992), 215–34; Maryinez Lyons, "The Power to Heal: African Medical Auxiliaries in Colonial Belgian

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I collected the oral material in and around Kampala during 1990 as part of a larger research project about colonial African vampire rumors. While there are scattered references to Africans fearing white cannibals from the 1890s on, there were no precolonial stories about whites or Africans who took blood, because "in those days there was nobody looking for blood."[3] The blood of precolonial sacrifice was bovine; the ritual killings that sometimes marked a king's death did not draw blood, and the blood of blood brotherhood was thought of as a sexual fluid, more akin to breast milk or semen than the blood of wounds and injuries.[4] Most of the people I have interviewed—and I have now interviewed about 130—say that white vampires began their work between 1918 and 1925. These statements may have been triggered by Africans' experiences with Western medical techniques during World War I, but that does not explain their meaning over the next twenty years, when such accusations sometimes precipitated attacks on administrative and veterinary personnel.[5] Those two groups were not the only occupations associated with the white vampires; indeed, the terms variously used in East and Central Africa also referred to the Africans employed by whites to capture Africans and take their blood. Although sometimes these same men were said to be game rangers or prospectors, throughout much of East Africa they were called by the generic term for firemen—literally, the men who extinguish the fire, in Uganda *bazimamoto*—even though, as in the case with Kampala, the use of the term predated the establishment of a formal fire brigade by thirty years.[6] But, by the late 1940s, vampire beliefs were often mentioned as the kind of popular nonsense with which African modernizers had to contend: "My people the Baganda had strange ideas about the British. They thought they drank blood and killed children because they did not understand what happened in hospitals."[7]

Congo and Uganda," in Dagmar Engels and Shula Marks, eds., *Contesting Colonial Hegemony: State and Society in India and Africa* (London, 1994), 202–23.

[3] Interview with Yonasani Kaggwa, Katwe, Uganda, August 27, 1990. Interviews were conducted in Uganda in August 1990 in Luganda (which I do not speak) and English by Fred Bakulu, Remigius Kigongo, Godfrey Kigozi, and myself, with a questionnaire. Informants were selected by age (they were born between 1903 and 1939, although most were born between 1915 and 1925) and in order to establish a wide range of rural origins and, unsatisfactorily, as it turned out, a range of religious affiliations. All interviews were taped. I transcribed the English interviews myself, and the Luganda interviews were transcribed and translated twice, first by William Wagaba and then by Remigius Kigongo in consultation with Wagaba. The tapes are in the possession of Remigius Kigongo, Kasubi Tombs, Uganda; the translations are in my possession.

"Eating" and cannibalism have a wide range of meanings in East African Bantu languages that do not translate easily into English: "eating" has all the metaphorical power of "hunger" and the expressive power of "consumption." When the king of Buganda was enthroned, it was said that he had "eaten Buganda." Benjamin Ray, *Myth, Ritual and Kingship in Buganda* (Oxford, 1991), 114.

[4] The retainers of the Kabaka, the king of Buganda, were killed by strangulation or a blow to the head. Ray, *Ritual and Kingship*, 160–82; John Roscoe, *The Baganda: Their Customs and Beliefs* (London, 1911), 19, 268, 293; Luise White, "Blood Brotherhood Revisited: Kinship, Relationship, and the Body in East and Central Africa," *Africa*, 64 (1994): 359–72.

[5] Christopher Harwich, *Red Dust: Memoirs of the Uganda Police, 1935–55* (London, 1961), 10–15. A rural official told Harwich that the rumors were dormant for a few years, "and then something starts it off and for the next few months it's more than your life's worth to stop your car for a pee." Harwich, 11. I am grateful to Michael Tuck for this reference.

[6] For East African fire brigades, see Luise White, "Cars Out of Place: Vampires, Technology and Labor in East and Central Africa," *Representations*, 43 (1993): 27–50.

[7] Paulo Kavuma, *Crisis in Buganda, 1953–55* (London, 1979), 9; see also David Apter, *The Political Kingdom in Uganda: A Study in Bureaucratic Nationalism* (Princeton, N.J., 1967), 226; Lloyd A. Fallers,

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Misunderstandings or not, these stories presented grim ideas about medical expertise and therapeutic power: "These people were educated in the use of blood, they knew about the use of blood."[8] Some said the *bazimamoto* were really health inspectors or from the Yellow Fever Department.[9]

The medical writings and the vampire stories are not "about" the same events and experiences in any firm chronological sense. They are about the same procedures and technologies. I am not reconstructing a sequence of events and responses to them but rather the vocabulary in which medical care was both negotiated and undermined. What follows is a juxtaposition of texts to get them to interrogate each other, to show how different ways of talking about colonial medicine reveal the extent of its control.

THIS JUXTAPOSITION OF ORAL AND WRITTEN TEXTS raises another question, how to write history, both as a project and as a problematic.[10] Some recent African history, some of it by me, has argued for the great reliability of oral evidence for twentieth-century Africa. Who, after all, was more qualified to describe colonialism than those who lived through it or under it? The words of the colonized simply described their world with far greater detail and accuracy than any colonizer could. The voices of women, moreover, were all but absent from the colonial record; only with their own words could we reconstruct their lives. But few historians, and I include myself again, actually relied exclusively on oral sources. Time and time again, we used documentary material to flesh out, contextualize, and even explain the words of our informants to provide a more reliable, representative, accurate history. I have, for example, argued that a 1940s prostitute's description of male violence did not describe male violence but instead boasted that a clever woman could negotiate urban life. I still think I am right, based on what I know about Nairobi prostitution and that particular informant, but nevertheless, this kind of insight comes from contextualizing

Law without Precedent: Legal Ideas in Action in the Courts of Colonial Busoga (Chicago, 1969), 83. Kavuma's statement was typical of the anti-populist position of many African modernizers. See Luise White, "'Firemen Do Not Buy People': Media, Villains, and Vampires in Kampala in the 1950s," *Passages*, 8 (1994): 11, 16–17.

[8] Interview with Joseph Nsubuga, Kisasi, August 22, 1990.

[9] Interviews with Nechambuza Nsumba, Katwe, August 20, 1990; Ssekajje Kasirye, Kisenyi, August 24, 1990; Peter Kirigwa, Katwe, August 24, 1990; Musoke Kapliamu, Katwe, August 24, 1990. One man explained that it was the Yellow Fever Department that took the blood, but they had no vehicles of their own and had to use fire engines, which was how the rumor got started. Samuel Mubiru, Lubya, August 28, 1990.

[10] Whether colonial history is one or the other is a question Indian historians have grappled with better than Africanists, as the following titles show: Gyan Prakash, "Writing Post-Orientalist Histories of the Third World: Perspectives from Indian Historiography," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 32 (1990): 383–408; Nicholas B. Dirks, "History as a Sign of the Modern," *Public Culture*, 2 (1990): 25–32; and Dipesh Chakrabarty, "Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History: Who Speaks for the 'Indian' Pasts?" *Representations*, 37 (1992): 1–26. But see J. B. Peires, "Suicide or Genocide? Xhosa Perceptions of the Nongqawuse Catastrophe," *Radical History Review*, 46–47 (1990): 47–57; and Leslie Witz and Carolyn Hamilton, "Reaping the Whirlwind: The Reader's Digest *Illustrated History of South Africa* and Changing Popular Perceptions of History," *South African Historical Journal*, 24 (1991): 185–202.

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testimony rather than from "letting Africans speak for themselves."[11] Most historians of colonial Africa saw the oral and the written as different sources with which we wrote: evidence dovetailed, supported a vision and a structure of argument, and different sources informed each other and historians themselves. Where oral and written sources contradicted each other, this was not a problem to be resolved; instead, it proved that Africans and colonialists had vastly different opinions and memories. But simply by including the "African voice"—a term still used without irony—historians could claim their work represented an African vision of African experiences, even when, as was often the case, those voices were placed in a narrative derived from colonial documents and shaped by the author's mediation.

How can historians tell accurate colonial stories? Is there a just and appropriate mix of colonized and colonizing accounts or of oral and written sources with which to write? In recent years, some scholars have used a mixture of accounts to tell new or revised stories.[12] A few scholars have blurred the line between writing colonial histories and mediating different voices. The rough edges of cultural contact have been articulated by individual lives—Christian Maroons, for example, or black South African women in secondary schools—described with great power by enunciating the differences between voices.[13] But separate voices make for separate pasts, each perhaps more self-contained and reified than may have been the case. Even the most effectively controlled colonized terrain was too contested, and too compromised, to allow for the disembedding of any clear "voice," colonized or colonizing. Indeed, the very process of disembedding obscures the way voices reinvented themselves, crying out to be modern in one breath and traditional in the next.[14] Ann Stoler has argued that in colonial history, the issue is not the separate voices but the fragmentation and exclusion with which voices are generated. "We are not only piecing together fragmented stories but working from a cultural landscape in which our 'best sources' were dependent on a range of verbal and visual evidence that tapped different kinds of knowledge."[15] I suggest that the differences between the voices may not require rigid segregation: the voices I cite share intense ideas about the same tools and

[11] Luise White, *The Comforts of Home: Prostitution in Colonial Nairobi* (Chicago, 1990), 21–28, 200; Susan Geiger, "Women in Nationalist Struggle: TANU Activists in Dar es Salaam," *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 20 (1987): 1–25; Belinda Bozzoli with the assistance of Mmantho Nkotsoe, *Women of Phokeng: Consciousness, Life Strategy, and Migrancy in South Africa, 1900–1983* (Portsmouth, N.H., 1991); but see Margaret Strobel and Sarah Mirzah, *Three Swahili Women: Life Histories from Mombasa, Kenya* (Bloomington, Ind., 1989); and Jean Davison and the women of Mutira, *Voices from Mutira: Lives of Rural Gikuyu Women* (Boulder, Colo., 1989).

[12] For a comprehensive and critical discussion of this literature, see Frederick Cooper, "Conflict and Connection: Rethinking Colonial African History," *AHR*, 99 (December 1994): 1516–45.

[13] Shula Marks, ed., *"Not Either an Experimental Doll": The Separate Worlds of Three South African Women* (Bloomington, Ind., 1988); Richard Price, *Alabi's World* (Baltimore, Md., 1990); but see David William Cohen and E. S. Atieno Odhiambo, *Burying SM: The Politics of Knowledge and the Sociology of Power in Africa* (Portsmouth, N.H., 1992).

[14] Chakrabarty, "Postcoloniality," 14–19; Christopher A. Waterman, " 'Our Tradition Is a Very Modern Tradition': Popular Music and the Construction of Pan-Yoruba Identity," *Ethnomusicology*, 34 (1990): 367–79; Corrine A. Kratz, " 'We've Always Done It Like This': 'Tradition' and 'Innovation' in Okiek Ceremonies," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 35 (1993): 30–65.

[15] Ann Laura Stoler, " 'In Cold Blood': Hierarchies of Credibility and the Politics of Colonial Narratives," *Representations*, 37 (1992): 182.

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technologies. It is my goal to listen to these voices as different kinds of storytelling, to get them to speak about each other in order to tell stories about colonialism.

The relationship between evidence—oral and written—and narrative is not easily identified in the sources I use, however. While the description of Western biomedicine contained in vampire rumors is different from missionary writings on the same topic, the domains of difference are the same. On topics such as pills, injections, and anesthesia, Africans and medical writers had strong opinions, but those opinions diverged totally. Those procedures that missionaries claimed Africans liked were the very ones Africans called lethal, while the procedures missionaries made into spectacle—x-rays or injections of Salversan—were the ones that vanished from oral accounts. To use both sets of sources to produce two separate narratives would ignore the extent to which the subject of the narratives was the same—that is, both describe the encounter between medical workers and Africans. Moreover, this evidence cannot be separated into discrete units; the oral invades the written too much for that. Instead, I want to suggest that they refract, that they provide ways to read each other, and that the formulas and the fantasies in each are representations of the nature of medical care, curative therapies, and control. In both oral and written sources, the voices I quote are not presented as contextualized testimony but as genres, formulaic stories structured by set elements and conventions. If I were to assert the authority and authenticity of the voice in this essay, I would obscure the phrases, images, attitudes, and even memories that are formulaic—that, however true and however reconstructed, are recounted as genre.

Elizabeth Tonkin has argued that oral genres do not have an either/or status; a speaker goes in and out of genre as often as he or she needs to in order to get his or her points across. What is generic about East African vampire stories is the conventions of plot and detail in each story. The people I have interviewed tell these stories as first-person accounts or as common knowledge, claiming, in short, the authority to report these happenings.[16] The elements of the stories that make them vivid—the drugs, the injections, the specific medical departments—appear as generic parts of a good vampire story, cued by my questions about *bazimamoto*.[17] Thus, when asked about *bazimamoto*, no Ugandans responded with a diatribe about the evil deeds of white people; instead, they told stories in which an unwary African, often walking at night, was captured by African men supervised by a white

[16] Amy Shuman, " 'Get Outa My Face': Entitlement and Authoritative Discourse," in Jane H. Hill and Judith T. Irvine, eds., *Responsibility and Evidence in Oral Discourse* (Cambridge, 1992), 135–60.

[17] Elizabeth Tonkin, *Narrating Our Pasts: The Social Construction of Oral History* (Cambridge, 1992), 50–55. By cueing, neither Tonkin nor I mean some Pavlovian response to our questions but rather how certain conventions of narrative and modes of talk are occasioned by cues of style and form, a point made several years ago by Robin Law, "How Truly Traditional Is Our Traditional History? The Case of Samuel Johnson and the Recording of Yoruba Oral History," *History in Africa*, 11 (1984), esp. 195–99. Cueing problematizes recent debates about the politics of interviewing; see, for example, Renato Rosaldo, "From the Door of His Tent: The Fieldworker and the Inquisitor," in J. Clifford and G. Marcus, eds., *Writing Culture* (Berkeley, Calif., 1986), 77–97; Marjorie Mbilinyi, " 'I'd Have Been a Man': Politics and the Labor Process in Producing Personal Narratives," Personal Narratives Group, eds., *Interpreting Women's Lives: Feminist Theory and Personal Narratives* (Bloomington, Ind., 1989), 204–27; Lyndal Roper, "Witchcraft and Fantasy in Early Modern Germany," *History Workshop*, 32 (1991): 19–43; and Charles van Onselen, "The Reconstruction of a Rural Life from Oral Testimony: Critical Notes on the Methodology Employed in the Study of a Black South African Sharecropper," *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 20 (1993): 494–514.

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man and taken away in a car. Once at their destination, victims were subdued, most often by a medical technique, and their blood was taken, usually by white people or Africans under their supervision. Most of my Ugandan informants said these victims survived but were transformed by the loss of their blood.[18]

In recent years, many anthropologists and literary scholars have looked at the aspects of orality that are derived from the qualities of narration, how well and with what a story, true or false, is embroidered and how men and women do it differently. These rhetorical qualities are the very clichés oral historians have been cautioned to avoid.[19] I argue that these rhetorical qualities are worth studying in and of themselves: doing so may ease oral historians' anxieties about distinguishing between fact and fancy.[20] Some African expressive forms played on these concepts explicitly. Perhaps the best account of oral genres and their reliability was written as a memoir of detention during Kenya's Mau Mau rebellion. In the largest detention camp, there were two kinds of "news." One was "known to be true" because it had been gleaned from newspapers or radio by those working near the officers' quarters. This was called *Manyani Times*, after the name of the camp. The other form was called *Waya Times*, a play on the term for barbed wire, and this was the medium of "news that was largely speculation, rumor or light relief." At night, someone would announce "'I now begin my words of *Manyani Times* (or *Waya Times*)' . . . [T]his immediately told his listeners how much credibility to place on what was coming."[21] If speakers know the reliability of what they are saying, perhaps the historian's task is not just to disembed facts but to recover the analytical framework in which facts are told.

Missionary medical sources were formulaic, too, and they frequently presented Africans as controlling the encounter; Africans were often easily fooled but not easily satisfied. The negotiations between African and European health-care workers were almost always shaped by African demands and resistances. Mission medical genres were gendered as well, with white women demonstrating in print what white men only wrote in their diaries, that Africans often got the upper hand in arguments about medications.

[18] Interviews, *passim*. See also White, "Cars Out of Place."

[19] See Tonkin, *Narrating Our Pasts*; Luise White, "Bodily Fluids and Usufruct: Controlling Property in Nairobi, 1917–1939," *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 24 (1990): 418–38; and White, "Cars Out of Place"; Karin Barber, *I Could Speak until Tomorrow: Oriki, Women, and the Past in a Yoruba Town* (Washington, D.C., 1991); Leroy Vail and Landeg White, *Power and the Praise Poem: Southern African Voices in History* (Charlottesville, Va., 1991); Isabel Hofmeyer, *"We Spend Our Years as a Tale That Is Told": Oral Historical Narrative in a South African Chiefdom* (Portsmouth, N.H., 1994). Not all embroideries are gendered; see Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (Madison, Wis., 1985), 81–83; Eleanor Wachs, *Crime-Victim Stories: New York City's Urban Folklore* (Bloomington, Ind., 1988), 16–38; Gary Alan Fine, *Manufacturing Tales: Sex and Money in Contemporary Legends* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1992), 83; White, "Cars Out of Place"; and Luise White, "Between Gluckman and Foucault: Historicizing Rumor and Gossip," *Social Dynamics*, 20 (1994): 75–92.

[20] Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition* (Chicago, 1965), 76–95; but see Wyatt MacGaffey, "African History, Anthropology, and the Rationality of Natives," *History in Africa*, 5 (1978): 101–20; and White, "Cars Out of Place."

[21] Josiah Mwangi Kariuki, *"Mau Mau" Detainee* (Oxford, 1963), 73–74, italics in original. A nationalist politician explained that Radio Katwe—the *Waya Times* of Kampala—was beyond accountability and authorship; unlike ordinary rumor, "even if you heard yourself slandered on Radio Katwe, you could not mind." Interview with E. M. K. Mulira, Mengo, August 13, 1990.

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UGANDA WAS THE SHOWCASE of colonial Western medicine in British Africa. The conventional narrative begins with H. M. Stanley visiting Buganda in 1875, writing to the *Daily Telegraph* asking the world's missionary societies to evangelize the kingdom. An anonymous donation to the Church Missionary Society (CMS), a few missionaries, false starts, and political turmoil followed: the first medical mission was founded, amidst some hesitation, by the CMS in 1897.[22] By 1902, the disease of colonial conquest, riverain sleeping sickness, spread to Busoga, and tropical medicine, animated with the new sciences of protozoology and entomology, was invented by researchers from London working side by side with less celebrated mission doctors on the shores of Lake Victoria. This particular history made government medicine a larger part of the bureaucratic landscape than it was elsewhere in East Africa, and it involved medical missionaries in tropical medicine from its beginnings. As contributions to missionary societies declined in the 1920s, government and Protestant clinicians joined forces in the training of African medical personnel.[23]

I intend to focus on three areas of Western biomedical practice—dispensing medication, surgery with anesthesia, and injections, practices that Africans did not always see as separate. Negotiations over oral medication form a large part of the written missionary sources and make this point over and over again: Africans did not share with medical missionaries clear-cut distinctions between cause, diagnosis, disease, and cure. The women in mission medicine tended to make this point more forcefully, and at their own expense, than did the men.[24]

In 1899, Katherine Timpson, the first CMS nurse in the country, noted that Africans actively sought treatments that were either above the skin or inhaled. The Baganda people doubted the efficacy of medicine such as quinine tablets: "it is a little hard for them to believe a tiny pill can do them good, when they are accustomed to remedies by the pailful and are confident that the more fat they rub on their bodies the quicker will be the cure. So there really is some excuse for

[22] The CMS, both in London and Uganda, initially opposed the medical mission, believing that "sickbed evangelization was bound to be superficial, and sickbed conversions consequently suspect." Vaughan, *Curing Their Ills*, 58.

[23] W. D. Foster, *The Early History of Scientific Medicine in Uganda* (Kampala, 1970); Diane Zeller, "The Establishment of Western Medicine in Buganda" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1972), 100–263, *et passim*; Holger Bernt Hansen, *Mission, Church and State in a Colonial Setting: Uganda 1890–1925* (New York, 1984), 137–41, 224–38; Vaughan, *Curing Their Ills*, 55–60; Maryinez Lyons, *The Colonial Disease: A Social History of Sleeping Sickness in Northern Zaire 1900–1940* (Cambridge, 1992), 66–73; Winston Churchill, *My African Journey* (London, 1908), 115; Carol Summers, "Intimate Colonialism: The Imperial Production of Reproduction in Uganda, 1907–1925," *Signs*, 16 (1991): 787–807.

[24] The intense hierarchy and sexual division of labor among missionaries in Uganda did not allow for female doctors or male nurses until the 1930s, so it is impossible to be sure how much of the writing I ascribe to gender is in fact due to rank, but women's narrative strategies seemed consistent among both Protestants and Catholics. See Zeller, "Establishment of Western Medicine," 135–37. African female nurses were trained starting in 1909, and African male Senior Medical Assistants and female midwives in the late 1920s. See Pat Holden, "Colonial Sisters: Nurses in Uganda," in Pat Holden and Jenny Littlewood, *Anthropology and Nursing* (London, 1991), 67–83; Sir Albert R. Cook, *Uganda Memories (1897–1940)* (Kampala, 1945), 353; Zeller, "Establishment of Western Medicine," 119–22; Lyons, "Power to Heal"; and Vaughan, *Curing Their Ills*, 61–66. African medical assistants rarely published, and when they did they wrote about relations with Europeans rather than with Africans. See Lyons, "Power to Heal," 214, 221; and Simon Semkubuge, "The Work of an African Medical Officer," *Uganda Teachers Journal*, 1 (1939): 99–101. I am grateful to Megan Vaughan for this reference.

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our black brothers and sisters." Dispensary patients routinely took three days' supply of tablets at once, and patients argued with Timpson. "My sickness is in my feet and . . . my wisdom tells me there is no profit in drinking medicine, but only by rubbing the mixture upon my feet can I be cured."[25] Medical missionaries published these anecdotes as first-person accounts. The Franciscan Sister Kevin wrote, diagnosis "is not easy. A patient will tell me 'The spirit of my ancestor kills me,' or another 'The skull keeps me from sleeping,' or 'The aches run all round me.' It needs much patience to sort out what is relevant."[26] Doctors were more circumspect about publishing their frustrations. Privately, A. R. Cook found African ideas about illness "exceedingly exasperating" and wrote in his diary about the kind of dialogue that went on "with irritating frequency in the consulting room":

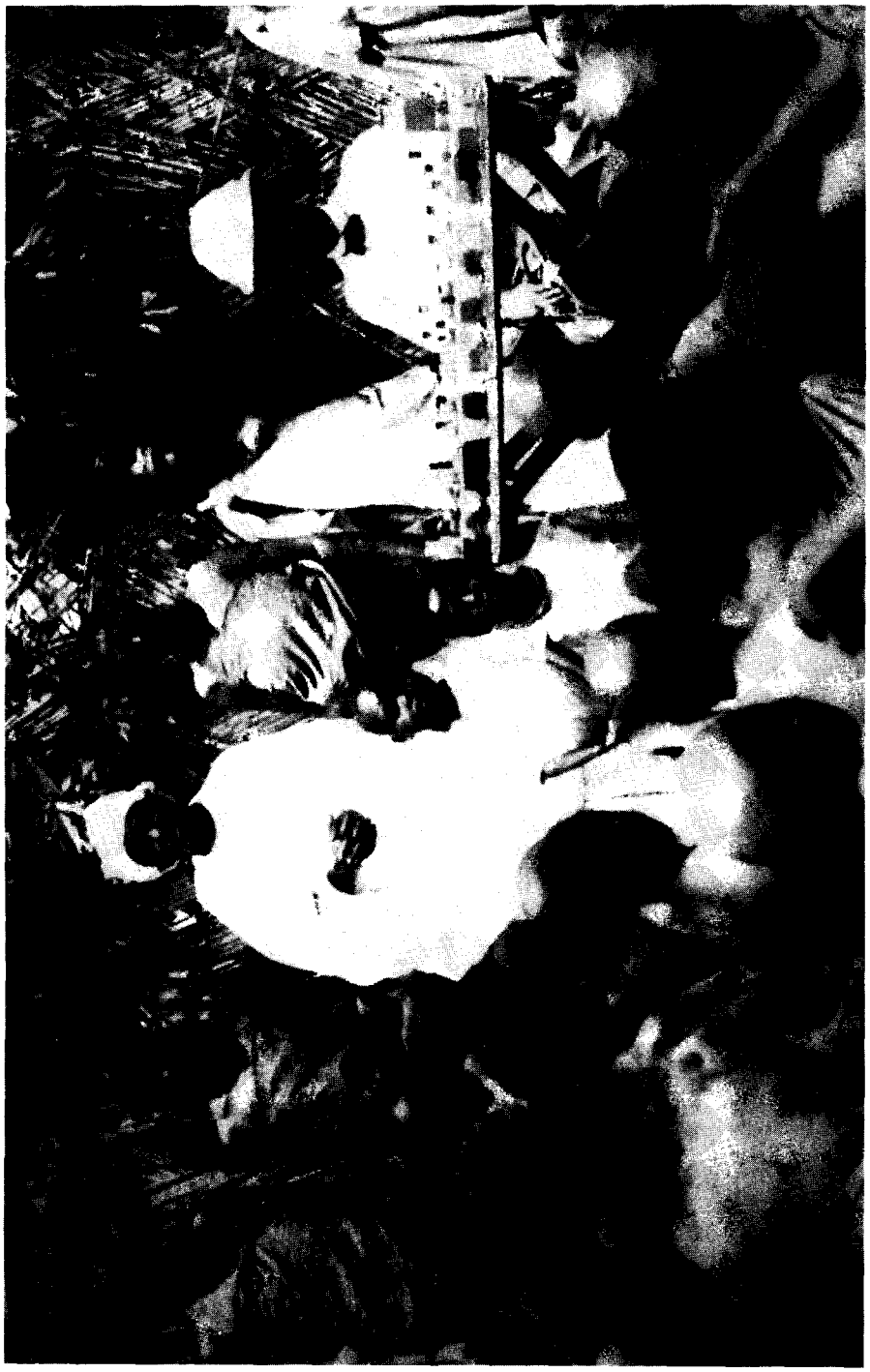
Doctor: What is the matter with you?
Patient: My name is so and so.
Doctor: Yes, but what is your disease?
Patient: I want medicine to drink.
Doctor: Where do you hurt?
Patient: I don't want medicine to swallow, but to drink.
Doctor (sternly): WHAT IS YOUR ILLNESS?
Patient: Oh it goes all over me, it cries out "Ka, ka." Will you listen to the top of my head with your hearing machine (stethoscope), etc. etc.?[27]

It is difficult to read these exchanges and think that Africans came to European doctors for what we call "cures." Cook admitted as much in his description of touring rural districts at the turn of the century. According to his diaries, whenever news got around that a doctor—and he used the Luganda term, *musawo*—had arrived, a crowd of hundreds quickly gathered. "Many of course were merely drawn by curiosity, and had nothing the matter with them." They would not believe him if he told them they were well; indeed, if they were not given medicine, "they would put it down to spite . . . We consoled ourselves that they would be gradually educated up to the truth" and prepared a strong solution of liquid ammonia, and "let them have a good sniff . . . With tears streaming down their faces, and with grateful hearts, they retired to make room for others." Powerful vapors, Cook reckoned, were considered powerful medicines; these fumes would make Africans realize "that the white man's medicine was a thing to be treated with respect."[28]

But it was not. Dispensary patients told stories about Europeans. Children, wrote Timpson, "were told by their mothers . . . as a means of keeping them quiet

[25] Kate Timpson, "Patients and Nurse at Mengo," *Mercy and Truth*, 3 (December 1899): 289–90.
[26] Sister M. Louis, *Love Is the Answer (The Story of Mother Kevin)* (Paterson, N.J., 1964), 61.
[27] Cook, *Uganda Memories*, quoting his diary from 1900, pp. 122–23.
[28] Cook, *Uganda Memories*, 93. Years later, CMS nurses argued that the Baganda could not assimilate Western medicine, even when they presented evidence that they could. "Can it ever be right to wish that this wonderful people, the Baganda, should be hurtled through space at the rate of William the Conqueror to George V in 300 years? No, it will be some time yet before these assistants or their posterity are truly reliable, though even now my head-boy can dispense accurately and quickly almost any prescription that comes along." Miss E. N. Cook, "The Dispensary, Mengo Hospital," *Mercy and Truth*, 25 (March 1921): 51–53.

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"Dispensing Medicine on Safari," by A. R. Cook. n.d. Standing next to nurse Katherine Timpson (Mrs. Cook) at a dispensary outside a chief's house in rural Uganda are local notables, presumably the chief (in white) and one of his wives, wearing barkcloth in the customary style. By contrast, two little boys facing the camera are dressed in Church Missionary Society school uniforms. This photograph was first published in A. R. Cook, *A Doctor and His Dog in Uganda* (London, 1903), facing page 184. That book was a selection of Cook's letters home, edited by his sister-in-law, Mrs. H. B. Cook, and published as an inspirational book for young boys. The photo was later reprinted in Cook's memoirs, *Uganda Memories* (Kampala, 1945), with the above caption. Copy of the photo courtesy of John Rowe, Northwestern University.

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that white people ate black babies."[29] The white man's—or white woman's, for that matter—medicine was continually challenged by Africans, often by redefining the surface of the skin. Sister Kevin dreamed, "waking and sleeping" of a "large, airy hospital, with lines of nice beds and snow-white counterpanes and a black wooly head on every white pillow." But in Buganda in 1906, in "the small huts which serve us as a hospital . . . It takes more than a week before I can get those shocking ulcers clean, and then I have to keep a sharp look out, otherwise well-meaning villagers, who do not always approve of my remedies, will pack the clean wound with black river mud or worse!"[30] Even when ointments and tablets had meaning because they were dispensed by the skilled white doctor or nurse, that meaning was almost never the same as missionaries intended. Cook had to stop Africans from drinking skin lotions, and Timpson admitted that Africans regarded the pills she dispensed "more as charms than as physics or liniments."[31]

I have extracted a few anecdotes, the published and the unpublished, to argue that mission medical writing was gendered. Women, who tended to be on the front line of medical mediation in the crowded dispensaries of the new mission hospitals, produced very specific narratives of negotiation with Africans wishing to finesse their treatments. Such nurses did not describe hospitals that inscribed prisons; they described hospitals that were invaded by critical relatives who had their own notions of cure and care. Well into the 1930s, dispensary nurses still reported that a patient would walk miles to a hospital but refuse treatment for "some obvious and serious condition, if it is not the particular part of the body that he wishes to bring to our notice," or would reject one kind of tablet because "I want the pink."[32]

Male doctors were as keenly aware as their nurses that Africans usually got the cure they wanted, but doctors withheld publishing their own similar accounts for many years.[33] For publication, Dr. Cook tended to produce puff-pieces for the CMS mission journals, filled with the numbers of patients who came to the mission and his optimism about the future: "One thing is certain, the Baganda are intelligent enough for anything."[34] By the late 1920s, he had published his most lyrical speeches: every new hospital forged "yet another link in the chain that is being made to draw the distressed native . . . out of the morass of misery, caused

[29] Timpson, "Patients and Nurse," 290. There are many references to ideas about white cannibalism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century missionary accounts for the region to the west of Uganda. See Rik Ceyssens, "Mitumbula: Myth de l'Opprimé," *Cultures et devélopment*, 7 (1975): 483–550, esp. 522–30.

[30] Louis, *Love Is the Answer*, 62, 71.

[31] Cook, *Uganda Memories*, 124; Kate Timpson, "Notes from a Nurse in Uganda," *Mercy and Truth*, 3 (October 1899): 245–46; see also Zeller, "Establishment of Western Medicine," 307–08.

[32] Miss K. Ardell, "In Teso Country," *The Mission Hospital* [formerly *Mercy and Truth*], 31 (March 1927): 62; Miss D. A. Brewster, "A Day at the Dispensary at Ng'ora," *The Mission Hospital*, 36 (April 1932): 90. These demands probably did not stop in the 1930s, but African dispensers did not write about them. See Semkubuge, "African Medical Officer"; and Lyons, "Power to Heal."

[33] A common complaint was a rumbling sound in the ear. "Being now tired of explaining that this is often due to a diseased condition of the blood—for they universally put it down to insects having crawled into the ear—I now prescribe the appropriate treatment, telling them that the medicine is to kill the insects." Cook, *Uganda Memories*, 124.

[34] A. R. Cook, "Mengo Mission Hospital in 1900," *Mercy and Truth*, 5 (September 1901): 212; A. R. Cook, "A New Women's Hospital and Maternity Centre at Namalonge, Uganda," *The Mission Hospital*, 33 (1929): 61–66.

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by unhygenic and superstitious surroundings that engulfs so many of them." After Cook's death in 1951, a CMS biographer published his and Timpson's early accounts of their patients' demands as the young couple's evening chitchat. (Timpson and Cook had married in 1900.)[35] While his published words were impersonal, removing himself from the emerging local discourses about diagnosis and cure, Cook's unpublished words were about the difficulty of securing a respectable place for Western medicine in Baganda society. Years later, government doctors were no less pained: in 1934, the director of Medical Services complained that Africans thought "dispensaries were like shops where a man can ask for anything he likes."[36]

Mission medical writing was genred as well; the frustrations of nurses and the insistence of Africans were published at the same time as the diocesan newsletter. *Mengo Notes* was published in 1900 and 1901; it then became *Uganda Notes and Diocesan Gazette* until 1922. Its texts were sometimes authored, sometimes anonymous; in each, missionaries offered insights and commentaries about African culture to other missionaries in the area. Cultural contact was described with more idealism, and disdain, than in *Mercy and Truth*. A doctor wrote that a "dogmatic and keen" teacher, "as practical and definite as possible," could educate African students about venereal disease.[37] Other essays in *Uganda Notes* revealed another side of mission idealism, grim warnings to fellow missionaries and an imagined African personality all too eager to follow the instructions laid down for them: "The filthy surroundings, the utter absence of manners and of all pretence of welcome, the self-satisfied conceit born of abysmal ignorance, the sordid grasping spirit, all tend to produce a certain sense of repulsion," which each missionary had to stifle, so harmful was it to evangelical progress. Gospel and hygiene would prevail, because, "In a child race, as with children, curiosity is highly developed; nothing is more natural than imitation; they have little or nothing to unlearn, and often a very keen desire to be taught."[38]

But what, according to mission sources, did Africans learn about Western medicine? Did Africans learn the new technologies of European medicine and reject the cosmologies of salvation and prevention from which they came, or did they assimilate some of each into their own wide range of curative procedures?[39]

[35] Joyce Reason, *Safety Last: The Story of Albert Cook of Uganda* (London, 1954), 15–18. A selection of Cook's letters home, devoid of debates with his patients, was published as a book for young boys in 1903; see A. R. Cook, *A Doctor and His Dog in Uganda*, Mrs. H. B. Cook, ed. (London, 1903).

[36] Quoted in Zeller, "Establishment of Western Medicine," 325.

[37] E. N. Cook, "Hygiene Classes," *Uganda Notes and Diocesan Gazette* (February 1914): 43–45. A half-dozen years later, he described the presentation of a new x-ray machine in *Mercy and Truth*.

[38] Anon., "Missionary Problems, II: Making Friends," *Uganda Notes and Diocesan Gazette* (May 1915): 384–85.

[39] This question has been debated in John Janzen and William Akinstall, *The Quest for Therapy in Lower Zaire* (Berkeley, Calif., 1978); Steven Feierman, "Change in African Therapeutic Systems," *Social Science and Medicine*, 13B (1979): 277–84; Gwyn Prins, "But What Was the Disease? The Present State of Health and Healing in African Studies," *Past and Present*, 124 (1989): 150–79; Jean Comaroff, "Bodily Reform as Historical Practice: The Semantics of Resistance in Modern South Africa," *International Journal of Psychology*, 20 (1985): 541–67; Mark Auslander, "'Open the Wombs!' The Symbolic Politics of Modern Ngoni Witchfinding," in Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, eds., *Modernity and Its Malcontents: Ritual and Power in Postcolonial Africa* (Chicago, 1993), 167–92; Megan Vaughan, "Healing and Curing: Issues in the Social History and Anthropology of Medicine in Africa," *Social History of Medicine*, 7 (1994): 283–95.

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Both questions may be too rigid as ways to describe the complexities of biomedical contacts. In many ways, Western medicine was elided with local medical procedures by the missionaries themselves. The peoples of southern Uganda had sophisticated medical techniques; a young medical missionary had observed a Caesarean section in the kingdom of Bunyoro in 1879, and Baganda healers easily restored the protruding bowels that were common injuries of wartime. John Roscoe's ethnography in 1911, based primarily on interviews with wealthy men, described the Baganda "dread of mutilation," which made it a frequent punishment for adultery, theft, and royal disfavor.[40]

When missionary doctors introduced anesthesia, for instance, they promoted it as one of the great wonders of Western science. Even in the earliest missionary writings, anesthesia had a fantastic quality, producing an imagined African subjectivity of awe and trust whatever the evidence. "We have no difficulty getting them to take chloroform," wrote Timpson and Cook in 1898. But when a woman was late for her operation, Timpson searched and "found her hidden among the plantain trees praying."[41] According to the missionary doctors, the kings who had ordered the mutilations of their subjects were among the most responsive to anesthesia. When the CMS went to the royal court of Butoro, in southwestern Uganda, the missionaries spoke of the "special kind of medicine" that would "send them to sleep" without pain "while we 'cut them up,' as they term it." The king "insisted" on an operation with chloroform for himself even though he had only an abscess on his arm. Soon, "[the news] spread over the whole country that the king had been the first to venture to take this new medicine which made him go to sleep, and the patients came to us asking to be operated upon from all around the country."[42]

This fairy tale, the good medicine and the good king in the docile kingdom, was more than a literary genre; it was practiced as well, sometimes overwhelming narratives of progress. In 1920, the same year that African medical assistants performed surgery without "European supervision" at the CMS hospital,[43] missionaries held a garden party there "to introduce the x-ray to the Baganda" and "to dispell any idea of the evil eye." Invited were the king, thirty of his chiefs, a dozen Europeans, and some of the wealthier Indian cotton merchants living in Kampala.[44] After tea, a few at a time were allowed into the dispensary hall, papered dark for the occasion. "Each group had to wait in the dark for 5 minutes

[40] J. N. P. Davies, "The Development of 'Scientific' Medicine in the African Kingdom of Bunyoro-Kitara," *Medical History*, 3 (1959): 47–57; Roscoe, *Baganda*, 12, 281, 358. Adulterers lost an eye, thieves a hand; when the king broke the foot of a tardy messenger, he often sent him to a healer to make a splint for the bone.

[41] Katherine Timpson and A. R. Cook, "Mengo Hospital," *Mercy and Truth*, 2 (January 1898): 12.

[42] Dr. A. Bond, "A Record of Medical Work at Toro," *Mercy and Truth*, 11 (September 1907): 274. Over the next few years, the king of Toro was keen to watch operations. See Vaughan, *Curing Their Ills*, 58.

[43] J. H. Cook, "Backward-Forward-Upward," *Mercy and Truth*, 24 (June 1920): 156–60. Even without kings, fairy tales were commonplace narratives in Protestant medical missionary writing. See Nancy Rose Hunt, "Colonial Fairy Tales and the Knife and Fork Doctrine in the Heart of Africa," in Karen Hansen, ed., *African Encounters with Domesticity* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1992), 143–69.

[44] Foster, *Scientific Medicine*, 66, 81–82. Although most of the surviving indentured workers brought from India to build the Kenya-Uganda railway went home, those who stayed traded, as they were not allowed to buy land. By 1921, three years after Indian merchants had come from Bombay to refinance a cotton industry stagnated by war, 80 percent of East Africa's Indian population—5,600—lived in

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for their eyes to become accustomed to the darkness. A fat and healthy baby was placed on the table and chiefs were greatly interested to watch its heart beating and liver moving." The king put his foot on the table and saw his bones. The narrative of the staged announcement, royal approval, and the resulting widespread popularity was so comprehensive that it absorbed non-Africans as well: Baganda women asked for x-rays to cure headaches, and Indians asked to have their ears and eyes examined by x-ray.[45]

Demands for pink tablets, x-rays, or for stethoscopes on the head may not have been due to Africans' confusion over Western medicine or their mystification over the efficacy of various procedures. Medical anthropologists have argued that Africans chose treatments, tablets, and the placement of stethoscopes because of their own etiologies of disease. Illnesses believed to be caused by excessive cold might best be treated by pills that were hot in color, like red or pink. These reinterpretations were debates about the nature of curing itself and reflected divergent ideas about sickness, health, and healing that did not readily conform to dichotomies of curative and preventative medicine.[46] Africans who swallowed three days' supply of tablets at once may not have misunderstood a nurse's instructions but may instead have considered those instructions to be a misguided and inappropriate way to deal with disease and pain.

Africans also reinterpreted medical therapies because of how they were applied; much African curing took place on or above the skin. Baganda healers used procedures of scratching the skin to produce blisters, let blood with cupping horns, and realigned broken bones. Bleeding cured headache, rheumatic pains, coughs, and abscesses by removing the alien matter introduced by supernatural means.[47] By the early 1930s, the kind of African healing visible to the ethnographic gaze took place above the skin. Rarely were a person's body parts used in either sorcery or for healing; disease was most often transmitted by medicines smeared on a practitioner's palm. Cataracts, for example, were spread in this way. Sometimes, malevolent practitioners put medicines in a pipe and blew the smoke toward the intended victim.[48]

The ability of Western medical techniques to penetrate the body—with x-rays or injections—seems to have had profound and contradictory meanings for Africans. Those procedures were as feared as they were welcomed. Such active ambivalence was in turn reinterpreted by European observers as an African belief in the power

Uganda. See George Delf, *Asians in East Africa* (London, 1863), 25–26; Mahmood Mamdani, *Politics and Class Formation in Uganda* (New York, 1976), 68–80.

[45] E. N. Cook, "The Adventures of an X-Ray," *Mercy and Truth*, 24 (1920): 278. This description and those in later articles indicate that the x-ray machine was in fact a fluroscope; see A. R. Cook, "Medical Advance in Central Africa," *The Mission Hospital*, 31 (1927): 262.

[46] Clark E. Cunningham, "Thai 'Injection Doctors': Antibiotic Mediators," *Social Science and Medicine*, 4 (1970): 1–24; Caroline H. Bledsoe and Monica F. Goubard, "The Reinterpretation of Western Pharmaceutical among the Mende of Sierra Leone," *Social Science and Medicine*, 21 (1985): 275–82; J.-M. Michel, "Why Do People Like Medicines? A Perspective from Africa," *The Lancet*, 210 (1985): 210–11.

[47] Roscoe, *Baganda*, 98–101; Zeller, "Establishment of Western Medicine," 112–16; N. C. Roles, "Tribal Surgery in East Africa during the Nineteenth Century, Part 2—Therapeutic Surgery," *East African Medical Journal*, 44 (1967): 22.

[48] L. P. Mair, *An African People in the Twentieth Century* (London, 1934), 250.

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of their tools. Indeed, from the written sources, it is difficult to know if Africans were fetishizing European medical tools and technologies or if European authors were fetishizing African ideas about Western technologies. At the turn of the century, Baganda hoarded the bottles in which medicines came and refused to return them. They valued them as containers, not as charms. But when the CMS hospital burned in 1902, a woman who had had surgery there lamented the loss of surgical instruments. "What shall we do? The instruments that saved my life are dead."[49] Several years ago, Terence Ranger suggested a middle ground, in which medical tools were neither fetishized nor misunderstood by anyone except European writers: they had become objects in African healing cults. The pink tablets, the stethoscope, and the x-ray may have been objects translated into local beliefs, made powerful not by their novelty or strength but because of the difficult journeys required to obtain them.[50] This insight, however, does not explain Indian ideas about x-rays as well as do media scholars who have studied such things as the widespread popularity of the television series *Dallas* in the post-colonial world: no text, and no technology, crosses cultural borders intact.[51]

Nevertheless, some Western medical techniques have been described as wholly assimilated into African therapeutics. The curative practice that captured the imagination of a wide variety of observers of Africa was the injection. Any amount of popular and professional literature on the continent reveals injections to be the cure of choice. Whether or not this is true, or how long this has been true, or where it has been true, is something else again. Several scholars have found a wide variety of opinions about the desirability of injections within specific areas.[52] Missionaries, however, frequently described injections as "miraculous"; anesthesia was only a "great marvel." The popularity of injections astonished both missionary and government authors. Perhaps as important, it was (and is) the practice preferred by clinic workers themselves.[53] It allowed them to administer correct dosages and spared them the demands for pink pills and x-rays.

As a curative practice, however, injections were at once strange and familiar. Long before their encounter with Western medicine, the peoples of southern Uganda had practiced some form of variolation—vaccination by scratching the skin and introducing diseased matter—for both smallpox and what was thought to be venereal syphilis and was in all likelihood either endemic syphilis or yaws.[54] The British were horrified to learn that children were wrapped in barkcloth smeared

[49] Quoted in Zeller, "Establishment of Western Medicine," 82–83, 271.

[50] Terence O. Ranger, "Godly Medicine: The Ambiguities of Mission Medicine in Southeast Tanzania, 1900–1945," *Social Science and Medicine*, 15B (1981): 265; see also Vaughan, *Curing Their Ills*, 56–60.

[51] John Tomlinson, *Cultural Imperialism* (Baltimore, Md., 1991), 45–50.

[52] Ranger, "Godly Medicine," 264–68; Lyons, *Colonial Disease*, 188–90; Barbara A. Bianco, "The Historical Anthropology of a Mission Hospital in Northwestern Kenya" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1992), 167–78; Megan Vaughan, "Health and Hegemony: Representation of Disease and the Creation of a Colonial Subject in Nyasaland," in Engels and Marks, *Contesting Colonial Hegemony*, 173–201.

[53] Zeller, "Establishment of Western Medicine," 308 and following.

[54] Roscoe, *Baganda*, 102–03; J. N. P. Davies, "The History of Syphilis in Uganda," *Bulletin of the World Health Organization*, 15 (1956): 1041–55; and Davies, "Development of 'Scientific' Medicine," 53–54; see also Gloria Waite, "Public Health in Pre-Colonial East Central Africa," *Social Science and Medicine*, 24 (1987): 197–208. Marc Dawson has argued that the distinction between syphilis and yaws is not really the issue since the diseases provide a cross-immunity to each other. Thus anti-yaws

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with syphilitic discharges. They blamed the epidemic that was said to infect 90 percent of the population on this practice.[55] In smallpox variolation, the pox was pricked with a thorn, saved on a plantain leaf, and then rubbed into the scratched area of a healthy person's arm.[56] Although apparently widespread, this was not seen by early medical observers, despite strong evidence for its existence and efficacy. A. R. Cook's diaries present the most dramatic case of observing African variolation and reinscribing it with all the violence scientific method required. During a smallpox epidemic in 1899, two young boys were vaccinated with all that was left of the vaccine Cook brought from England, but they did not come back as instructed. When Timpson saw a young African "with an obvious vaccination mark" in a local market "she collared him and brought him into the dispensary and, with somewhat trembling fingers, knowing the issues at stake, we extracted the precious drops of lymph," which vaccinated six other Africans "whom we contrived to keep under observation." A week later, they had inoculated twenty, "and from them fifty," until over 800 were vaccinated by "this arm to arm method, with but very few failures, as indeed might have been surmised in an unprotected population." Cook never asked how that first vaccination mark came to be on a young boy or why the population seemed already protected. Instead, he wrote, "In their eagerness, they almost stormed the dispensary to get in."[57]

Storming the dispensary may have had multiple meanings, however. There were many responses to vaccination. A Franciscan sister wrote that Baganda hated vaccination: "the rumor went round that Europeans were putting poison into them." Nevertheless, during the smallpox epidemic of 1902, CMS missionaries claimed they were "simply besieged all day long by Natives begging for vaccination."[58] Statements about the eagerness of Africans to be vaccinated during epidemics, wherever and however they may have been true, presuppose that Africans and Europeans saw disease and contagion the same way. Although the range of new diseases introduced by colonial conquest and migrancy may have engendered a belief in the efficacy of colonial cures, this does not mean that Africans perceived the diseases the same way Europeans would have, and there has simply not been enough research into African curative responses to epidemic diseases to tell. Diseases that had periodicity, that came with punishing ferocity and then went away, were not necessarily seen as contagions but as divine acts.[59]

measures increased the incidence of syphilis. See Dawson, "The 1920s Anti-Yaws Campaigns and Colonial Medical Policy in Kenya," *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 20 (1987): 417–35.

[55] F. J. Lambkin, "An Outbreak of Syphilis in a Virgin Soil: Notes on Syphilis in the Uganda Protectorate," in D'Arcy Power and J. Keogh Murphy, eds., *A System of Syphilis*, Vol. 2 (London, 1914), 339–54. It is noteworthy that syphilis was blamed on indigenous medical practices, rather than seeing it as the inevitable result of the emancipation of women, as elite men asserted. See Summers, "Intimate Colonialism," 787–807; and Megan Vaughan, "Syphilis in Colonial East and Central Africa: The Social Construction of an Epidemic," in T. Ranger and P. Slack, eds., *Epidemics and Ideas: Essays on the Historical Perception of Pestilence* (Cambridge, 1992), 269–302.

[56] Roles, "Tribal Surgery in East Africa," 28–29; Davies, "Development of 'Scientific' Medicine," 53; Roscoe, *Baganda*, 102–03.

[57] A. R. Cook, *Uganda Memories*, 52.

[58] Both quoted in Zeller, "Establishment of Western Medicine," 106, 327.

[59] See David Arnold, *Colonizing the Body: State Medicine and Epidemic Disease in 19th Century India* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993), 121–23; and Ranger, "Godly Medicine," 263. While I am hesitant to push any analogy between Indian and Ugandan concepts of disease too far, some contagious diseases,

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However familiar the needle became, and however much injection and vaccination were assimilated into African ideas about illness and misfortune, the meanings attached to injections were anything but straightforward.[60] A demand for injections coincided with a fear that something was being injected into Africans. This continued well into the 1930s. It was not simply a dialectic about injections; it was a debate about how healing should be managed—by redefining the arena of healing from above the skin to inside the body. Officials noted the unpopularity of inoculation campaigns and injections: in 1907, it was very difficult to get Africans to take any vaccination at all.[61] In 1909, Baganda were said to believe that injections of mercurial cream for syphilis "removed blood," which was then "stored up," or that whites "were injecting fire from the spirit lamp and hot oil." Africans were asked to stay in the room after their injections, to reassure the next patient.[62]

Many scholars have argued that it was the development of drugs derived from arsenic (including Salversan, or "606") for the treatment of syphilis and yaws that made injections popular: even an incomplete course of treatment could cure external symptoms, particularly sores.[63] During the early 1920s, missionaries saw in 606 the power to transform the African body: "Now enters the doctor and the intra-muscular injection of 606 is given. Within 48 hours the change begins," wrote Cook. "To see a man admitted, his whole body a loathsome mass of foul sores . . . and to see the same man two or three weeks later, after one or two injections of '606,' so happily changed that his relatives hardly know him, is to behold . . . a modern miracle." Secular sources were less awed by 606, noting that Africans themselves problematized the course of injections, a part of the story that mission authors left out. In 1922, for example, many young Baganda believed that a series of injections meant that each injection contained weak medicine. In 1926, officials at the government hospital noted that many Africans went from clinic to clinic in the hopes of getting oral medication but received injections instead.[64]

By the late 1920s, however, injections and needles appear in *The Mission Hospital* as a desired treatment. In the Mount Elgon region, nurses wrote that Africans feared surgery but injections had "a mysterious fascination for them." "The needle" was the only "scientific procedure" they welcomed. Doctors there noted that many people without any symptoms of syphilis or yaws demanded injections

especially leprosy, were seen as acts of divine retribution. See A. C. Stanley Smith, "Leprosy in Kigezi, Uganda Protectorate," *The Mission Hospital*, 35 (December 1931): 312; for another view, see Waite, "Public Health," esp. 199.

[60] On the East African coast, CMS missionaries vaccinated hundreds of people against smallpox in 1898. A year later, when a man-eating lion threatened the area, a local man "vaccinated" Africans against lion bites for a fee. Vaughan, *Curing Their Ills*, 59.

[61] R. Stanley, "How the Natives of the British East Africa and Uganda Protectorates Are Medically Provided For during the Early Stages of the Opening Up of These Countries," *Journal of the Royal Army Medical Corps*, 8 (1907): 449.

[62] H. T. Treves and G. T. Keane, "The Treatment of Syphilis in Uganda," *Journal of the Royal Army Medical Corps*, 13 (1909): 241–22. I am grateful to Michael Tuck for this reference.

[63] Zeller, "Establishment of Western Medicine," 325 and following; Dawson, "Anti-Yaws Campaigns," 417–35; Ranger, "Godly Medicine," 265.

[64] A. R. Cook, *Uganda Memories*, 52; Zeller, "Establishment of Western Medicine," 321–27.

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of 606.[65] Elsewhere, doctors wrote that Africans regarded injections magically, "almost as a fetish" and therefore "willingly pay the charge we make." There were many stories of fetishes. A man whose leg could only be straightened by surgery insisted on an injection "and went off in the same condition he arrived . . . At times we are unable to treat people in the way that is best for them, as they refuse all other treatment in their insistence on having injections." Others insisted on two injections at once, or one in each leg.[66]

At the same time, however, government sources observed that the miracle of 606 did not apply to other injections. Healthy men and women came to Kampala clinics demanding treatment with 606, but in 1926 and 1929 plague-inoculation campaigns met with violence.[67] There were poor responses to government-sponsored vaccination campaigns in the 1930s and 1940s. Appeals by chiefs for their subjects to be vaccinated proved futile. The reasons seem to have been varied, although official sources favored fear and ignorance. Clearly, a new needle lore had emerged. In parts of Buganda, it was said that inoculations caused leprosy because the Medical Officer of Health used the same syringe on all patients. Some people were said to scratch their arms to give the appearance of vaccination, to fool authorities. Others rubbed the vaccination with lemon juice, dust, and other substances to prevent characteristic blisters from forming. Some claimed that inoculations made their arms sore or septic.[68]

Such reinterpretations had a wide variety of local meanings, of course, but it is unlikely that people who practiced variolation were resistant to vaccination in and of itself. It is more likely that their distrust, even immediately after the miracles of 606, had to do with who was vaccinating whom and whose body was being marked for what ends. Vaccination campaigns represented an extension of state power into African bodies. Moreover, there is no evidence that variolation ceased or decreased simply because vaccinators were at work in the counties of southern Uganda; the opposite is probably true.[69] Nevertheless, the intensity with which people avoided inoculation, or tried to alter the vaccination with lemon juice, or construed leprosy as a disease of dirty needles is probably impossible to research

[65] Miss K. Ardell, "In the Teso Country," *The Mission Hospital*, 31 (March 1927): 62; A. T. Schofield, "Some Patients at Toro," *The Mission Hospital*, 31 (June 1927): 138; Zeller, "Establishment of Western Medicine," 323–26.

[66] R. A. B. Leakey, "At Work in Toro Hospital," *The Mission Hospital*, 33 (July 1929): 153; Zeller, "Establishment of Western Medicine," 324; Lyons, "Power to Heal," 208–09, 219–21.

[67] In 1929, a European sanitation officer lost a hand in a struggle over plague inoculations in Buganda, and letters were sent to Buganda's parliament threatening to kill the king's ministers if inoculations continued. Archdeacon G. S. Daniell, Ag. Secretary CMS, to H. D. Hooper, CMS Secretary, London, July 23, 1929, Church Missionary Society Archives, University Library, University of Birmingham.

[68] Zeller, "Establishment of Western Medicine," 325, 339, 347n; see also Vaughan, "Health and Hegemony," 185–86, for complaints about inactive vaccines. Elsewhere in colonial Africa, the vaccines were reinterpreted; see Bruce Fetter, "The Lualabourg Revolt at Elisabethville," *African Historical Studies*, 2 (1969): 273; and I. R. Phimister, "The 'Spanish' Influenza Pandemic of 1918 and Its Impact on the Southern Rhodesian Mining Industry," *Central African Journal of Medicine*, 19 (1973): 147.

[69] Arnold, *Colonizing the Body*, 120. Where variolation was considered a reliable method of disease prevention, as in India, vaccination did not replace it. See Paul R. Greenough, "Variolation and Vaccination in South Asia, c. 1700–1865: A Preliminary Note," *Social Science and Medicine*, 14D (1980): 345–47. Variolation continued in Bunyoro well into the 1920s; see Davies, "Development of 'Scientific' Medicine," 53.

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any further. But these accounts provide tantalizing hints of an intellectual community in which aspects of Western biomedicine were unpacked, examined, accepted, and reinterpreted according to local meanings and what must, by the 1930s, have been changing conceptions of health and healing. Using *bazimamoto* stories—which demonize colonial medicine anyway—as evidence of ideas about colonial medicine provides a refractory reading, one that contextualizes these hints in terms of a broader set of reactions to European medical procedures and local ideas.

Some Ugandan ideas about Western medicine are evident in other domains. The Bamalaki (from Malakites, although the group called itself the Society of the One Almighty God) were Christian separatists who believed it was an affront to God's power to take medication of any sort, Kiganda or English. Founded in 1914, by 1921 the group was said to have 91,000 Baganda followers. New members had to promise, "I will not drink the European's medicine or go to them for any . . ." They rejected inoculation for themselves and for their cattle and refused to pay taxes that supported medical services. State opposition to the sect was severe, especially in the 1920s: uninoculated cattle were forfeited, Bamalaki chiefs were dismissed, and the houses of followers were frequently fumigated because they posed a threat to public health. Organized opposition to all forms of medication in the 1920s underscored the context of medical procedures: at least one colonial chief was said to have joined the group when he was forbidden to travel to Kampala without a vaccination.[70] But the study of organized opposition does not reveal the complexity of the issues at stake in inoculations and injections and Africans' power to remake them; that is, it reveals opposition rather than the fears and fantasies the encounter provoked.[71]

Indeed, medical missionaries encouraged a sense of fantasy: they expressed their ambivalence about their own popularity by likening themselves to sorcerers.[72] Baganda healers attributed their own skills to knowledge acquired empirically, rather than divine inspiration or innate talent, which gave sorcerers their power.[73] Missionaries promoted their drugs, particularly chloroform, as proof of Europeans' "superior magic." The new science of tropical medicine fueled "moral victory"; it glossed the ambiguity of medical diagnosis: "Science unmasks the miserable subterfuge by which the real cause of many illnesses is concealed from the self-deluded native."[74] The scientific tools that were new and favored were imagined by Europeans to be powerful and filled with meaning. They were, to some and various extents, but those meanings and powers shifted and were redefined when local ideas about health and healing changed. Injections and

[70] A. R. Cook, *Uganda Memories*, 323–24; F. B. Welbourne, *East African Rebels: A Study of Some Independent Churches* (London, 1961), 31–43; Michael Twaddle, *Kakungulu and the Creation of Uganda* (London, 1993), 266–88; Zeller, "Establishment of Western Medicine," 344–57.

[71] Missionaries argued that Africans considered medical doctors wizards and wanted them slaughtered as in the Old Testament, or that Africans had confused the miraculous cure for syphilis, 606, with 666, the number of the Beast. Daniell to Hooper, London, July 23, 1929, CMS Archives; Welbourne, *East African Rebels*, 34.

[72] Vaughan, *Curing Their Ills*, 56–60; see also Ranger, "Godly Medicine," 263–67.

[73] L. P. Mair, *An African People in the Twentieth Century* (London, 1934), 243.

[74] J. Howard Cook, "The Contribution of Science to Missionary Work," *Church Missionary Review*, 76 (1925): 40–43; see also A. R. Cook, *Uganda Memories*, 50, 93.

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scalpels and drugs became familiar, of course, but that familiarity was based on the new meanings with which these procedures were suffused.

Surgery provides a good example of the extent to which Western technologies were not domesticated just because Africans were exposed to them. Until World War I, Cook allowed Africans to watch operations to see that no one was killed. Even so, in the early 1930s, CMS doctors acknowledged the "whispered stories of how the white doctor cut up the dead and . . . perhaps secreted various portions for nefarious purposes."[75] If the differences between "cutting up" the dead and the living had been submerged, the meaning of that cutting up had remained vivid and elaborate.

THE MEN among my Ugandan informants were mainly artisans who had worked in Kampala all their adult lives; most of the women were wealthy farmers from rural Buganda who had come to Kampala as refugees during the wars of the early 1980s. They said *bazimamoto* began in the 1920s; only two people in Kampala first heard of it after 1935.[76] Almost everyone said the practice ended at independence (1962). Details and individuals were recalled with clarity. Many people interviewed in 1990 named "Dr. Duke"—presumably Lyndal Duke, the director of Uganda's Department of Tsetse Control who retired in 1934—as the man who "received the blood."[77] *Bazimamoto*, my informants indicated, was something they talked about among themselves. One man I interviewed told me that he had investigated this topic "as you are researching now."[78] In contrast, only a few people mentioned the grave-robbing night prowlers of Ganda lore.[79] *Bazimamoto* were the people who used medical technologies to overpower their victims and penetrate their bodies. They "used needles which they could inject into the hands and suck."[80] This neither fetishized tools nor misunderstood them—although it gives them a lasting power their inventors did not intend—but made them the

[75] Zeller, "Establishment of Western Medicine," 333, 116, quoting *Report of the Mengo Medical Mission*, 1933. The meaning of "cutting up" seems to have become increasingly menacing throughout this century. In 1900, Cook had great difficulty getting Africans to agree to post-mortem examinations of their relatives. Although he explained the benefits such examinations would bestow on other sick Africans, most people refused. "Slowly prejudice broke down, and one parent gave consent at once, saying, when I wished to investigate the cause of death of his son: 'Kale, ye nyama bunyama' (Why not, it is only meat)." A. R. Cook, *Uganda Memories*, 52. But no less an authority on accidental death than Idi Amin explained that one of his recently divorced wives was found dismembered and stuffed into a gunny sack as "a result of a bungled surgical operation." Denis Hills, *Rebel People* (London, 1978), 31n.

[76] Men born in the 1920s said they heard about this from their parents when they were "very young," whereas several older people, born between 1910 and 1915, said they only heard about this practice in the early 1930s. Interviews with Isaak Bulega, Makerere, August 23, 1990; Peter Kirigwa, Katwe, August 24, 1990; Francis Kigozi, Kasubi, August 17, 1990; Magarita Kalule, Masanafu, August 20, 1990; Joseph Nsubuga, Kisasi, August 22, 1990. Informants in Nairobi dated vampire rumors from the end of World War I, while informants in western Kenya, many of whom had been migrant laborers to Kampala, said it began in the 1920s.

[77] Elsewhere, Duke was remembered with great affection as the founder of the Entebbe Zoo; see Abdullah Sonsomola and Julia Nakibuuka Nalongo interviews for examples of information cued by questions about Duke, not about *bazimamoto*.

[78] Interview with Kersau Ntale Mwene, Kasubi, August 12, 1990.

[79] Mair, *African People*, 248.

[80] Interviews with Joseph Nsubuga; Isaak Bulega.

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marker of certain kinds of embodied extraction and transformation. The needle itself had no power; what was fearsome was the use to which it was put.

Patricia Turner has argued that items of material culture are sometimes misinterpreted by both sides of a racial divide, thus generating rumors.[81] I argue something quite different, that items of material culture are spoken of to mark differences. Thus traditional healers "were treating sick people, and although they were sucking blood, they were sucking blood in order to relieve the pain of the sick person . . . [T]he blood they were sucking was not for sale as the *bazimamoto* was doing."[82] These differences in motivation and commodification reconfigured the idioms of healing. According to the same man, "some people were refusing to go to the hospitals because they feared that they might be injected without their noticing, and they were always in a panic about the *bazimamoto*, and they thought that in this process of injections they might suck their blood."[83]

How do I know these stories do not simply misrepresent transfusion? In terms of chronological evidence, it seems unlikely. Until World War II, blood transfusions in the tropics were rare—without refrigeration or paraffin-lined containers, blood could not be stored long enough to transfuse a stranger.[84] When transfusion became widespread, there was a perpetual shortage of donors.[85] In terms of a genre of evidence provided by *bazimamoto* stories, however, such a question reduces the complexity of the clinic, the syringe, and "noticing" to a single medical procedure; it turns vampire stories into accounts of medical techniques, rather than stories told with medical tools and technologies in them. In other words, Africans did not witness strange practices and then tell fabulous stories about them. Far more goes into any story than a strange event and its oral reconstruction. When Africans saw things that were both medical and strange, they reported them as such, not as the activities of *bazimamoto*. In 1931, during a sleeping sickness epidemic in western Uganda, for example, one man "saw some Europeans, they came in vehicles, and when they came across someone they injected him then and there. I don't know if *bazimamoto* could do things like that."[86] Vampire stories locate the tools and technologies of European medicine in ways that are different from other narrative forms.

This very difference may require that rumors of vampires be read as a genre: such a reading conflates the set elements of the clinic, the needle, and blood much as the speaker did. What follows is an African historian's apostasy: in this

[81] Patricia A. Turner, *I Heard It Through the Grapevine: Rumor in Afro-American Culture* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993), 15; but see also Gladys-Marie Fry, *Night Riders in Black Folk History* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1975), 178–202.

[82] Interview with Joseph Nsubuga.

[83] Interviews with Joseph Nsubuga; Isaak Bulega.

[84] Henry M. Feinblatt, *Transfusion of Blood* (New York, 1926), 1–11; Alexander S. Wiener, *Blood Groups and Blood Transfusion* (Baltimore, Md., 1939), 41–47, 62–66; Joseph R. Bove, *et al.*, *Practical Blood Transfusion* (Boston, 1969), 4–7; Robert M. Greendyke, *Introduction to Blood Banking* (Garden City, N.Y., 1980), 2.

[85] White, "Cars Out of Place," 31–32; "Serious Lack of Blood Donors," *Uganda Argus* (January 1, 1959): 3. A few years earlier, a white doctor in Kampala told a travel writer that he had trouble getting blood donors because Africans believed he drank the blood himself in the cold secrecy of the morgue. See Alastair Scobie, *Murder for Magic: Witchcraft in Africa* (London, 1965), 117.

[86] Interview with Abdullah Sonsomola.

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essay, I am not interested in testimony, in the contexts of collection and recollection; I am interested in the generic, the formulaic elements that make a good vampire story, rather than accounts of sleeping sickness injections. This is a writing strategy, one that enables me to use these stories to map a landscape outside of lived experience. It privileges words and images over voices. I am trying to contextualize the genre of vampire stories by discussing the material objects and therapeutic procedures that appear in narratives that cross cultural and racial boundaries to disclose ideas about colonial medicine.

And what were those ideas? Drugs and practitioners' knowledge of them were powerful and disturbing, in part because of how those drugs were applied. The *bazimamoto* "were spraying some medicine directly on their victims, and afterwards they would capture them when they were nervous. It was certain they were using a medicine that no one knew about because no one knows what it was."[87] While it is perhaps too simplistic to contrast this account with the self-confident man arguing about how best to medicate his foot, this representation of "victims" drugged against their will is nevertheless striking. It is a generic fantasy, however, showing the power of various drugs and the power of Europeans over their application.[88]

Such descriptions of "spraying"—fumigating—referred to the fumes of public health campaigns as if they were personal attacks. Public health itself marked a shift in colonial medicine away from walk-in dispensaries to state-sponsored campaigns.[89] When fumigants were first introduced as a plague-control measure in southern Uganda in the 1930s, they were hailed as an alternative to the "rat destruction drives" of the 1920s and the sometimes overzealous burning of plague victims' huts.[90] But the fumigants used were often lethal: poisonous insecticides were routinely used on human dwellings in the 1930s, on the grounds that the smell was so strong occupants would leave the house anyway.[91] The state's use of fumigants increased the number of homes invaded and sprayed for plague fleas, but from the data I have it is not at all clear if these descriptions of spraying marked the power of drugs themselves or the invasive nature of public health campaigns.

Bazimamoto stories are those in which Europeans get the upper hand. They were not necessarily smarter than Africans, but they had better tools and drugs: "there were some Europeans who would come and capture you." "They could give their victims some drugs to make them sleep, especially the Africans . . . [T]hey could

[87] Interview with Gregory Sseluwagi, Lubya, August 28, 1990.

[88] This is a deliberate allusion to the "standardized nightmare" of witch beliefs, which Africanists have also failed to historicize. See Monica Wilson, "Witch Beliefs and Social Structure," *American Journal of Sociology*, 41 (1951): 307–13.

[89] Zeller, "Establishment of Western Medicine," 189–220; Vaughan, "Health and Hegemony," 185–96.

[90] Vaughan, *Curing Their Ills*, 40–43; A. R. Cook, *Uganda Memories*, 310; Zeller, "Establishment of Western Medicine," 339–40. But by the 1930s, the incidence of plague in southern Uganda had increased. The sporting rat-catching campaigns had reduced the population of the indigenous, disease-resistant rat and created a niche for the disease-bearing rats introduced from the East African coast by the railway; Vaughan, *Curing Their Ills*, 40. Not all diagnoses of plague were accurate, however: by the 1940s, government doctors noted a longstanding confusion of lobar pneumonia with pneumonic plague in southern Uganda. R. S. F. Hennessey Papers, Rhodes House, Oxford, RH Mss Afr. s 1872 (25).

[91] Walter Ebling, *Subtropical Entomology* (San Francisco, 1950), 5–6.

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do this during the night . . . and take their victim to their destination when he was helpless, they could use these drugs whenever they came across their victims."[92] "They captured everybody, they did not discriminate against any race . . . but I never heard that they took Europeans." Trying to capture Indians, however, "was not easy . . . [Y]ou could make problems for yourself."[93]

The issues here are about far more than medicalized modes of capture located in race; they depict a gendered African susceptibility to one form of medication. Men and women told similar stories, but in those stories they described the different ways men and women responded to European drugs and technologies. Condensing several events into one scenario, even in response to a question, helps a speaker present himself or herself as a victim,[94] and being a victim was gendered. In Ugandan vampire stories, Africans were made powerless by drugs administered externally to the mouth and nose: anesthesia in general and chloroform in particular had a power and meaning far beyond its use by missionaries as "a means of winning the confidence and trust of the people."[95]

According to men, the *bazimamoto* "were capturing people and taking them someplace when they were unconscious." These drugs "could make their victims dull." "They had something like a drug that made them unconscious . . . [T]he victims could not know where they were coming from or where they were going." "These victims would come and sniff at caliform, then they would become sleepy and taken without noticing, and they would not know where they were going or where they were coming from." When someone was given "caliform . . . to sniff he could not escape, but only be unconsciously moving." Men would "become stupid." "They would bring you back when you were almost a dead person." "They collapsed on the walk back home because all their blood was taken."[96] A few men had a different tale to tell: "These victims were kept in a camp, and they were not paid for their blood but they were captives, forced to be there." Blood was taken "every three months, every four months."[97] Some men said women were the victims that *bazimamoto* preferred, since they had more blood than men but would not fight their captors as men did.[98]

Women for their part did not report long captivities but spoke of being driven to a place in Entebbe, the capital, where other victims were kept, "looking dormant and still." Women spoke of "masks smeared with drugs" that "smelled bad." "They had some rooms and some instruments like masks that they used to cover your mouth." These instruments made men "dull, or impotent" but women in particular "could not shout . . . , they could not talk again."[99]

[92] Interviews with Ssimbwa Jjuko, Luwaze, August 20, 1990; Yonasani Kaggwa, Katwe, August 27, 1990; Christopher Kawoya, Kasubi, August 17, 1990; Gregory Sseluwagi.

[93] Interviews with Abdullah Sonsomola; Yonasani Kaggwa. In Ankole in the 1950s, it was said that Sikhs captured Africans and took their blood. Author's fieldnotes, August 20, 1990.

[94] Shuman, " 'Outa My Face.' "

[95] Mrs. Ashton Bond, "Medical Work in Toro," *Mercy and Truth*, 16 (1912): 308.

[96] Interviews with Ssimbwa Jjuko; Joseph Nsubuga; Abdullah Sonsomola; Yonasani Kaggwa.

[97] Interviews with Joseph Nsubuga; Francis Kigozi; Yonasani Kaggwa; George Ggingo, Kasubi, August 15, 1990.

[98] Interviews with Yonasani Kaggwa; Ssimbwa Jjuko.

[99] Interviews with Bibiana Nalwanga, Bwaise, August 24, 1990; Julia Nakibuuka Nalongo, Lubya, August 21, 1990; Magarita Kalule, Masanafu, August 20, 1990.

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This evidence takes my discussion of anesthesia in two directions: the drug as medical practice and the drug that virtually takes on a life of its own in African popular culture.[100] The first has to do with the qualities of chloroform—the drug that puts people to sleep—and its administration, which was perhaps the least professionalized aspect of medicine in colonial Uganda. The actual work of administering chloroform was quite simple, one of the reasons it was preferred over ether in the nineteenth century: a gauze pad was placed over a patient's nose and drops of the drug were periodically put on the pad. In Uganda's rural hospitals, sweepers and orderlies were often called upon to administer the drug during routine operations.[101] Such practices blurred otherwise well-enforced hospital hierarchies, the rigidity of which could be communicated in stories of tools and extraction.[102] The second—why was the drug that put people to sleep so terrifying, and why was that form of the terror so gendered?—cannot be answered by asking questions about chloroform or its application. Such questions would shape answers that were about chloroform, not about African ideas about medical conditions or how they were caused.

What questions emerge from the formulaic quality of the evidence presented above, the smeared and sprayed drugs and the potent masks? I suggest these had profound meanings because these techniques of medicating replicated the techniques of variolation and the application of above-the-skin cures that the peoples of southern Uganda considered efficacious and powerful. The ability of chloroform to terrify and stupefy came in part from its application. But the drugs and cures that had such power could also be modified, by reconstituting a vaccination or repacking a wound with a more familiar substance. Interpreting *bazimamoto* stories as individual testimony, or as memory, however fantastic, would translate these terms into an individual's experience and medical history; it would not allow for this reading of "smearing" or "spraying."

But why the particular efficacies of silenced women and sickly men? I am hardly the first to see the gendered meanings in any new medical technique, particularly chloroform, produced beyond medical control, but ideas about "bandages on your mouth" silencing women are common in *bazimamoto* stories from Kenya as well.[103] The meaning of speech to East African women, and their specifically medicalized notions of how they were silenced, is not something easily understood.[104] Southern Uganda offers some provocative hints as to changing ideas

[100] Starting in the 1980s at the latest, there were commonplace East African urban legends in which thieves either sprayed or injected a drug into a home so they could steal all the contents while the occupants slept. People have told me that a syringe found in the recovered possessions was "proof" that these stories were true. Author's fieldnotes, *passim*. See also Donald M. Johnson, "The 'Phantom Anesthetist' of Mattoon: A Field Study in Mass Hysteria," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 40 (1945): 175–86.

[101] Mary Poovey, *Uneven Developments: The Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England* (Chicago, 1988), 26–29; A. J. Boase, "Reminiscences of Surgery in Uganda," *East African Medical Journal*, 31 (1954): 202; see also Alec Smith, *Insect Man: The Fight against Malaria* (London, 1993), 30.

[102] See White, "Cars Out of Place."

[103] Poovey, *Uneven Developments*, 50; see White, "Bodily Fluids," 425–31.

[104] This adds another dimension, at least, to the literature that argues that recuperating colonial women's voices is impossible (see especially Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in C. Nelson and L. Grossberg, eds., *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* [Urbana, Ill., 1988], 271–313) and to discussions of Victorian women silenced by the introduction of chloroform (see

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about the mouth; in Buganda, at least, how women spoke in public was determined by rank.[105] What is important here about "caliform," however, is what it does to the mind and to consciousness, as well as the different ways men and women articulate what the drug does. While injections remained an embodied practice that could cause leprosy—or plague, or influenza, or now AIDS[106]—the drug that "put them to sleep" became a medium of capture in and of itself. Moreover, injections were subcutaneous procedures: they may have been fearsome and fascinating because of what white people were able to take from those regions of the body. As a technique, injections may have been a reasonable cure for such a wide variety of maladies because of their association with the misfortunes and diseases of the modern era.

THIS ARTICLE ARGUES THAT a concept of "the voice," as a spoken rendition of experience, disembeds the speaker from social and embodied histories. Those histories might be recovered from the words and images, word plays and genres with which individuals speak. Thus this article probably ends where postcolonial colonial history might begin: in the gendered meanings of biomedical procedures first introduced in colonial times. Those regions of the skin articulated in nuns' stories of Africans repacking ulcer treatments and of Africans' stories of Africans sniffing at chloroform construct a new narrative in which ideas of curing and control are valued according to their embodied application as well as their medical results. The study of oral genres and missionary genres depicts a locale where African ideas about the application of medicine shaped a response to that medicine as well as a response to the European presentation of medical power. While the idea of anesthesia or fumigants as weapons of the most intimate colonial domination needs to be explored, this new story explains the meaning of injections as a powerful invasion below the skin that could change, for better or for worse, the surface of the body.

Poovey, *Uneven Developments*, 24–50, 164–98), but I would prefer to use these data to foreground women's own historical understanding of speaking and the ways this was controlled by colonial regimes, rather than as a way to problematize historians' access to colonized women's speech and consciousness. Chloroform was not used for childbirth in Uganda; see Summers, "Intimate Colonialism"; and A. R. Cook, *Uganda Memories*, 340.

[105] Royal women could use profanity in public, for example, while commoner women had to be demure. See Nakanyike Musisi, "Women, Elite Polygyny, and Buganda State Formation," *Signs*, 16 (1991): 759. It seems unlikely that Western medical practices introduced a concept of the mouth as separate from the body in southern Uganda, as happened elsewhere; see Sarah Nettleson, "Protecting a Vulnerable Margin: Towards an Analysis of How the Mouth Came to Be Separated from the Body," *Sociology of Health and Illness*, 10 (1988): 156–69; and Paul S. Landau, "Explaining Surgical Evangelism in Colonial Southern Africa: Teeth, Pain, and Faith," *Journal of African History*, 37 (1996), forthcoming. In Uganda, jawbones were the sacred relic of Ganda kings, although this had become contested terrain by the late nineteenth century. Royal jawbones and skulls may have undergone radical transformation in the charged royal politics of the colonial era; see Roscoe, *Baganda*, 110–14; and Ray, *Ritual and Kingship*, 114–23. Elsewhere in the region, commoners' mouths were sites of subcutaneous distress. See Brad Weiss, "Plastic Teeth Extraction: The Iconography of Haya Gastro-Sexual Affliction," *American Ethnologist*, 19 (1992): 538–52.

[106] See Arnold, *Colonizing the Body*, 221–22; H. Phillips, *"Black October": The Influence of the Spanish Influenza Epidemic of 1918 on South Africa* (Pretoria, 1991), 86; in Kenya recently, there were widespread fears that both street urchins and adults injected passers-by with AIDS-infected needles; see "Aids Injection Panic in City," *Standard* (May 15, 1993): 1; and " 'Aids Injection' Woman Seriously Hurt," *Standard* (August 17, 1993): 5.

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Lingua Populi, Lingua Dei: Language, Religion, and the Origins of French Revolutionary Nationalism

DAVID A. BELL

> Frairés, nou sen pas les mainatgés de l'esclabo, mes de la fenno libro, & acos Jesus Christ que nous a proucurat aquelo libertat: damourats dounc fermés, & bous tournets pas may bouta de noubel jouts le joug de l'esclabatgé.[1]

THE WORDS WERE THOSE OF the apostle Paul, in his Epistle to the Galatians, Chapters 4 and 5. The occasion was the festival of the Federation, staged on the first anniversary of the fall of the Bastille to symbolize the unity of the French people. The location was Saint-Ginest, a village bordering on the large southern French city of Toulouse. The speaker was Father Hyacinthe Sermet, here caught on the cusp between his first career as enlightened Old Regime monk and his second, more interesting one as revolutionary.

But what was the language? Linguists will identify it as the distinct Romance tongue, most closely related to French, Spanish, and Catalan, spoken by most inhabitants of Toulouse and its environs until the nineteenth century. But what to call it? The lack of a simple answer to this question itself testifies to the language's historically uncertain status. Sermet's listeners would probably have used the term "Moundi." Sermet himself probably preferred "Languedocien."[2] Modern linguists generally opt for "Occitan." Most French people, in the eighteenth century and since, would have simply said "patois." These terms define the language more or less narrowly, and they have different political implications as well. "Moundi" applies to the dialect of Toulouse and its environs alone, and in the eighteenth century it still bore a strong charge of municipal patriotism. "Languedocien," then and now a more academic term, designates the dialects of the French province of Languedoc. "Occitan," a modern coinage that has become a rallying

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[1] "So then, brethren, we are not children of the bondwoman but of the free. Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage." Antoine-Pascal-Hyacinthe Sermet, *Discours prounounçat dabant la legiou de Sant-Ginest, Pel R. P. Sermet, Exproubincial des Carmés Descaussés, Predicairé ourdinari del Rey, &c.* (Toulouse, 1790), 1, Bibliothèque Municipal de Toulouse (hereafter, B.M.T.), Réserve D^{xix} 134, no. 4.

[2] Hyacinthe Sermet, "Recherches historiques sur Goudouli, Pierre Helie et Madame la Présidente de Mansencal, Poètes Toulousains," in *Histoire et Mémoires de l'académie royale des sciences, inscriptions et belles-lettres de Toulouse* (Toulouse, 1790), 225–42.

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DISCOURS

PROUNOUNÇAT le 14 Juillet 1790, à l'houro de mietjon, en preſenço de la Municipalitat & de la Legiou de SANT-GINEST, à l'ouccaſiou de la Federatiou generalo,

Pel R. P. HYACINTHO SERMET,

Exproubincial des Carmés Deſcauſſés, Predicairé ourdinari del Rey, de l'Academio Rouyalo de las Scienços, Inſcriptious & Belos-Lettros de Toulouſo, d'aquelo de Mountalba, & Aumounié de la Legiou de Sant Gineſt, dins le Cantou de Bruyeros & le Diſtrict de Toulouſo.

Fratres, non ſumus filii ancillæ, ſed liberæ, quâ libertate Chriſtus nos liberavit. State & nolite iterum ſervitutis jugo contineri. Gal. c. 4, v. 31, & c. 5, v. 1.

Frairés, nou ſen pas les mainatgés de l'eſclabo, mes de la fenno libro, & acos Jeſus Chriſt que nous a proucurat aquelo libertat : damourats dounc fermés, & bous tournets pas may bouta de noubel jouts le joug de l'eſclabatgé.

JAMAY nou debignayots, mous efans, & brabés Camarados, à qui l'Apouſtoul Sent-Pol, le plus grand des Predicairés

A

Printed version of Hyacinthe Sermet's address in Occitan for the *Fète de la federation* (1790). Courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale de Toulouse.

cry for modern advocates of southern French autonomy, applies to the dialects of southern France as a whole, which use "oc" instead of "oui" for "yes."[3] As for "patois," originally derived from the word *patte,* an animal's paw, it carries more

[3] Designating the languages of northern and southern France by their words for "yes"—"langue d'oïl," "langue d'oc" (hence, incidentally, the name of the province)— dates back at least as far as Dante, who also spoke of a "lingua di si": Tuscan. See Jacques Monfrin, "Les parlers en France," in M. François, ed., *La France et les français* (Paris, 1972), 755.

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than a whiff of the farmyard, suggesting a half-formed, earthy, unsophisticated language, caught part way between animal grunts and true human speech, a language of people not suited for political participation. It refers to most, and sometimes all, of the many provincial languages and dialects spoken in France.[4]

Today, disagreements over Sermet's language have faded in importance, along with the language itself. At the end of the twentieth century, it has only a small and steadily declining number of speakers. The same is true for all of France's historical minority languages: the variants of French once spoken outside the Parisian basin and the Loire valley, the variants of Occitan spoken throughout the southern third of the country (including Gascon and Provençal), and the mostly non-Romance languages spoken around the periphery (Breton, Flemish, German, Italian, Catalan, and Basque). During the French Revolution, however, these languages were still the dominant vernaculars of their regions, and the language question potentially mattered a great deal. For Sermet, who had preached before the king at Versailles, using the common language of Toulouse instead of French in his July 14 sermon was a significant political act, and having the sermon printed, in no fewer than four different cities, was an even more significant one.[5] For the revolutionary governments, France's multiplicity of languages became a political issue as early as January of 1790. In 1794, the Jacobins began a campaign to eradicate patois entirely and make the French language uniform throughout the Republic. The Jacobin Bertrand Barère, himself originally from an Occitan area, put the matter starkly in a report to the National Convention: "The language of a free people must be one and the same for all."[6]

These revolutionary-era policies on language mark a symbolic turning point in the history of France as a nation and more generally in the history of modern nationalism. In the French Revolution, for the first time, large numbers of the French came to draw the common modern equation between the legal category of nationality and the cultural fact of language.[7] To be sure, this equation has several different possible forms. The French revolutionaries wanted to make all citizens of their state into speakers of their language, but—unlike German and East European nationalists of the nineteenth century—they cared less about making all the speakers of their language (including those outside their borders) into citizens of their state. They did not consider language a primordial, determining

[4] Which languages qualified as "patois" is not always clear—perhaps inherently so, given the dismissive meaning the word generally carries. Sometimes it extends to non-Romance languages, sometimes not. Sometimes it covers non-French "standard" vernaculars, and sometimes not. In his 1785 French-Provençal dictionary, the doctor Claude-François Achard wrote on one page, "our patois is Provençal," but on another, "Provençal should not be seen as a patois." See René Merle, *L'écriture du provençal de 1775 à 1840: Inventaire du texte occitan, publié ou manuscrit, dans la zone culturelle provençale et ses franges* (Beziers, 1990), 174. On the etymology of "patois," see Monfrin, "Les parlers en France," 766. On the history of the various southern French dialects, see Charles Camproux, *Histoire de la littérature occitane* (Paris, 1953).

[5] For a detailed publishing history, see Henri Boyer, Georges Fournier, *et al.*, *Le texte occitan de la période révolutionnaire: Inventaire, approches, lectures* (Montpellier, 1989), 149–51.

[6] Barère's report is reprinted in Michel de Certeau, Dominique Julia, and Jacques Revel, *Une politique de la langue: La Révolution française et les patois* (Paris, 1975), 292–99, quote from 297.

[7] Of course, the legal category of nationality was itself still evolving during this period. See the recent interpretations of Charlotte C. Wells, *Law and Citizenship in Early Modern France* (Baltimore, Md., 1994); and Peter Sahlins, "Fictions of a Catholic France: The Naturalization of Foreigners, 1685–1787," *Representations*, 47 (1994): 85–110.

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element of national character but, rather, a sign of full assimilation into a community created on the basis of political will.[8] Yet their version of the equation has become a defining feature of French nationalism even to the present day and has influenced many other nationalist movements as well. While the plans outlined in 1794 were never fully implemented (indeed, they never became a true priority for the revolutionary government), they found their way into the educational policies of later French regimes, particularly the Third Republic, thereby hastening the decline of the regional languages.[9]

[8] See Rogers Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992), 8. See also Daniel Fabre, "Proverbes, contes et chansons," in Pierre Nora, ed., *Les lieux de mémoire*, Part 3 ("Les France"), 3 vols. (Paris, 1993), 613–39, esp. 636, for interesting reflections on the French reluctance to make language and folklore the heart of an ethnic identity.

[9] Patrice Higonnet, "The Politics of Linguistic Terrorism and Grammatical Hegemony during the French Revolution," *Social History*, 5 (1980): 41–69, has made the challenging argument that the language policies are best seen as a sort of "ideological compensation" for Jacobins who could not bear to confront the contradiction between bourgeois property rights and sans-culotte calls for social equality. Martin Lyons, "Politics and Patois: The Linguistic Policy of the French Revolution,"

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Many different explanations have been offered for how and why the French first came to draw this equation between language and nationality and to see it as "natural." According to the revolutionaries themselves, and also to many scholars sympathetic to their aims, the explanation lies essentially in the demands of revolutionary democracy.[10] After all, how could the French cooperate in government if they could not even speak to each other? Regionalist militants, by contrast, have preferred to treat the revolutionary policies simply as a more advanced stage in the "colonization" of France by Paris, a process they date to the formation of the French kingdom in the Middle Ages.[11] More sophisticated cultural explanations are also available. Three distinguished French historians, Michel de Certeau, Dominique Julia, and Jacques Revel, have used the language issue to draw a stark and compelling portrait of how the revolution, in effect, brought two cultures into collision.[12] On the one hand, they argue, stood educated, cosmopolitan, French-speaking local elites connected to Paris through a thick network of periodicals, professional correspondence, and the ties fostered by provincial academies. On the other stood a largely illiterate, patois-speaking peasant world. In the eighteenth century, members of the learned elite had started to treat the peasants as the subject of proto-anthropological inquiry, representing them as primitive and wild, their languages as unsuited by nature to abstract reasoning.[13] In the revolution, this program of study became a program of action to domesticate the "savages" of deepest France. Additionally, the desire to reform language can be seen as fitting naturally into the broad Jacobin project of promoting cultural uniformity in many different areas, from dress to measurements to the calendar to civic festivals. The historian Mona Ozouf has strikingly described the project as an attempted "homogenization of mankind."[14]

More generally, two prominent social scientists have recently and eloquently placed the equation between language and nationality at the heart of the

Australian Journal of French Studies, 18 (1981): 264–81, has also stressed the marginal importance of the policies to the revolutionary regime. Still, the fact that the policies had crucial long-term effects on modern conceptions of French nationhood is confirmed by the most important works on the subject: Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France* (Stanford, Calif., 1976), esp. 67–94; Peter Sahlins, *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Berkeley, Calif., 1989), esp. 166–67, 261–66; and Caroline Ford, *Creating the Nation in Provincial France: Religion and Political Identity in Brittany* (Princeton, N.J., 1993), esp. 12–17. On the influence of the policies outside of France, see R. D. Grillo, *Dominant Languages: Language and Hierarchy in Britain and France* (Cambridge, 1989), 42; Lorenzo Renzi, *La politica linguistica della rivoluzione francese* (Naples, 1981), 171–74.

[10] See especially Ferdinand Brunot, *et al.*, *Histoire de la langue française, des origines à 1900*, 13 vols. (Paris, 1905–53). On the revolutionary policies, see vol. 9, part 1.

[11] See, for instance, André Armengaud and Robert Lafont, eds., *Histoire de l'Occitanie* (Paris, 1979); Suzanne Citron, *Le mythe nationale: L'histoire de France en question* (Paris, 1987).

[12] In *Une politique de la langue.*

[13] While the French Enlightenment did not engender any projects for linguistic unification before 1789, its linguistic theory did consider patois, in Condillac's phrase, an "obstacle to the progress of the mind" and therefore presumably unsuitable for political participation. Etienne Bonnot de Condillac, *Essai sur l'origine des connaissances humaines*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1746), 2: 207. An excellent summary of Enlightenment linguistic theory as it applied to patois can be found in de Certeau, Julia, and Revel, *Une politique de la langue*, 61–98.

[14] Mona Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988), 279. On the attempt to create a new, uniform revolutionary culture, see Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Culture and Class in the French Revolution* (Berkeley, Calif., 1984), esp. 52–86.

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long-term social processes by which nationalism and the nation-state were themselves "invented" or "imagined" at the start of the modern era. Ernest Gellner has stressed the need of industrializing states for large, well-educated, versatile, and thus largely interchangeable work forces: thence, he believes, the drive to create uniform "national" languages and cultures.[15] In a different vein, Benedict Anderson has pointed to the decline of universal religions, which had previously elevated sacred scriptural languages above all others, and to the rise of print capitalism, which now demanded large numbers of consumers capable of reading the same text and also allowed for the rapid diffusion of news among them, as key developments in the emergence of national "imagined communities."[16]

These various approaches, different but not necessarily contradictory, have one feature in common. They depict the language policies of the revolution as intrusions by the state or urban society into largely illiterate rural communities that had previously existed, so to speak, in a linguistic state of nature. With the exception of the regionalist militants (who see an ideology of northern imperialism fully in place at the time of the Crusades), they assume that before the revolution there existed a congeries of dialects evolving slowly, naturally, as they had done for centuries, and that during and after the revolution, this pattern of natural evolution was broken. The reformers were attempting to impose order on chaos, reason on emotion, society on nature. As de Certeau put it, they were trying to write on the very soil of France.[17]

In this essay, I will offer a fresh interpretation of the revolutionary engagement with linguistic diversity that challenges this common assumption and, more broadly, suggests a new way of looking at both the cultural program of the revolution and the historical relationship between language and nationality.[18] Drawing on material in the regional languages (much of it newly catalogued during the recent bicentennial of the French Revolution), I will focus on a crucial element of the story that has, until now, been largely neglected: religion. I will argue that although the revolutionaries themselves framed the problem of a national language entirely as a political one, in fact their attempts both to promote the local languages (as Sermet did) and combat them (as Barère did) cannot be extricated from the debates over religion that convulsed France during these years. And this is not surprising, because before 1789 it was clerics, rather

[15] Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford, 1983).

[16] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1983). Such short summaries cannot do justice to either Gellner or Anderson's subtle and thought-provoking books. Nor do I have the space here to go beyond these works, which are most apposite for this article, to the large and growing literature on the subject of nationalism. For two important works taking very different approaches from these, see Elie Kedourie, *Nationalism* (New York, 1960); and Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford, 1986).

[17] De Certeau, Julia, and Revel, *Une politique de la langue*, 157.

[18] In thinking about these problems, I have been particularly helped by Pierre Bourdieu's analysis of the ways standard languages, while seemingly natural and devoid of ideological content, in fact are instrumental in the maintenance of cultural authority. See Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson, trans. (Oxford, 1991). Although Bourdieu is concerned with the workings of a single, dominant standard language, his observations are also useful for making sense out of a situation in which language is contested (as it was, I will argue, in the revolution) and becomes both an arena for and an expression of ideological conflict.

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than the government, or even language theorists, who had principally concerned themselves with the practical questions raised by linguistic diversity. Indeed, far from leaving the countryside in a linguistic state of nature, the Catholic church had, since the sixteenth century, carried out what amounted to its own linguistic policies among the peasants. The revolutionary policies did not take shape in a vacuum but, rather, in imitation of and in reaction to these earlier efforts, thereby transforming a religious issue into a political one—and a nationalist one. Benedict Anderson has fruitfully speculated on the way modern nationalism arose out of, and in opposition to, predominantly religious cultural systems. Even he, however, still treats nationalism essentially as the product of a secular, capitalist modernity.[19] The revolutionary experiments with language not only show a direct and specific connection between French nationalism and the nation's earlier religious experience but also reveal how changes within the religious sphere, as much as the shriveling of this sphere in the face of secularization and capitalism, made it possible for the French to form themselves into a nation in the way they did.[20]

My analysis will begin by briefly summarizing the situation of the local languages in relation to secular society before 1789 and outlining the development of language policies during the revolution. It will then analyze the revolutionary events more closely, to demonstrate the continuous interweaving of linguistic and religious concerns. Here, it will focus first on the attempts of figures like Sermet to use the local languages as a means of propagating revolutionary doctrine, then on the campaign to suppress the local languages altogether during the Terror. Finally, the essay will return to the Old Regime and examine the church's role in the history of linguistic diversity, so as to place the revolutionary policies and, more broadly, revolutionary nationalism itself in the context of religious changes stretching back to the Reformation.

THE EXACT EXTENT OF FRANCE'S LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY before the revolution is impossible to measure. There are no early modern equivalents to the nineteenth-century statistical surveys that Eugen Weber drew on for his pioneering work *Peasants into Frenchmen* (1976). The archives, except in newly annexed areas such as Alsace and Roussillon, where the local speech had previously enjoyed official status, barely acknowledge the fact of linguistic diversity at all.[21] Still, the wealth of information collected by the great Third Republic linguist Ferdinand Brunot makes clear that the barriers presented a serious obstacle to social mobility on the

[19] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 18–20.

[20] The importance of considering the interplay of religion and politics in the revolution, particularly in the formation of revolutionary culture, has been stated forcefully in Suzanne Desan, *Reclaiming the Sacred: Lay Religion and Popular Piety in Revolutionary France* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1990). For interesting reflections on the way religious conflicts shaped the later development of French national identity, see Ford, *Creating the Nation*, 220–30.

[21] Yves Castan illustrates the near impossibility of teasing information on the subject out of the archives in "Les languedociens du 18^{e} siècle et l'obstacle de la langue écrite," *96ème Congrès national des Sociétés savantes, Toulouse, 1971: Section d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* (Paris, 1976), 1: 73–84. See also the work of A. Brun, *Recherches historiques sur l'introduction du français dans les provinces du midi* (Paris, 1923), esp. 464. Weber's *Peasants into Frenchmen*, esp. 67–94, remains of basic importance on the subject of linguistic diversity.

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part of large numbers of eighteenth-century peasants and artisans—at a rough estimate, perhaps half the subjects of the king.[22] Many more people used standard French only in writing or in oral situations that called for a degree of formality.[23] In this respect, early modern France was typical of most European countries before the twentieth century.[24]

This linguistic diversity struck few lay people as a problem before 1789. (Clerics were a different matter, as we shall see.) The kings, although they promoted French as a learned language and tried to associate its glory with their own, gave relatively little attention to the speech of their humbler subjects. François I's Edict of Villers-Cotterêts in 1539, which ordered that all judicial and administrative documents be written "in the maternal French language," originally had more to do with reducing the role of Latin in public life than with propagating Parisian French in the provinces.[25] While it did help establish the preeminent place of French in public life, it did not—despite the claims of regional militants—reflect any intention to eliminate the local languages as spoken vernaculars, or even as printed ones. Occitan verse, particularly the work of Toulouse's brilliant Baroque poet Pèire Godolin, stayed in print throughout the seventeenth century, and Alsace sheltered a vibrant German publishing trade until the revolution.[26] In fact, the idea that language could be altered by legislative fiat remained largely unimaginable for most of the French. "There is no Power capable of reforming manners of speech consecrated by usage," wrote the priest and magistrate François-Ignace Espiard de la Borde in a typical statement from 1743.[27] Other authors made much the same point by recounting an anecdote about a Roman emperor who failed in his bid to legislate new words into Latin.[28] Although many

[22] Brunot's *Histoire de la langue française* remains absolutely fundamental for an understanding of France's linguistic history. On the question of the local languages, see vols. 5, 7, 9.

[23] Sociolinguists give to this situation the term "diglossia." See, for instance, C. A. Ferguson, "Diglossia," in J. Gumperz, *Discourse Strategies* (Cambridge, 1982).

[24] For interesting general reflections on the subject, see Jonathan Steinberg, "The Historian and the *questione della lingua*," in Peter Burke and Roy Porter, eds., *The Social History of Language* (Cambridge, 1987), 198–209.

[25] The best scholarship on Villers-Cotterêts does not bear out the claims of linguistic imperialism. See Henri Peyre, *La royauté et les langues provinciales* (Paris, 1933), 58–91; Danielle Trudeau, "L'ordonnance de Villers-Cotterêts et la langue française: Histoire ou interprétation," *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et Renaissance*, 45 (1983): 461–72. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the crown made several further attempts to impose the administrative use of French (edicts were issued for Béarn [1620], Flanders [1684], Alsace [1685], Roussillon [1700], and Lorraine [1748]). But these measures applied only to areas recently annexed to France, where, unlike in Brittany and the Occitan regions, even the wealthier bourgeois and nobles generally did not speak French, thus making the new provinces seem far more "foreign" to their new rulers. See Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, vols. 5 and 7, *passim*; Peyre, *La royauté*, 55; Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, "Les minorités périphériques: Intégration et conflits," in Jacques Revel and André Burguière, eds., *Histoire de la France*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1986–93), 3: 455–630, esp. 623–27; A. Brun, *L'introduction de la langue française en Béarn et en Roussillon* (Paris, 1923). In Brittany, French had served as the official language since the eleventh century.

[26] On Occitan, see the important work of Robert Schneider, *Public Life in Toulouse, 1463–1789: From Municipal Republic to Cosmopolitan City* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1989), esp. 155–63. See also Philippe Gardy, ed., *Pèire Godolin: Le Ramelet mondin et autres oeuvres* (Aix-en-Provence, 1984). On Alsatian publishing, see Franklin Ford, *Strasbourg in Transition, 1648–1789* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), 207–34.

[27] [François-Ignace Espiard de la Borde], *Essais sur le génie et le caractère des nations, divisé en six livres*, 3 vols. (Brussels, 1743), vol. 2, book 5 (separate pagination), p. 63. The book was published in several later and modified editions under a variety of titles, including *L'esprit des nations*.

[28] Various examples are given by Hélène Merlin, "Langue et souveraineté en France au XVII[e]

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writers sought to glorify and promote French, they saw it competing principally against other literary languages, not patois.[29] A few isolated works did call for the elimination of patois, but they had little resonance, even in the torrent of treatises on educational reform that appeared at the end of the Old Regime.[30]

It did not take legislation, however, to render the position of the local languages distinctly marginal in secular society. By 1789, increasing communications and literacy, the rising availability of printed matter, the prestige of the royal court, and the integration of urban elites throughout the country had all markedly influenced linguistic practices. French now reigned unchallenged in nearly all print media, in courtrooms and administrations, in the drawing rooms of educated bourgeois and nobles, and throughout most French cities (at least outside of German-speaking Alsace, whose thriving literary societies had recently embraced the Sturm und Drang movement and which generally constitutes an exception to the French pattern in matters linguistic).[31] The local languages now found few defenders, while their canonical literary works had either been forgotten or were treated as "burlesque" merely by virtue of their language. (Molière found patois speakers naturally comic, most notably in *Monsieur de Pourceaugnac*, 1669).[32] In most regions, their use in print now served principally to mark a piece of writing as carnivalesque, capable of expressing meanings not permitted by the conventions of "polite" usage without necessarily crossing into the territory of the obscene and forbidden. In this, it resembled the fishwives'

siècle: La production autonome d'un corps de langage," *Annales: Histoires, sciences sociales*, 49 (1994): 369–94, esp. 384–85.

[29] On these works, see most recently Marc Fumaroli, "Le génie de la langue française," in Nora, ed., *Les lieux de mémoire*, part 3, vol. 3: 911–73.

[30] I have found only two projects for linguistic unification before the late 1780s: one by the educational reformer Vallange, in *Nouveau système* (Vol. 2 of *Nouveaux systèmes ou Nouveaux plans de méthode*) (Paris, 1719), 178–79; and one by Nicolas Legras, sponsor of a royal academy and school in the town of Richelieu, in *Académie royale de Richelieu* (n.p., 1642), 59, 77. (Legras was most concerned with the language of the nobility.) On educational reform, particularly as it applied to the peasants, see Harvey Chisick, *The Limits of Reform in the Enlightenment: Attitudes toward the Education of the Lower Classes in Eighteenth-Century France* (Princeton, N.J., 1981). Even treatment of peasant education rarely raised the linguistic question.

[31] For a useful, if dated, survey of these trends, see Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, 7: 183–232. On the special case of Alsace, see Paul Lévy, *Histoire linguistique d'Alsace et de Lorraine*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1929). The essentially monolingual German character of Alsace outside Strasbourg and Colmar and the persistence of strong German-language literary traditions separate it so strongly from the rest of France that I will not dwell heavily on it here. I have analyzed the case elsewhere, in David A. Bell, "Nation-Building and Cultural Particularism in Eighteenth-Century France: The Case of Alsace," *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 21 (1988): 472–90.

[32] Generations of "occitanistes" have tried to find predecessors for the writers of the "southern Renaissance" of the nineteenth century, across whom they might build a bridge of national continuity back toward the troubadors. Yet despite their determination, they have failed to find more than a handful of (distinctly minor) literary figures for the eighteenth century. For the most recent and sophisticated perspectives, see Boyer, *et al.*, *Le texte occitan*; Merle, *L'écriture du provençal*; Philippe Martel, ed., *L'invention du midi: Représentations du Sud pendant la période révolutionnaire*, published as nos. 15–16 of *Amiras, repères occitans* (1987); Geneviève Vermès and Josiane Boutet, eds., *France: Pays multilangue*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1987); Henri Boyer and Philippe Gardy, eds., *La question linguistique au sud au moment de la Révolution française*, published as *Lengas: Revue de sociolinguistique*, nos. 17–18 (1985); Maurice Agulhon, ed., *La révolution vécue par la province: Mentalités et expressions populaires en Occitanie* (Beziers, 1990); *Révolution Contre-Révolution: Le texte dialectal de la période révolutionnaire: Provence, Bas-Languedoc oriental, Dauphiné*, published as *Cahiers critiques du patrimoine*, no. 2 (1986).

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argot of Paris (*poissarde*).[33] Overall, by the eighteenth century, the marginalization of the local languages had gone so far that most educated contemporaries simply ignored them altogether, including noted travelers such as Arthur Young and the officials who compiled the grand survey *L'état de la France* under Louis XIV.[34] In 1790 in the National Assembly, the comte de Mirabeau could speak casually of France as "a nation of twenty-four million people speaking the same language."[35]

This disdain for, or even blindness to, the country's diversity had strong underpinnings in prevailing linguistic theory. In the seventeenth century, a series of grammarians, particularly Claude Favre de Vaugelas, had defined "correct" speech by the usage of the royal court and banished everything else to the coldest circles of linguistic hell. The speaking of non-French languages did not necessarily denote "foreignness" but certainly cast the speaker beyond the social pale.[36] In the case of the numerous Occitan dialects, moreover, rather than accord these tongues any autonomy, observers generally dismissed them as nothing more than corrupt and infinitely variable versions of French itself. In the late eighteenth century, a number of scholars did begin to turn these patois into objects of learned reflection, glimpsing in them stable remnants of Europe's older, more "primitive" tongues.[37] More often, however, the earlier attitudes prevailed, notably in Antoine Rivarol's influential 1784 essay, *The Universality of the French Language*, and in the *Encyclopédie*.[38]

Even at the start of the revolution, concern about linguistic diversity remained almost nil among France's secular elites. The grievance petitions (*cahiers de*

[33] Philippe Gardy, "Les modèles d'écriture: Ruptures et continuités," in Boyer, *et al.*, *Le texte occitan*, 473–516. On the fishwives, see the forthcoming study by René Marion.

[34] See Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, 7: 302; Brun, *Recherches historiques*, 437. The Académie Française, in its dictionary, defined a "nation" (in which category it included France) as "the inhabitants of a common country, who live under the same laws, and use the same language." *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1694), 2: 110.

[35] *Réimpression de l'ancien Moniteur*, 32 vols. (Paris, 1847), 5: 480 (August 25, 1790). Many other similar examples could be adduced, most strikingly from the debates on the annexation of the (largely Occitan-speaking) French papal territories. See Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, 9: pt. 1, p. 8.

[36] Norbert Elias once summarized the attitude as follows: "A small circle of people is versed in this delicacy of language; to speak as they do is to speak correctly. What the others say does not count." Elias, *The History of Manners: The Civilizing Process*, Edmund Jephcott, trans., 2 vols. (New York, 1978), 1: 112. See also Merlin, "Langue et souveraineté," 381. Compare Claude Favre de Vaugelas, *Remarques sur la langue françoise, utiles à ceux qui veulent bien parler et bien écrire* (Paris, 1647).

[37] The best examples are Claude-François Achard, *Dictionnaire de la Provence et du comtat Venaissin*, 4 vols. (Marseille, 1785); Jérémie-Jacques Oberlin, *Essai sur le patois lorrain* (Strasbourg, 1775); and, in a more theoretical vein, Antoine Court de Gébelin, *Le monde primitif analysé et comparé avec le monde moderne* (Paris, 1778). On the general phenomenon, see Jacques Revel, "Forms of Expertise: Intellectuals and 'Popular' Culture in France (1650–1800)," in Steven L. Kaplan, ed., *Understanding Popular Culture: Europe from the Middle Ages to the 19th Century* (Berlin, 1984), 255–73.

[38] In France, Rivarol wrote, "the patois are abandoned to the provinces, and it is on them that the common people inflict their whims. The national language is safe from their attacks." Antoine Rivarol, *De l'universalité de la langue française* (Paris, 1991), 17. For a cogent analysis of the chevalier Jaucourt's contribution to the *Encyclopédie* on language, see Pierre Achard, "Mise en ordre de la langue de raison: L'état et le français," in Max-Peter Gruenais, ed., *Etats de langue: Peut-on penser une politique linguistique?* (Paris, 1986), 51–83. Even a prominent defender of Provençal claimed in the 1780s that the language had become "nothing more than a mix of Provençalized French words." See Charles-François Bouche, cited in Merle, *L'écriture du provençal*, 189. As late as 1793, Lequinio, a visiting representative of the Convention, referred to patois casually as "depravations of the mother tongue." Cited in Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, 9: pt. 1, p. 198. In fact, Occitan remained—and remains today—grammatically distinct from French.

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doléances) drawn up in 1788 and 1789 barely mentioned the subject.[39] A prominent article in the *Mercure national* in 1790, which demanded a wholesale reform of language, in fact meant by this little more than the removal of "aristocratic" forms of politeness from French.[40] Consider also a 1789 or 1790 pamphlet called *Three Motions of a Gascon Deputy*, which proposed sending members of the Académie Française into the countryside to help remove all differences of language and accent among the citizenry. "What good will it have done to eliminate the divisions of the provinces," it asked, "as long as one can say, from someone's first phrase, *this person is Provençal and that one is Picard?*"[41] The proposal sounds radical, but the pamphlet was a humorous one, a witty satire on the advanced revolutionaries' calls for social equality. The anonymous author also proposed to reduce radically the number of last names in France and to nourish all children exclusively with a special "patriotic bouillon" so as to render them virtually identical.

AS WITH MANY THINGS during the French Revolution, what was material for satire one year became grist for policy in another. "We no longer have provinces, but we have thirty patois that recall their names," wrote Abbé Henri Grégoire in a 1794 report adopted by the National Convention. Grégoire also repeated the old anecdote about the Roman emperor who tried to legislate on language but, with aplomb, turned it on its head: "A tyrant of Rome once wished to introduce a new word; he failed, because the legislation of languages was always democratic."[42] Indeed, by 1794, democratic legislation that was aimed at making French the sole language of all French citizens had become the order of the day.[43]

In the first years of the revolution, attention to multilingualism came mostly from the non–French-speaking regions themselves. True, the National Assembly, spurred by complaints that some citizens could not follow its decisions about the redrawing of France's administrative maps, did vote in early 1790 to translate all new laws and decrees into the various regional tongues. Following this moment of

[39] Beatrice Fry Hyslop, *French Nationalism in 1789 according to the General Cahiers* (New York, 1934), 47–49.

[40] "Sur l'influence des mots et le pouvoir de l'usage," by "C. B., homme libre," in *Mercure national et révolutions de l'Europe, Journal démocratique*, no. 47 (December 14, 1789): 1813–18.

[41] *Trois motions inconnues d'un député Gascon, ou Les Gasconnades patriotiques* (n.p. [1789–90]), 22, italics in original.

[42] Henri Grégoire, "Rapport sur la nécessité et les moyens d'anéantir les patois et d'universaliser l'usage de la langue française" (1794), rpt. in Augustin Gazier, ed., *Lettres à Grégoire sur les patois de France* (Paris, 1880), 292, 314.

[43] In addition to the books and articles already noted, earlier work on the language question in the revolution includes Renée Balibar and Dominique Laporte, *Le Français national: Politique et pratiques de la langue nationale sous la révolution française* (Paris, 1974); Peter Flaherty, "*Langue nationale/Langue naturelle:* The Politics of Linguistic Uniformity during the French Revolution," *Historical Reflections/ Réflexions historiques*, 14 (1987): 311–28; Martin Lyons, "Regional and Linguistic Conformity in the French Revolution," in Alan Forrest and Peter Jones, eds., *Reshaping France: Town, Country and Region during the French Revolution* (Manchester, 1991), 179–92; Pierre Achard, "History and the Politics of Language in France: A Review Essay," *History Workshop Journal*, 10 (1980): 175–83; and Jacques Guilhaumou, *La langue politique et la Révolution française: De l'événement à la raison linguistique* (Paris, 1989). In *Mots*, no. 16 (1988): 177–90, Guilhaumou gives a bibliography on the subject, heavily weighted toward his own linguistics-oriented approach. Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, 9: pt. 1, gives an extensive and useful bibliography of earlier works.

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enthusiasm, however, it passed on to other business, and despite the zeal of volunteer translators (angling in most cases for high salaries) the policy went into operation only fitfully, and hardly any printed translations appeared.[44] In the provinces, however, local authorities, notables, and the expanding network of Jacobin clubs combined to sponsor what can fairly be called a minor Renaissance of French regional tongues in 1790–1792. The department of Finistère organized the translation and printing of at least thirty laws in Breton.[45] A well-known Provençal antiquarian translated the Constitution of 1791 at his own expense and had it published by the Imprimerie Nationale.[46] Clubs in non–French-speaking areas, while generally deliberating in French themselves, commonly organized public sessions at which members would orally translate new laws and newspapers into the local language.[47] In the south, they also sponsored original speeches in patois for the benefit of the local population and subsidized dialectical publications, to which counter-revolutionary authors responded in kind.[48] In fact, over two hundred printed Occitan songs, poems, and pamphlets appeared between 1788 and 1800 (admittedly, this amounted to less than 1 percent of total revolutionary production).[49] Far fewer items appeared in Breton, Basque, and the

[44] The Assembly never allocated the necessary resources and personnel. However, officials in what would soon become the Ministry of Justice, unsure of how to proceed, did hire several volunteers (but deferred their payment). Brunot and other historians of revolutionary linguistic policies, perhaps placing too much faith in the efficacy of revolutionary government, thus argue that the Assembly actively pursued a "translation policy." Yet the archival evidence makes clear that the initiative came almost entirely from without, for instance, the offers of service from a secretary of the department of the Bas-Rhin, lawyers in Pau and Istaritz, the Société des Amis de la Constitution de Bayonne on behalf of a local priest, a schoolteacher in Corsica, and several others, nearly all of which include requests for payments. Archives Nationales (hereafter, A.N.), AA 32, fols. 7, 15, 22, 24, 31. A volunteer named Dugas, an editor on Barère's *Le point du jour*, organized a translation workshop for the Occitan dialects, producing many manuscript volumes, but ministry officials found the project unsatisfactory, and in any case the collapse of the monarchy rendered the documents obsolete before they could be printed (A.N., AA 32, *passim*). In 1792, the Convention formed a committee to study translations; they confirmed the 1790 decree, but the practical result was again essentially nil, although a few representatives of the Convention did produce bilingual notices and posters on their own initiative. See Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, 9: pt. 1, pp. 155–62; Dentzel, *Rapport et projet de décret faits au nom de la commission de traduction, par le citoyen Dentzel, de Landau* (Paris, 1792). See also Brigitte Schlieben-Lange, "La politique des traductions," *Lengas*, no. 17 (1985): 97–126.

[45] Daniel Bernard, "La révolution française et la langue bretonne," *Annales de Bretagne*, 28 (1912–13): 287–331. The laws mostly dealt with forest rights and tax collection.

[46] Charles-François Bouche, *La constitution française, traduite, conformément aux Decréts de l'Assemblée-nationale-constituante, en langue provençale, et présentée à l'Assemblée-nationale-législative* (Paris, 1792).

[47] For instance, de Certeau, Julia, and Revel, *Une politique de la langue*, 280, for the club of Strasbourg; Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, 9: pt. 1, p. 66, for the club of Apt; Merle, *L'écriture du provençal*, 295, for the club of Aix; Emile Coornaert, *La Flandre française de langue flamande* (Paris, 1969), 266, for clubs in Flanders.

[48] For instance, see Jean-Marie-Charles Garres, *Rasounomens, pensados & refflectious, d'un boun Pagés des embirouns de Toulouso* (Toulouse, 1791), 24, B.M.T., Réserve D^{xix} 134, no. 19; Claude Mauron and François-Xavier Emmanuelli, eds., *Textes politiques de l'époque révolutionnaire en langue provençale* (Saint-Rémy-de-Provence, 1986), 41–42, 64–71; Merle, *L'écriture du provençal*, 305; Georges Fournier, "La production toulousaine," in Boyer, *et al.*, *Le texte occitan*, 391–97. Although nearly all club registers are in French, there is evidence that the oral deliberations sometimes took place in the dialect. See, for instance, Dominique Villar to Grégoire, 7 Messidor II, Bibliothèque Nationale (hereafter, B.N.), Cabinet des Manuscrits, nouvelles acquisitions françaises (hereafter, n.a.f.), 2798 (responses to the questionnaire by Grégoire), fol. 70r.

[49] For a survey of patois literature in the revolution, see Philippe Martel, "Les textes occitans de la période révolutionnaire: Un peu de géographie," in Boyer, *et al.*, *Le texte occitan*, 219–23. The Boyer volume contains a detailed inventory of the Occitan texts (42–161). While some of the texts were apparently meant as "burlesque" amusement for French-speaking readers, many seem (by internal

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northern French dialects. In Alsace, however, a strong tradition of German-language publishing continued, with thousands of items published, including a weekly newspaper aimed at "artisans and peasants."[50]

Even as these hundred flowers were blooming, though, in Paris some revolutionaries had begun to see linguistic diversity as a curse. The key figure was Grégoire, the champion of civil rights for Jews, who had already condemned linguistic diversity in 1789. At the very onset of the revolution, he blamed rural resistance to the revolution on ignorance of French, claiming that southwestern peasants were confusing the decrees (*décrets*) of the revolutionary National Assembly with the Old Regime's arrest orders (*décrets de prise de corps*). In 1790, he sent out to a wide audience a questionnaire "concerning patois and the customs of the people of the countryside," receiving at least sixty detailed responses. Over the next three years, as his revolutionary career flourished, he made frequent calls for the nation's linguistic unification.[51] Several legislative reports on education, including one by Talleyrand, and numerous pamphlets and newspaper articles concurred.[52] They termed linguistic diversity a barrier to social equality, contrasted the success of the French language in European courts to its failure at home, and denounced the translation of laws as cumbersome and unreliable. Nearly all of them singled out the peasants as the principal objects of linguistic reform.[53]

During the Terror, linguistic uniformity became an official policy of the French government, thanks to two important legislators: Grégoire and Barère, the latter now a member of the Committee of Public Safety. On 8 Pluviôse II (January 27,

evidence) to have been written for reading aloud to largely illiterate, non–French-speaking audiences. See Henri Boyer, "Motivation et fonctionnement de l'imprimé politique en occitan de la période révolutionnaire," in Agulhon, ed., *La révolution vécue par la Province*, 193.

[50] Brunot, *Histoire de la langue français*, 9: pt. 1, p. 48; Lévy, *Histoire linguistique d'Alsace et de Lorraine*, *passim*. The newspaper, published by a fierce partisan of the German language named Andreas Ulrich, was entitled *Wöchentliche Nachrichten für die deutschsprechenden Einwohner Frankreichs, besonders aber für Handwerker und Bauer*.

[51] De Certeau, Julia, and Revel, *Une politique de la langue*, 11–28. Grégoire sent out the questionnaire to an informal network of friends and colleagues, to the Jacobin clubs, and via a newspaper to a general audience. De Certeau *et al.* is the definitive study of the questionnaire and the responses to it. The 1789 essay was entitled *Essai sur la régénération physique, morale et politique des Juifs* (Metz, 1789). On the confusion between the *décrets* of the National Assembly and *décrets de prise de corps*, see *Le Moniteur* (February 9, 1790), 3: 336. For later pronouncements by Grégoire antedating his report to the Convention, see J. Guillaume, ed., *Procès-verbaux du Comité d'Instruction publique de la Convention Nationale*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1889), 2: 177 (July 30, 1793); 3: 368 (3 Pluviôse II).

[52] Jules Mavidal and Emile Laurent, eds., *Archives parlementaires de 1787 à 1860*, 1st ser., 82 vols. (Paris, 1862–1913), 30: 472 (September 10, 1791). The other major report, by the Girondin François-Xavier Lanthenas, is discussed in Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, 9: pt. 1, p. 135. In general, for other legislative activity on language from this period, particularly in the Convention's Comité d'Instruction Publique, see Brunot, 9: pt. 1, pp. 135–48. Among other revolutionary writings addressing the topic are *Adresse aux Communes et aux sociétés populaires de la République sur un cours ou Journal de Langue Française, lue au Conseil Général de la Commune de Paris* (Paris, 1792), 7, Bibliothèque de la Société de Port Royal (hereafter, B.S.P.R.), fonds Révolution (hereafter, Rév.) 223, no. 14; Pierre-Vincent Chalvet, *Des qualités et des devoirs d'un Instituteur publique* (Paris, 1793); the *Chronique de Paris* of November 10, 1792; the prospectus for the *Feuille villageoise*, a newspaper aimed explicitly at the peasants (rpt. in de Certeau, Julia, and Revel, *Une politique de la langue*, 283–85).

[53] Local languages were still spoken by the lower classes in many peripheral cities. However, as Mona Ozouf points out, eighteenth-century writers took for granted that cities were a "crucible of homogeneity" and that "only in the countryside did the relationship between men and the land fully express itself." Ozouf, *L'école de la France: Essais sur la Révolution, l'utopie et l'enseignement* (Paris, 1984), 29.

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1794), Barère submitted his report to the Convention, which called for the immediate establishment of French-language teachers in peripheral regions of the Republic. Directing his ire at four "foreign" idioms, he declared, in a now-famous passage, that "federalism and superstition speak Breton, emigration and hatred of the Republic speak German, counter-revolution speaks Italian and fanaticism speaks Basque. Let us break these instruments of injury and error."[54] Four months later, Grégoire submitted his much longer and more detailed report, which targeted not merely peripheral languages but northern French dialects as well.[55] The Convention also instituted a French-language requirement for promotion to officer grades in the armies, and just before the 9th of Thermidor added a ban on all non-French languages in judicial documents.[56] Meanwhile, in Alsace and Catalan-speaking Roussillon (but apparently nowhere else), something of a limited "linguistic terror" developed. Non-French publications and commercial signs were suppressed, non–French-speaking personnel dismissed, and plans drawn up for forcible transfers of population.[57] A visiting member of the Convention in Strasbourg proposed a horrific ultimate solution for "gallicizing" Alsace: guillotining a quarter of the population and expelling all others who had not actively participated in the revolution.[58] With Thermidor, however, most of the Convention's linguistic measures and plans fell into abeyance, and France's first concerted experiment with linguistic policy making came to an end.

Any brief narrative of this experiment inevitably leaves the impression that it breaks down into two opposing phases: one of liberal, decentralizing "linguistic federalism," the other of radical, highly centralizing "linguistic Jacobinism."[59] Yet this impression is deceptive, for except in Alsace, where local German speakers never stopped defending their linguistic heritage, the language issue caused very few battle lines to be drawn. Even Barère and Grégoire, in their reports to the Convention, recognized the need for continuing the translation of laws in the short run, if only orally.[60] Outside Alsace and Flanders, few advocates of

[54] The report is reprinted in de Certeau, Julia, and Revel, *Une politique de la langue*, 291–99, quote from 295. The Convention approved the report.

[55] Grégoire, in Gazier, *Lettres à Grégoire*, 290–314. The report is also reprinted in de Certeau, Julia, and Revel, *Une politique de la langue*, 300–17. In response, the Convention charged the Comité d'Instruction Publique with devising a new grammar and vocabulary.

[56] Alphonse Aulard, *Actes du Comité de Salut Publique*, Vol. 13 (Paris, 1900), 105; Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, 9: pt. 1, p. 186. The Jacobin Prieur de la Côte d'Or delivered another scathing address on the subject entitled *Adresse de la Convention Nationale au Peuple Français, 16 Prairial II*, B.S.P.R., Rév. 223, no. 13.

[57] F. C. Heitz, ed., *Les sociétés populaires de Strasbourg pendant les années 1790 à 1795: Extraits de leurs procès-verbaux* (Strasbourg, 1863), 346–48; Lévy, *Histoire linguistique d'Alsace et de Lorraine*, 2: 19–22; R. R. Palmer, *Twelve Who Ruled* (Princeton, N.J., 1941), 190; Michel Brunet, *Le Roussillon: Une société contre l'état, 1780–1820* (Perpignan, 1990), 521. Brunet in general tends to exaggerate the extent of direct repression in Roussillon. The principal evidence for a linguistic terror in Provence, the suppression of a Provençal-language play, is effectively dismissed by Merle, *L'écriture du provençal*, 371–73.

[58] Cited in Lévy, *Histoire linguistique*, 2: 64–65.

[59] This is the traditional view of the subject, as presented by Brunot, Renzi, and several of the other authors listed above.

[60] Barère, in de Certeau, Julia, and Revel, *Une politique de la langue*, 298–99 (he saw the need only for oral translation); Grégoire, in Gazier, *Lettres à Grégoire*, 305 (he was ready to accept written ones as well). Grégoire, while in Nice as a representative of the Convention, himself had proclamations translated into Italian, and he maintained a warm friendship with the Occitan writer Sermet. He also served on the Convention's committee on translations in 1793. See Henri Grégoire, *et al.*, *Egualianza*,

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translation questioned the ultimate desirability of linguistic uniformity.[61] For these reasons, it may be more useful to view the changing revolutionary policies as different aspects of a single process of revolutionary engagement with the language issue, one that contrasts markedly with the almost total lack of any such engagement before 1790.

The familiar chords that the revolutionary language policies strike in modern ears accustomed to nationalist rhetoric can give rise to a different, but equally ill-founded, impression, namely that this engagement represented a "natural" response to an "obvious" problem.[62] Again, the almost complete lack of political concern over patois before 1790 should raise questions about this "obviousness." Furthermore, the revolution's different would-be language doctors diagnosed this supposedly obvious malady in strikingly different ways. How many French citizens could not comprehend standard French? Estimates ranged from 3 million to well over 8 million, out of a population of 28 million.[63] Barère, a native of the Pyrenees, echoed the common Old Regime view that northern and southern patois simply amounted to variations on standard French, although, standing the grammarians on their heads, he proclaimed that all French dialects had equal value.[64] Grégoire, by contrast, enumerated thirty separate patois ripe for eradication, making no distinction between the Picard dialect of French and non–Indo-European Basque.[65] Grégoire's view reflected a common Old Regime assumption as well, namely that the slightest deviation from the linguistic norm cast the speaker wholly beyond the (social) pale. Grégoire, however, turned the grammar-

libertà: Proclama; I commisari della Convenzione nazionale ai cittadini del dipartimento delle Alpi-Maritimi (Nice, 1793); Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, 9: pt. 1, p. 249; and for the relationship with Sermet, the manuscript material in B.M.T., Réserve D^{xix} 134; Sermet-Grégoire correspondence in B.S.P.R. Grégoire delivered an oration at Sermet's funeral.

[61] The case of Alsace in particular, with its long literary traditions, recently reinforced by the Sturm und Drang, and with its virtual monolingualism in German, stands apart from the rest of France. See Bell, "Nation-Building," 476–82, 485–88. See also the documents reprinted in de Certeau, Julia, and Revel, *Une politique de la langue*, 275–83. For evidence of resistance in Flanders, see Andries to Grégoire, undated, B.N., n.a.f. 2798, fol. 20v. Only two of the sixty correspondents who responded to Grégoire's questionnaire actively defended patois, and the many legislative reports on language aroused little resistance. See Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, 9: pt. 1, p. 9; compare Grégoire, curé of Les Palais, to Grégoire, February 27, 1791, in Gazier, *Lettres à Grégoire*, 123. The protest sent to the Legislative Assembly by the Montauban Protestant Antoine Gautier Sauzin (A.N., F17 1309, rpt. in de Certeau, 259–63) stands out as an exception to this rule. As for the southern Jacobin clubs, they generally greeted the Convention's goal of immediate linguistic unity without protest, and by late 1792 they had stopped sponsoring speeches and pamphlets in the local languages. The doctor Dominique Villar wrote as follows to Grégoire on 7 Messidor II: "I have attended meetings of the popular societies . . . whose speakers . . . still spoke the patois of the country . . . I told them of your views and those of the National Convention. They found them well-founded and resolved in the future to speak nothing but French." B.N., n.a.f. 2798, fol. 70r. See also Merle, *L'écriture du provençal*, 363–68.

[62] Historians of nationalism have generally paid little attention to the genesis of French revolutionary language policies, considering them a natural outgrowth of French nationalism itself. See, for instance, Hans Kohn, *Prelude to Nation States: The French and German Experience, 1789–1815* (New York, 1967).

[63] Dentzel, *Rapport*, 2; Grégoire, cited in de Certeau, Julia, and Revel, *Une politique de la langue*, 21. See also Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*, 71–72.

[64] To quote his report: "The vigorous accent of liberty and equality is the same, whether it comes out of the mouth of an inhabitant of the Alps or the Vosges, the Pyrenees or the Cantal, Mont-Blanc or Mont-Terrible." Barère, in de Certeau, Julia, and Revel, *Une politique de la langue*, 292.

[65] Grégoire, in Gazier, *Lettres à Grégoire*, 293.

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ians on their heads in a different way, maintaining the inequality of dialects but calling on all citizens to adapt to "proper" French so as to ensure their equality in civil society.[66]

The contrast between Grégoire and Barère's reports is important, because it shows how the same linguistic differences could be represented in astonishingly different ways. As the practitioners of sociolinguistics have long recognized, variations between languages are real and measurable, but when standard written forms do not exist, the question of when one tongue becomes distinct from another can be a matter of considerable dispute (as in the famously acrimonious debate about the existence of a distinct "black English").[67] As we shall see, clerics and laymen could have very different ideas about the extent and nature of linguistic diversity. Could a Provençal peasant "speak French"? For laymen, before 1789, his or her ability to recognize certain basic words and to take part in simple economic transactions might have sufficed to signify a knowledge of the dominant language. The revolution had different standards, and these were not always consistent. It is worth remarking that the representation of France as a nation of overpowering linguistic diversity has nicely served various ideological agendas. Republicans and educational reformers have promoted the image because it suggests that without a vigorous program of republican centralization, national unity is in jeopardy. (Parts of Eugen Weber's work, which treats nineteenth-century claims by such reformers rather uncritically, may deserve reconsideration for this reason.)[68] Modern regional militants promote it as well, because it helps them distinguish their own culture as sharply as possible from that of Paris.[69] Particularly in the French and Occitan dialectical areas, therefore, it is not correct to say that the French revolutionaries confronted a longstanding, natural "language problem." Rather, they simultaneously invented this problem, although they framed it in different ways, and kindled a desire to solve it.

But what had led them to this conjuncture? To answer this question fully, I turn to the interweaving of linguistic and religious concerns throughout the revolutionary period.

[66] The differences between Barère and Grégoire's approaches have been analyzed with cogency in Pierre Achard, "Un idéal monolingue," in Vermès and Boutet, eds., *France: Pays multilangue*, 1: 38–57. Claire Asselin and Anne McLaughlin, "Patois ou français la langue de la Nouvelle France au dix-septième siècle," *Langage et société*, no. 17 (1981): 3–57, point out that several of Grégoire's own correspondents denied the existence of serious language barriers, and they argue that in early modern Quebec, despite a population drawn from several different patois-speaking regions, not only is there no evidence of linguistic difficulties but the colonists as a whole were frequently praised for the exceptional purity of their French.

[67] One recent sociolinguistic study revealed that between 1971 and 1981, French-speaking citizens of Quebec found it increasingly easy to communicate with Parisians, not because of changes in the language but because of Parisians' changed attitude toward the legitimacy of Québecois French. Quoted in Asselin and McLaughlin, "Patois ou français," 49. More generally, see Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*; and Louis-Jean Chalvet, *La sociolinguistique* (Paris, 1993).

[68] Consider Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*, 76, where he quotes from "teachers and school inspectors" who "furnish useful information" in the 1870s. Might these teachers and inspectors not have consciously or unconsciously exaggerated the height of the linguistic barriers between them and their pupils in order to dramatize the need for wide-ranging republican educational legislation such as that later enacted by Jules Ferry?

[69] Hence the adoption by modern "Occitanists" of an orthography as different as possible from the French.

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SOMETIME IN LATE 1790 OR EARLY 1791, the Society of the Friends of the Constitution of Albi, in southern France, published a twenty-seven-page speech in the local dialect delivered by a wool merchant named Salivas to the "good people of the countryside."[70] The title gave little clue to the content, and indeed the first few lines amounted to standard early revolutionary boilerplate. Soon, however, Salivas's principal purpose became clear. Not only did the revolution pose no threat to the Catholic religion, he argued, it represented the fulfillment of Catholic prayers. Indeed, it meant something close to the literal coming of the millennium. As he made this hyperbolic point, his literary style, which had begun as a fairly literal rendering into Occitan of the rhetoric of the National Assembly, quickly strayed into a different, older mode:

> It is now that the reign of God will flourish in this Kingdom. It is now, in this age of miracles, that what He said in the prayer which He himself taught us, and which a good Christian says every day, will be fulfilled: *sanctificetur nomen tuum*, hallowed be thy name, which means let thy name spread and be worshiped throughout all the earth . . . France will be the first [country] which in setting itself free will spread and propagate the law of our Lord, and the Nations of Europe, who already wish to imitate our Constitution, will also espouse all the purity of the Gospel, and thus the desire for our Redemption will be fulfilled; the name of the Lord, of God Almighty, will spread and be hallowed first throughout Europe, and from here will reach to all parts of the universe . . . God has heard our oath, it is written in the book of life, it is pleasing to Heaven and has brought joy to all the martyrs crushed by the former despotism, the former tyranny.[71]

Salivas also contrasted the "purity of the Gospel" to the corruption of the Catholic clergy in France. He insisted that among all the tasks faced by the revolution, none ranked higher than putting an end to the church's myriad "abuses." Soon, however, the light of reason would prevail, and then "France will have no better comparison than Zion triumphant, that heavenly Zion which the Scripture speaks of."[72]

In publishing this unlikely attempt to drape the mantle of Hebrew prophets over the shoulders of revolutionary Liberty, the club of Albi was not indulging the religious fantasies of an addled merchant but, rather, addressing an urgent political problem. In 1790, the National Assembly had unveiled a plan for the greatest reform ever undertaken in the history of French Catholicism, the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. From now on, it decreed, the people would elect priests and bishops; clerics would become, in effect, civil servants under the control of the state; ecclesiastical boundaries would be brought into conformity with political ones. This action stirred more resistance than any previously taken by the revolutionary authorities, and, in response, the Assembly insisted that

[70] Salivas, *Abis salutari de M. Salivas lou Xoubé al brabé moundé de las campagnos* (Albi, [1790 or 1791]), B.M.T., Réserve C^{xviii} 151. Salivas identifies himself as a wool merchant on page 12. This "Salivas lou Xoubé" (the younger) is conceivably the same as the "Louis Salivas le jeune" who published two obsequious odes to the Bourbons in Toulouse at the start of the Restoration.

[71] Salivas, *Abis salutari de M. Salivas*, 4–6. The awkward English sentence beginning "France will be the first" reads in the original: "La Franço sera la premeiro qu'en se randen libro respendra & proupagara la lei de nostré Seigné, & las Natieus de l'Europo que dexa bolou imita nostro Counstitutieu, espousaran tabé toute la puretat de l'Ebanxeli, & aital s'accoumplira lou desir de nostré Redemptiou."

[72] Salivas, *Abis salutari de M. Salivas*, 7.

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priests take an oath of loyalty to the new regime (including the Civil Constitution) or face dismissal. The breach widened, and both sides in the dispute frequently resorted to the newspaper and pamphlet press to win adherents.[73]

In the overall corpus of revolutionary publications, the dispute over the Civil Constitution occupies only one large body of texts. In the more limited corpus of publications in the local languages, however—both revolutionary and counterrevolutionary—it represents by far the single largest issue treated.[74] A concern for the religious future of France suffused these texts, drenched them. They alternately spoke of the revolution as the coming of Christ or the Antichrist. They alternately praised the prerevolutionary clergy as faithful shepherds of their flocks or damned them as iniquitous monsters. (In the words of one Montpellier pamphleteer, the clergy was a "great beast with a red head, purple claws, all the rest a black body, and motley fur.")[75] Furthermore, they did not hesitate to confront the ultimate fear raised by the dispute in the minds of uneasy believers: its consequences for their personal salvation.[76] While most extreme in the Occitan-speaking areas of France, the pattern seems to have held for the other non–French-speaking areas (again, with the exception of Alsace). The most substantial of the rare Flemish texts published in revolutionary France is a pastoral letter sent by the "constitutional" bishop of the department of the Nord to assure his parishioners of the "complete conformity between Catholic belief and the Civil Constitution."[77] A similar letter from the bishop of Finistère makes up one of the two longer pieces of revolutionary rhetoric translated into Breton. The two known Breton addresses printed by Jacobin clubs treated the issue of the Civil Constitution as well.[78] In Alsace, there was even a German-language newspaper founded to deal exclusively with the religious issue.[79]

[73] On the Civil Constitution, see the fundamental work of Timothy Tackett, *Religion, Revolution and Regional Culture in Eighteenth-Century France: The Ecclesiastical Oath of 1791* (Princeton, N.J., 1986).

[74] Much larger even than in the provincial newspapers studied by Jeremy Popkin in "The Provincial Newspaper Press and Revolutionary Politics," *French Historical Studies*, 18 (1993): 434–56, esp. 448–49. For the texts in Occitan, the largest part of the corpus, this conclusion was evident to the leading nineteenth-century specialist in the subject, Jean-Baptiste Noulet, in *Essai sur l'histoire littéraire des patois du midi de la France au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1877), 137: "Only in Toulouse did this movement take on a certain importance, and even then only over a single question: the one raised by the Civil Constitution of the Clergy." Modern "occitanistes" have demurred from this thesis, but their arguments will be discussed below, as will the other non–French-speaking regions.

[75] *Discour d'un péisan a sous councitouyens* (Montpellier, 1791), 9, B.N., Lb^{39} 9550.

[76] "What hurts me the most," wrote the author of a speech in favor of the Civil Constitution published by the club of Toulouse, "is the rumor that the clerics elected to the offices of curé, bishop, or vicar by the wish of the people will not have the power to save us." Garres, *Rasounomens, pensados & refflectious*, 20, B.M.T., Réserve D^{xix} 134, no. 19. A "good pastor" opposed to the reform warned sternly, by contrast: "Your salvation is attached to the retention of the church among you . . . It will be your consolation in this world, as it will be the faithful guide which alone can lead you to eternal happiness." *Abis d'un boun pastou a sous parrouquias* (n.p., n.d.), 15, B.M.T., Réserve D^{xviii} 756, no. 2.

[77] Claude-François Marie Primat, *Herderlyken brief van Mr. den bisschop van het departement van het noorden* (Paris, 1791), 4, B.S.P.R., Rév. 222, pp. 650–53. On the case of Alsace, see above, note 61.

[78] Like their Occitan counterparts, the authors quoted at length from Scripture (highlighting Jesus's words about "rendering unto Caesar what is Caesar's") and took pains to assure Catholics of their future salvation. In the absence of the necessary Breton language skills, I am forced here to rely on Bernard, "La Révolution française et la langue bretonne," 295–331. One of the (bilingual) pamphlets in question is partially reproduced on 301–09. The other is *Adresse de la Société des Amis de la Constitution, établie à Brest, aux habitants de la campagne* (Brest, 1791), B.S.P.R., Rév. 222, pp. 643–49.

[79] *Die Neuesten Religionsbegebenheiten in Frankreich*, published in Strasbourg and cited in Popkin,

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Why did the non-French texts dwell so heavily on the Civil Constitution? Could it be simply because this particular dispute happened to coincide with the high point of the revolution's translation policies? Modern specialists in the history of Occitan generally incline to this view. As champions of increased autonomy for the modern Midi, they have a commitment to excavating the remains of Occitan civilization from under the oppressive structures of (northern) French domination, and it ill-suits this purpose to give undue weight to the religious uses of their language alone.[80] Yet the pattern of revolutionary publishing in Occitan, which they themselves have done much to uncover, belies this conclusion. It suggests a much more fundamental importance for the Civil Constitution, and for religious issues in general, in the revolutionary engagement with linguistic diversity.

The chronological and geographical patterns of publication in Occitan underscore the importance of the religious conflict. In 1789, we know of 19 works that appeared in the southern dialects, mostly "burlesque" verses and addresses typical of the prerevolutionary role set aside for "patois." The figure rose to 34 in 1790, with the first widespread appearance of pamphlets and printed speeches in the language, and to 43 in 1791. The majority of these texts dealt principally with the Civil Constitution, and nearly all mentioned it in some way.[81] In 1792, however, the figure fell to 20, in 1793 to 13, and in 1794 to 10.[82] For the period of the Terror, the anti-patois policies of Barère and Grégoire can plausibly take the blame for the decline, but throughout 1792, the successive governments in Paris remained committed to a policy of translation. In 1792, however, other conflicts eclipsed the disputes over the Civil Constitution. As for the geography of publication, only two French cities in 1789 still had strong traditions of Occitan publishing: Toulouse and Marseilles.[83] In the revolution, it was Toulouse—where only a minority of priests accepted the Civil Constitution and a bitter conflict ensued—which by itself produced 40 percent of all Occitan texts, including the only attempt (unsuccessful) to launch a newspaper in the language. Marseilles, where an overwhelming majority of priests acceded to the new clerical regime, produced less than half this amount.[84]

"Provincial Newspaper Press," 449. As Popkin points out, there were also several provincial periodicals founded in French for the same purpose.

[80] See, for instance, Martel, "Les textes occitans," 232; Fournier, "La production toulousaine," 367, 391. I wish to emphasize, however, that these scholars, whatever their regionalist convictions, have produced serious and important work, informed by a deep knowledge of sociolinguistics and the history of their language.

[81] The lion's share of these pamphlets can be found at the B.M.T. in the following collections: Réserve D^{xviii} 243, 248, 756; Réserve D^{xix} 134. See also Fournier, "La production toulousaine," esp. 400; and Noulet, *Essai sur l'histoire littéraire des patois*, 137.

[82] Boyer, *et al.*, *Le texte occitan*, 173. These figures leave out Occitan pamphlets published outside the period 1789–1794 and undatable pamphlets. I am indebted to the meticulous and tireless authors of this book for locating much of the evidence discussed here.

[83] Martel, "Les textes occitans," 239. Martel argues (232) that since the map of Occitan publications does not coincide with the map of religious conflict (measured by the percentage of priests who refused to swear allegiance to the Civil Constitution), the Civil Constitution cannot have been a crucial factor. But regions of resistance such as the Massif Central, which lacked any serious tradition of publication in Occitan, would not have matched Toulouse in their rates of publication in any case.

[84] Martel, "Les textes occitans," 225. The Toulouse newspaper was called *L'homé franc, Journal tout noubel én patois, Faït ésprès per Toulouso*, no. 1 (February 8, 1791). Only one issue of this paper was

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Even after the tide of revolutionary events rushed over the Civil Constitution, religion remained the most important single theme in the diminishing number of non–French-language publications. The most substantive of the rare Occitan texts from 1794 were devoted to the Cult of Reason, including the only Occitan speech published that year at the behest of a Jacobin club.[85] Meanwhile, the second substantial piece of revolutionary rhetoric translated into Breton was Robespierre's 1794 report to the Convention on the Cult of the Supreme Being and national festivals. In Finistère, the departmental authorities ordered the Revolutionary Tribunal to publish its sentences in Breton, but in only one case does the court actually seem to have done so: the death sentence of a "refractory" priest.[86] In sum, patois was still a language of choice for addressing the peasants on religious issues, even when the purpose was to attack or supplant religion itself.

For the corpus of texts as a whole, it was not just the content that located them against a religious background. The literary models they followed did so as well. On the laws and decrees translated into Breton during the revolution, for instance, one specialist has written: "The translation is not, as I was going to say, into kitchen Breton—that would be as false as it is unfair, for unfortunately kitchen Breton is better—but rather into Church Breton. It seems to me on the level of the more successful [Breton] catechisms."[87] The most thorough expert in Provençal writings from the period also points to the prevalence of "the form of the sermon, but secularized."[88] Among the common titles of the Occitan texts are *Epistle, Hymn, Homily, Exaudiat, Credo,* and *Profession of Faith,* while the numerous *Dialogues* owe much to the Roman catechism, and many others end with the affirmation "atal sio" (amen).[89] Blatant imitations of biblical language found their way not only into Salivas's address but also into many texts unconcerned with religious conflict, such as a set of plaintive verses in 1790 that urged the Virgin Mary and the Holy Ghost to aid the representatives of the Nation and a 1792 "Christmas Carol of the Sans-Culottes" sung in Marseilles.[90]

printed. It was devoted in large part to the conflict over the Civil Constitution. On the rates of "juring" priests, that is, those who swore an oath of loyalty to the revolution, see Tackett, *Religion, Revolution and Regional Culture,* 364–66. On the religious situation in Toulouse, see Jean-Claude Meyer, *La vie religieuse en Haute-Garonne sous la Révolution* (Toulouse, 1982).

[85] [Pierre Barrau], *Discours prounounçat, le décadi 30 Flouréal, deuxiémo annado de la Républiquo Franceso uno et indibisiblo, per Pierre Barrau, Agent natiounal proche le District de Rioux, imprimat d'aprex la déliberatiou de la Souciétat poupularío de Rioux, le premié Prairial de la memo annado* (Toulouse, 1794), 6–7, B.M.T., Réserve D^{xviii} 756, no. 12. See also, for instance, [Barrau], *Discours prounounçat par Pierre Barrau, jutgé dé pax dé la coumuno dé Rioux, départomen dé la Hauto-Garonno, à l'ouccasiou dé la festo d'el 21 Janbié (estillé buffec), lé 10 Niboso (estillé sancer) al pé dé l'arbré dé la libertat* (Toulouse, 1796), B.M.T., Réserve D^{xviii} 756, no. 14; [Jean-Philibert d'Auriol], *Tableau actuel de la situation publique & triomphante de la République française* (Toulouse, 1794), B.M.T. Br.Fa.C. 1491. This last text consists of three "patriotic hymns" sung at the Temple of Reason.

[86] Bernard, "La Révolution française," 324–30, 319–20.

[87] J. Loth, quoted in Bernard, "La Révolution française," 295. Bernard himself comments (294): "The proclamations meant for the people of the countryside have the appearance of a sort of sermon, and their allure is much more familiar in the translation than in the [French] original."

[88] Merle, *L'écriture du provençal,* 345.

[89] Boyer, *et al., Le texte occitan,* 42–161. To be sure, these titles were also common enough among French-language texts.

[90] Mikel Bourrel, *Réfléxious curiousos q'apprénen a estré cousténs; Car tout passo, tout n'és qué béns, et y a d'annados malhurousos, mais apey bén lé boun téms* (Toulouse, 1790), B.N., 4° Lb^{39} 8866. On the carol,

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Not only did religion permeate the publications in the local languages, it also lay behind other aspects of the revolution's engagement with linguistic issues. Consider the background of those revolutionaries most active in this area. Most important here is Henri Grégoire, who, unlike many other revolutionary priests, never wore the cassock lightly. He had been known before 1789 as the very model of the crusading "enlightened" parish priest and also as a prominent adherent of Jansenism, the current of Catholic thought that defended a rigorous interpretation of St. Augustine's ideas on grace and predestination.[91] While the fact is rarely noticed, Grégoire consistently defended his linguistic initiatives in religious as well as political terms. Thus his first systematic discussion of patois, in his 1789 essay on the Jews, mentioned a "purified knowledge of religion" as one reason to impose linguistic uniformity.[92] As for the questionnaire on patois that he sent out in 1790, religion took precedence over politics in its crucial leading question, "What would be the religious and political importance of entirely destroying this patois?"[93] The questionnaire itself, with its attention not only to the language but also to the customs of the peasants, had an obvious clerical model: the questionnaires used in the so-called "pastoral visits" carried out by Tridentine bishops to monitor the health of the church in their dioceses.[94]

To be sure, most of Grégoire's colleagues in the legislature who helped formulate language policies were singularly lacking in his sort of clerical pedigree (although Talleyrand, admittedly the least pious of priests, did write one important report). The same cannot be said, however, about the more numerous revolutionaries engaged with the issue in the provinces. Here, the model is Grégoire's friend Father Hyacinthe Sermet, the orator of July 14, 1790. Before the revolution, Sermet had been a noted preacher. He was also one of the rare notables in Toulouse to take an active interest in the area's vernacular literary tradition, which he drew on for inspiration in his own Occitan writing, giving these works a flair and distinction unique among revolutionary publications in the language.[95] Throughout the revolution, Sermet earnestly defended a liberal, enlightened Catholicism, as he showed most vividly in his speech—or rather sermon—in Saint-Ginest, which skillfully interwove the themes of Christian liberty and the progress of the revolution. Starting with his commentary on Paul's Epistle to the Galatians (a people he etymologically identified with the Gauls and thus with the French!), he drew an explicit comparison between the early Christian

see Régis Bertrand, "Un prêtre provençaliste en Révolution, J. J. Tousaint Bonnet," in Agulhon, ed., *La révolution vécue par la province*, 139–140.

[91] On Grégoire, while awaiting the forthcoming biography by Rita Hermon-Belot, see Bernard Plongeron, *L'abbé Grégoire (1750–1831), ou l'Arche de la Fraternité* (Paris, 1989).

[92] Quoted in de Certeau, Julia, and Revel, *Une politique de la langue*, 21.

[93] Reproduced in de Certeau, Julia, and Revel, *Une politique de la langue*, 13.

[94] On the visits, see Marc Vénard and Dominique Julia, eds., *Répertoires des visites pastorales de la France*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1977–85). This comparison is also made by Michel Peronnet, "Réflexions sur 'Une série de questions relatives aux patois et aux moeurs des gens de la campagne,' proposée par l'abbé Grégoire le 13 août 1790," *Lengas*, no. 17 (1985): 79–96.

[95] Sermet's interest is demonstrated by his essay "Recherches historiques sur Goudouli." For an appreciation of Sermet as a leading Occitan prose writer, see Timothy Jenkins, "Le père Sermet entre Godolin et l'abbé Grégoire," in Christian Anatole, ed., *Pèire Godolin, 1580–1649* (Toulouse, 1980), 215–23.

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church and the revolution. He also warned his listeners to reject those false priests who were trying to lure them back to older forms of obedience, likening them to the Jewish teachers Paul had warned the Galatians against. To this monk, who would soon win election under the Civil Constitution as Metropolitan Bishop of Toulouse, the revolution and Christianity were inseparable.[96]

Other examples abound of priests who sought to use a form of secularized preaching in patois as a means of propagating the gospel of revolution. In the Breton village of Plouénour-Trez, the local priest, Le Gall, translated the Constitution of 1791 into Breton.[97] In Flanders, priests took the lead in translating the Declaration of the Rights of Man and also published a short-lived prerevolutionary Flemish-language newspaper.[98] In Perpignan in 1791, the bishop prevented the revolutionary Abbé Cambon from preaching, so Cambon instead founded an "école patriotique" and spent every evening and holiday lecturing in Catalan both on the decrees of the Assembly and more broadly on "the double duty of Christian and citizen."[99] Meanwhile, other priests enthusiastic about the revolution set themselves up as their parishioners' instructors in French. This idea runs through the writings of Grégoire's correspondents, fully a third of whom, incidentally, came from the clergy themselves.[100]

Yet despite all the efforts of these "patriotic" clerics, in the canons of revolutionary demonology the figure of the patois-speaking priest most often signified something very different: hideous reaction. There is, it should be stressed, no reasonable evidence to support any connection between patois and counter-revolution. Both sides in the dispute over the Civil Constitution had used the local languages, generally without making an issue out of it. The "constitutional" clergy continued preaching in patois until the period of the Terror, and if counter-revolutionary priests did so as well, they never seem actively to have promoted the use of dialects, even in the Vendée and the Chouannerie.[101] Nonetheless, the fear that they might use patois to influence ignorant peasants gnawed powerfully at the participants in the various revolutionary linguistic initiatives, and this anxiety illustrates yet again the link between religious and linguistic concerns. A certain Brassard, for example, offering his services to the Justice Ministry as a French-Flemish translator in 1792, warned that while the local

[96] Sermet, *Discours*, 1–4. Sermet's opinions were not remarkable for the "constitutional" clergy or, indeed, for a wide cross-section of the French population that never stopped trying to reconcile Christianity and the revolution. See Desan, *Reclaiming the Sacred*. The identification of Galatians with Gauls was a common one in early modern France.

[97] Bernard, "La Révolution française," 291.

[98] Coornaert, *La Flandre française*, 266.

[99] Abbé Cambon to Grégoire, January 9, 1791, B.S.P.R., Rév. 222, p. 303. See other instances in Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, 9: pt. 1, pp. 62–63; Merle, *L'écriture du provençal*, 297; Jean-Paul Damaggio, "La question religieuse à Montauban (1790–1793)," *Lengas*, no. 17 (1985): 145–55, esp. 148.

[100] For instance, the club of Amberieux (Ain) to Grégoire, December 16, 1790, B.N., n.a.f. 2798, fol. 6r; unsigned and undated letter from Lorraine, B.N., n.a.f. 2798, fol. 26v; unsigned and undated response sent by the club of Auch, 1790, in Gazier, *Lettres à Grégoire*, 100; François Chabot to Grégoire, September 4, 1790, in Gazier, 78. Chabot, too, had a confrontation with the local ecclesiastical authorities after asking for permission to teach the local people "civil and religious morality according to the decrees of the National Assembly" (Gazier, 51). On the professions of the correspondents, see de Certeau, Julia, and Revel, *Une politique de la langue*, 30.

[101] See Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, 9: pt. 1, p. 177.

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priests had done much to translate the decrees of the Assembly, they had done so for the worst of reasons: "They had mutilated or envenomed the terms, and had thus managed to make our Constitution seem odious not only to the people in our countryside, but also to our neighbors, the Belgians and Flemings."[102] Many of Grégoire's correspondents, as well, raised the specter of patois-speaking priests misleading their flocks.[103] The Rouergat ex-Capuchin (and future Terrorist) François Chabot, who himself tried to conduct classes in patois for the peasants, warned that "the members of the parish tremble at the sight of a pastor, who appears in their eyes like the Sultan of Constantinople."[104]

It was Barère, however, who managed best to distill a general fear of conspiracy into an elixir of concentrated hyperbole. In his report to the Convention on language, the deputy from the Pyrenees attacked German and Italian because these were the languages of the enemy. But he cast Breton and Basque beyond the pale largely because of the use priests made of them. "It is with this barbaric instrument of their superstitious thoughts," he wrote of Breton, "that the priests and the intriguers hold [the people] under their sway, direct their consciences, and prevent citizens from knowing the laws and loving the Republic."[105] Only with the teaching of French, he insisted, would the "domination of the priests" come to an end.[106]

TO UNDERSTAND WHY THE "DOMINATION OF THE PRIESTS" weighed so heavily in the revolution's linguistic initiatives, one can do no better than to read a response to Grégoire's questionnaire sent by the Jacobin club of Auch, in Gascony. The anonymous author reported that nearly everyone in the area spoke Gascon in preference to French. However, he continued, "no one writes in patois, unless it is some curé or some missionary monk." He further mentioned that the peasants did not know of the great seventeenth-century Gascon poet Jean-Géraud d'Astros, nor, curiously, could the literate ones even manage to decipher his verses when shown them. But they could decipher the Gascon hymns with which Capuchin missionaries had "flooded" the countryside. "Our peasants," he concluded, "have less trouble reading in their patois everything that maintains their rusticity and their false ideas on religion."[107]

Behind these brief and dismissive remarks lie two centuries of history that explain a great deal about the linguistic policies of the French Revolution. It is

[102] Letter of May 11, 1792, A.N., AA 32, fol. 30r.

[103] For instance, Auguste Rigaud to Grégoire, January 28, 1791, in Gazier, *Lettres à Grégoire*, 13; Chabot to Grégoire, September 8, 1790, in Gazier, 57; Cambon to Grégoire, January 9, 1791, in B.S.P.R., Rév. 222, p. 304.

[104] Chabot to Grégoire, September 4, 1790, in Gazier, *Lettres à Grégoire*, 57; see also club of Auch to Grégoire, undated, in Gazier, 103.

[105] Barère, in de Certeau, Julia, and Revel, *Une politique de la langue*, 292–93. For his discussion of the Basques as a "new people" in danger of falling victim to priestly "fanaticism," see 294.

[106] Barère, in de Certeau, Julia, and Revel, *Une politique de la langue*, 293.

[107] Jacobin club of Auch to Grégoire (1790?), in Gazier, *Lettres à Grégoire*, 89, 91–92. The author, by internal evidence, appears to have been a former military officer. Given the vagaries of Occitan orthography (particularly eccentric for the Gascon dialects) and the inherent difficulty of d'Astros's verse, the bafflement of the peasants is understandable.

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true that patois stirred relatively little concern in secular circles in France before the revolution. The same cannot be said of religious circles. In this period, as part of the great enterprise of evangelization undertaken during the Catholic Reformation, French priests devoted considerable time and energy to learning the many languages of France, speaking them, cataloguing them, and above all using them to spread the word of God. Far more than the still-hesitant efforts of a relative handful of late eighteenth-century scholars, it was this longstanding clerical engagement with the languages of the common people that, for the first time in France, seriously raised the questions of whether linguistic uniformity could be achieved in a modern polity, what it would take to achieve it, and whether or not this achievement was desirable.

The involvement of the clergy stemmed from an obvious dilemma, took inspiration from a prominent model, and followed well-established examples. The dilemma lay in the fact that whereas approximate, rough-and-ready translations between French and the local languages might suffice for many ordinary transactions (including most forms of interaction with the state), they could prove woefully inadequate when it came to convincing people of sacred truths and the need to reform their most intimate behavior.[108] The model was that of the Apostles, in Acts, Chapter 2: "And they were all filled with the Holy Spirit and began to speak in other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance . . . And at this sound the multitude came together, and they were bewildered, because each one heard them speaking in his own language." As for the examples, at least since late antiquity, the demands of Christian evangelization had provided (as they continue to provide even today) the most important spur for the study and systematization of non-written tongues. It was the clergy who proved crucial in the development of German in Charlemagne's Europe and the Slavic languages in the high Middle Ages. In Western Europe, medieval church councils frequently urged priests to explain the Mass, preach, and catechize in their parishioners' own language, and in 1562–1563 the Council of Trent confirmed the principle.[109] Starting with the age of European exploration, it has been Christian missionaries who have done the most to study and systematize hitherto-non-written languages in the Americas and Africa and to compose their first written texts: translations of the Scriptures.[110] The same Jesuit Order that took the lead in studying supposedly

[108] As a Toulouse priest wrote in 1752, "Christian doctrine contains truths that are sublime by themselves, but to understand them demands much attention. It therefore only increases the difficulty when these truths are explained in a language unknown to most of those who have no contact with city-dwellers." B.M.T., Ms. 892, "Catéchisme dogmatique et moral traduit en langue vulgaire de Toulouse" (1752). This text was apparently composed by a certain Père Disser.

[109] See John Michael Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church* (Oxford, 1983); Francis Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions among the Slavs: SS. Constantine-Cyril and Methodus* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1970). Early instances in Western Europe include Canon 17 of the Concile de Tours, held in 813. For the Tridentine decisions, see *Le Saint Concile de Trente, oecumenique et general, célébré sous Paul III, Jules III et Pie IV, Souverains Pontifes, nouvellement traduit par M. l'abbé Chanut*, 4th edn. (Rouen, 1705), 245 (session 22, chap. 8, September 17, 1562), and 331 (session 24, chap. 7, November 11, 1563). A large section of the French clergy began following these decisions even before the (tardy) formal acceptance into France of Tridentine doctrine.

[110] For a notable look at the African situation, see Lamin Sanneh, *Translating the Message: The Missionary Impact on Culture* (Maryknoll, N.Y., 1990).

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"primitive" dialects in France was doing similar work in relation to the supposedly "primitive" Amerindian languages of New France.[111]

In France itself, the work began in earnest in the late sixteenth century, as the Catholic Reformation church undertook missionary activity on a massive scale. In Brittany, one of the best-studied cases, a typical mission involved a score of priests spending a month in small villages and dispensing more than 7,000 hours of Christian education to the peasants. The Jesuit Julien Maunoir probably oversaw the instruction of hundreds of thousands of Bretons during his missionary career.[112] He and his colleagues had little or no interest in language for its own sake; their interest was in saving souls. Unlike their contemporaries at court, however, they could not afford to ignore linguistic differences. Maunoir himself spoke Breton fluently and insisted on the same skills from his missionaries.[113] Similar attitudes prevailed in the south. A bishop of Grasse wrote of his crusading predecessor, Antoine Godeau, that "if God had given him the choice of the gift of miracles or the Provençal language, he would have chosen to speak this language well, so as to instruct his people more faithfully."[114] In the Vivarais, another bishop brutally asked his clergy, "If you don't know patois, what have you come here for, fools that you are?"[115]

But the missionaries and crusading bishops not only spoke the local languages, they also influenced them in important ways. To start with, they wrote in them, and they worked to replace much of traditional peasant culture with their compositions. Maunoir composed scores of hymns in Breton, which he urged the peasants to sing in place of their traditional profane songs; the southern clergy did likewise.[116] Passion plays, largely composed by Jesuits, also proliferated in several dialects, as did religious poetry and funeral orations. (The eighteenth-century Marseilles curé Matthieu Olive was a master of the genre.)[117] Most important, the seventeenth century saw a profusion of catechisms in dialect. Between 1575 and 1659, four appeared in Breton, culminating in Maunoir's own *Quenteliou christen.*[118] In the south, many more similar texts found their way into print, largely thanks to zealous bishops such as François-Etienne de Caulet of Pamiers.[119] The

[111] On this subject, see most recently Margaret J. Leahey, " 'Comment peut un muet prescher l'evangile?' Jesuit Missionaries and the Native Languages of New France," *French Historical Studies*, 19 (1995): 105–32.

[112] On the case of Brittany, see the superb study by Alain Croix, *La Bretagne aux 16e et 17e siècles: La vie, la mort, la foi*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1981), esp. 1217–18, 1237. In general on Catholic clergy in this period, see Timothy Tackett, *Priest and Parish in Eighteenth-Century France: A Social and Political Study of the Curés in the Diocese of Dauphiné, 1750–1791* (Princeton, N.J., 1977); and Philip T. Hoffman, *Church and Community in the Diocese of Lyon, 1500–1789* (New Haven, Conn., 1984); and on the Catholic Reformation, John Bossy, "The Counter-Reformation and the People of Catholic Europe," *Past and Present*, 47 (1970): 51–70.

[113] See Julien Maunoir, *Le Sacré Collège de Jesus divisé en cinq classes* (Quimper, 1659), 17–19. Some of Maunoir's missionaries were native Bretons, but most were not.

[114] Quoted in Christian Anatole, "La réforme tridentine et l'emploi de l'Occitan dans le pastorale," *Revue des langues romanes*, 77 (1967): 10.

[115] Anatole, "La réforme tridentine," 10. For many similar examples of bishops urging their priests to preach and catechize "en langage vulgaire," see Brun, *Recherches historiques*, 432–81; Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, 5: 25–50; 7: 66–76.

[116] Croix, *La Bretagne*, 2: 1207–10; Anatole, "La réforme tridentine," *passim.*

[117] Le Roy Ladurie, "Les minorités périphériques," 608; Brun, *Recherches historiques*, 460.

[118] Croix, *La Bretagne*, 2: 1207.

[119] Anatole, "La réforme tridentine"; Gardy, "Les modèles d'écriture"; R. Armogathe, "Les

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author of *La douctrino chrestiano meso en rimos* (1641) wrote movingly, "What fault could the language of Toulouse have, not to be worthy of carrying the word of God, just like all the others? . . . To speak truly, experience shows . . . that no language reaches deeper into the heart, and touches more to the quick, than the mother tongue."[120] An eighteenth-century priest, translating a French catechism into Languedocien, made a similar argument, adding that the reading of religious works could keep winter village gatherings (*veillées*) from degenerating into "opportunities for dissipation."[121] The efforts of the reforming clergy in this domain did, however, have one important limit. Their works were not intended to be read directly by the peasants but rather by fellow priests, who, as spiritual intercessors and cultural intermediaries, would transmit the words orally to their flocks, as they always had.[122]

Nonetheless, thanks to these efforts, it is safe to say that the great majority of written texts in the local languages, both manuscript and printed, remained essentially religious in content as late as 1789.[123] Indeed, if religious observance began to decline in French culture as a whole in the eighteenth century, the same cannot be said of the remnants of those local cultures tied to non-French languages (with the exception, again, of Alsace).[124] If anything, these non-French cultures grew more exclusively religious in character as the educated classes abandoned the local tongues, leaving great Occitan baroque poets such as Godolin and Guillaume Ader without secular successors.[125] When Grégoire asked his correspondents in 1790 to list the principal uses of patois and any examples they knew of patois publications, again and again the same responses came back to him: the names of carols and hymns, religious "livres ascétiques," reports on preaching and catechizing, and references to the clerical compilers of dictionaries and grammars.[126]

The reforming clergy also influenced the development of the local languages in another way: they devised what were, in many cases, the first standard versions. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, even priests from humble backgrounds undertook all their formal education in French and Latin; thus they lost almost all

catéchismes et l'enseignement populaire en France au dix-huitième siècle," in Henri Coulet, ed., *Images du peuple au dix-huitième siècle* (Paris, 1973), 103–21, esp. 114–15.

[120] [Pierre Dupont], *La douctrino crestiano meso en rimos* (Toulouse, 1641), 5–6, B.M.T., Réserve D^{xviii}, no. 317. Attribution by Anatole, in "La réforme tridentine," 3.

[121] B.M.T., Ms. 892: "Catechisme dogmatique et moral," 459.

[122] On this subject, see Harvey Mitchell, "The World between the Literate and Oral Traditions in Eighteenth-Century France: Ecclesiastical Instructions and Popular Mentalities," in Roseann Runte, ed., *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture*, Vol. 8 (Madison, Wis., 1979), 33–67.

[123] See Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, 7: 19–25. On Occitan, see Noulet, *Essai sur l'histoire littéraire des patois*, 7–44, which gives a long discussion of "*abbé*-poets" of the eighteenth century. On Catalan, see Brun, *L'introduction de la langue français*, 80.

[124] On the debates over "dechristianization," see most recently Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution*, Lydia G. Cochrane, trans. (Durham, N.C., 1991), 92–110.

[125] On the last great flourishing of southern literature before the nineteenth-century revivals, see Robert Lafont's tendentious but informative *Renaissance du sud: Essai sur la littérature occitane au temps de Henri IV* (Paris, 1970).

[126] For instance, see the appendix to the report from the club of Carcassonne in Gazier, *Lettres à Grégoire*, 22–50; one of the reports from the club of Auch in Gazier, 91–92; the report from Pierre Riou, on Brittany, of October 17, 1790, in Gazier, 282.

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contact with their native dialects once they entered clerical milieus.[127] Maunoir lamented that even his native Breton missionaries had "forgotten part of the vocabulary of the Armorican [Breton] idiom, with the result that in their catechisms and sermons they use many French words with Breton endings, and most of their listeners do not understand."[128] In other cases, priests came from other areas of France and had not the slightest inkling of their parishioners' tongues. The program of evangelization thus demanded a program of language instruction, which in turn necessitated a formal knowledge of the grammar and vocabulary of the languages in question. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw the large-scale publication, for the first time, of French-Languedocien, French-Provençal, and French-Breton dictionaries and grammars, ranging from small, loosely bound books of a hundred pages to massive, imposing, multi-volume folio sets.[129] Given the great variation in dialects (sometimes from village to village), the project entailed devising standard forms that could be understood in as many localities as possible. Not surprisingly, later generations have looked back to these grammars and dictionaries as early examples of regionalism, for in their pages local tongues were represented for the first time as languages comparable to German, English, or French itself, but it was the demands of the clergy that generally presided at their creation. Fully six of seven Breton works were written explicitly for the use of the clergy, including one by Maunoir, a native French speaker sometimes called the "father of modern Breton." (He found "Celtic" superior to French, claiming God himself had devised the tongue.)[130] The southern dictionaries were aimed at a less exclusively clerical market, but clerics still dominated among the authors.[131]

[127] See Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, 7: 77–182.

[128] Maunoir, *Le Sacré Collège*, 18.

[129] Flemish, Catalan, German, and Italian were different matters, for obvious reasons. At least seven Breton works appeared: Pierre de Châlons, *Dictionnaire breton-françois du diocèse de Vannes* (Vannes, 1723); Claude-Vincent Cillart de Kérampoul, *Dictionnaire françois-breton ou françois-celtique du dialecte de Vannes* (Leiden, 1744); Tanguy Grégoire de Rostrenen, *Dictionnaire françois-celtique ou françois-breton* (Rennes, 1732); *idem.*, *Grammaire françoise-celtique ou françoise-bretonne* (Rennes, 1738); Maunoir, *Le Sacré Collège*; Louis Le Pelletier, *Dictionnaire de la langue bretonne*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1752); and Guillaume Quiquer, *Dictionnaire et colloques françois et breton* (Morlaix, 1626), (73 subsequent editions). The Occitan titles include Achard, *Dictionnaire de la Provence*; Jean Doujat, *Le dicciounari moundi, Dictionnaire de la langue toulousaine* (Toulouse, 1638); Jean-François Féraud, *Essais de grammaire et de glossaire de la langue provençale, pour servir d'introduction et de supplément au dictionnaire provençal* (Marseilles, 1787); Claude Odde de Triors, *Joyeuses recherches de la langue toulousaine* (Toulouse, 1578); Sauveur-André Pellas, *Dictionnaire provençal et françois dans lequel on trouvera les mots . . . et Proverbes expliqués en François* (Avignon, 1723); Abbé Sauvages de la Croix, *Dictionnaire languedocien-françois* (Nîmes, 1756; rpt. edn., 1785).

[130] The exception to this is the oft-reprinted Quiquer, not so much a dictionary or grammar as a bilingual conversation manual apparently designed for merchants operating in Breton-speaking areas. The clerical audience of the others is mentioned explicitly in the various titles, prefaces, and preambles. Given the lack of primary education in Breton, it is doubtful that a native Breton speaker could have used these dictionaries to learn French, and indeed two lacked Breton-French sections entirely (Cillart de Kérampoul and Grégoire de Rostrenen). On Maunoir's views, see *Le Sacré Collège*, 16. The Capuchin Tanguy Grégoire de Rostrenen defended his large-scale 1738 effort in explicitly theological terms: "Henceforth, as hitherto, every nation must speak and preserve its maternal language, or society will cease between Compatriots, and the souls of the faithful will perish, deprived of the word of God and the Sacraments of the Church." Grégorie de Rostrenen, *Dictionnaire françois-celtique*, iv. On Maunoir as the "father of modern Breton," see Pelletier, ed., *Histoire générale de la Bretagne*, 2: 508.

[131] Pellas and Sauvages de la Croix were both priests. Achard was not but still listed "priests charged

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It is hard to say whether these various clerical projects had any effect on actual speech patterns. The priests certainly had no ambition to impose their new "standard" Breton or Gascon on their flocks. Yet, to the extent that the local languages developed a new vocabulary in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it was heavily the vocabulary of Tridentine Catholicism. The French-Breton and French-Occitan dictionaries proposed translations for such terms as grace, heresy (rendered in Breton as *Huguenaudage*, that is, Huguenotism), even Jansenism (generally listed as a synonym for heresy) and then gave detailed definitions that were clearly meant to help parish priests explain the new words.[132] While evidence on speech patterns is sparse, the historian Yves Castan has tantalizingly suggested that litigants in southern France tended to use Occitan religious vocabulary to translate French legal terms. As already noted, Breton and Occitan specialists have demonstrated the persistence of religious terminology in the revolutionary political publications.[133]

All in all, this story suggests strongly that the non–French-speaking areas of France had not existed, before 1789, in a linguistic state of nature. Strong attempts to influence linguistic practices had already been made by the church. Furthermore, the long pattern of clerical engagement with the local languages provided the initial template for revolutionary efforts to deal with France's linguistic diversity. The National Assembly itself might have voted for a policy of translations out of a simple desire to make information available, but to the local revolutionaries who quickly seized the initiative on the issue (including numerous priests), something grander was at stake: the conversion of hearts and minds. Just as priests had held catechism classes to explain the truths of Christianity to the peasants in the language that most "touched" them, the Jacobin clubs now held their weekly patois "popular sessions," mostly on Sundays, often led by priests in the early years, to explain the truths of the revolution.[134] Similarly, when the breach widened dramatically between the revolution and the church in 1793–1794, clerical expertise in the local languages came to seem part of the almost occult power by which the dread forces of "fanaticism and superstition" managed to keep a benighted peasantry under their yoke.

Despite the force of these statements, however, it would be wrong to conclude from them that the turn against patois under the Jacobins had its principal roots in rudimentary anti-clericalism. The explanation perhaps works in Barère's case

with the instruction of the people" first among his potential clients: Achard, *Dictionnaire de la Provence*, xiii. Several more southern priests compiled large manuscript dictionaries of the local dialect, but they never reached publishers. These include a 3,700-page dictionary of Provençal by Bonnet, discussed in Bertrand, "Un prêtre provençaliste," 127; a dictionary of Limousin by Dom Duclou in the Bibliothèque Municipal de Limoges; and a Rouergas dictionary compiled by Chabot (though how complete it was cannot be determined) and sent in part to Grégoire (rpt. in Gazier, *Lettres à Grégoire*, 63–70).

[132] See, for instance, Cillart de Kérampoul, *Dictionnaire françois-breton*, 184, 189. Grégoire de Rostrenen has similar definitions, *Dictionnaire françois-celtique*, 508. French definitions are here given along with the Breton.

[133] Castan, "Les languedociens du 18^{e} siècle," 74n; Bernard, "La Révolution française," 294; Merle, *L'écriture du provençal*, 345.

[134] Further examples of such sessions can be found, for the club of Aix, in Merle, *L'écriture du provençal*, 295; and for Strasbourg in de Certeau, Julia, and Revel, *Une politique de la langue*, 280. See also, in general, Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, 9: pt. 1, pp. 62–63.

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but hardly in Grégoire's, given his clerical background and persistent Christian beliefs. For Grégoire and many other revolutionary opponents of patois, the real danger of French linguistic diversity lay elsewhere, and their ideas echoed a very different religious history.

IN THE WRITINGS OF HENRI GRÉGOIRE and his fellow linguistic reformers, it is striking just how little attention is paid to the problem of political participation. If patois presented serious obstacles to French citizens seeking to express themselves in electoral assemblies or communal administrations, the reformers rarely said so. Rather, they concentrated almost exclusively on the relationship of patois speakers to the written law. "The people must understand the laws to approve and obey them," wrote Grégoire in his report to the Convention, and he predicted that linguistic diversity would therefore inevitably lead to confusion and anarchy.[135] Earlier, the respondents to his questionnaire had expressed similar anxieties. François Chabot warned that "an insidiously translated word can totally change the meaning of a law," while Fonvielhe, a parish priest of Bergerac, commented categorically on the impossibility of explaining the necessity and justice of laws in patois. "However well the law is explained to the people," he wrote, "they will interpret it badly, they will suspect the fidelity of the translation . . . , they will stick to their own ideas, interpret it themselves according to their own personal interests."[136] Similarly at Aix, in 1790, certain members of the club opposed the public explanation of laws in Provençal on the grounds that "only the legislator has the right to interpret the law . . . [I]t can happen that the instructor without meaning to can make a mistake, or even that a well-explained decree will be poorly understood by an almost entirely illiterate audience."[137] A program of officially approved translations would have overcome the problem, but, as already noted, the advocates of linguistic uniformity believed the languages of France were simply too varied and fragmented, and most of them too deficient in vocabulary, to make such a program feasible.[138]

Did this concern for the common people's understanding of written texts have religious origins? Looking no further than the history of Tridentine Catholicism itself, the answer would be no. To faithful adherents of the Catholic Reformation, after all, the common people had no business dealing with the written word; the priest, the trusted intercessor, would interpret texts for them as necessary. The numerous works composed by Maunoir and his brethern in dialect were intended in the first instance for a clerical, not a lay, audience. Yet the general question of

[135] Grégoire, in Gazier, *Lettres à Grégoire*, 295–96. Grégoire did start out with an apparent reference to political participation, writing in Rousseauian terms that "all members of the sovereign are admissible to all public offices" (295). However, in the next passage, he made clear that this subject only concerned him because patois speakers in public office might compose bad laws, that is, ones marred by "the impropriety of terms, the imprecision of ideas, in a word all the symptoms of ignorance."

[136] Chabot to Grégoire, September 4, 1790, in Gazier, *Lettres à Grégoire*, 73; Fonvielhe to Grégoire, undated, B.N., n.a.f. 2798, fol. 44v.

[137] Quoted in Merle, *L'écriture du provençal*, 295.

[138] See, for instance, the comments of Barère, in de Certeau, Julia, and Revel, *Une politique de la langue*, 296; Grégoire in Gazier, *Lettres à Grégoire*, 296.

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individual access to and interpretation of sacred texts lay at the heart of the Protestant Reformation. To cite only the German case, Martin Luther's efforts to make the Scriptures available to the common folk were so important that between 1518 and 1546 alone, fully 430 whole or partial editions of his German Bible appeared, virtually creating German-language publishing. Similar phenomena occurred in other Protestant states.[139]

Interestingly, the Protestant reformers of the sixteenth century perceived much the same dilemmas later articulated by the French revolutionary linguistic reformers. What did it mean to produce printed texts in the "vernacular" when the vernacular, in practice, consisted of a web of dialects and languages that could vary from village to village? And how could one trust translations, given possible deficiencies in vocabulary and the tremendous conflicts that had so often arisen, not only over single words but even over the punctuation of the Scriptures? In most cases, the eventual solution reached by the reformers involved amalgamation and uniformization: the production of a single, standard translation that could appeal to as broad a population as possible, with education used to bring groups initially incapable of comprehending it into the charmed circle. In almost every case, moreover, the reformers chose for their standard the speech of the princes who stood at the head of the new churches. Most famously, the High German of Luther and the German elites became the basis for the modern standard form of the language.[140]

The case of another Protestant state, Great Britain, with its large non–English-speaking populations in Wales, Ireland, and Highland Scotland, provides a particularly acute comparison with France. Draconian legislation on language in these areas dates not from the late eighteenth century but from the early years of the Reformation, when it was feared that the Celtic lands would provide a refuge for Catholicism.[141] Thus the Act of Union in 1536 between England and Wales commanded Welsh justices and sheriffs to use only English in their proceedings. A year later, a law for Ireland stated in its preamble, "There is nothing which doth more conteyne and keep many of [the king's] Subjects of the said Land in a certain savage and wilde kind and manner of living, than the diversitie that is betwixt them in Tongue, Language, Order and Habit." In 1616, after Scotland and England had come under the same crown, the Act for the Settling of Parochial Schools in Scotland appeared, which urged "that the vulgar Inglishe Toung be universallie plantit [in the Highlands], and the Irish language . . . abolisheit and removeit."[142] Whereas the first Welsh religious primer appeared in 1547, in Ireland and Scotland only after attempts to impose English had failed miserably did efforts proceed to establish standard versions of Irish and Scots Gaelic, with their own approved translations of the Scriptures.[143]

[139] Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing, 1450–1800* (London, 1976), 291–95.

[140] See L. E. Schmidt, *Untersuchungen zur Entstehung und Struktur der neuhochdeutschen Schriftssprachen* (Cologne, 1966).

[141] Cited in Victor E. Durkacz, *The Decline of the Celtic Languages: A Study of Linguistic and Cultural Conflict in Scotland, Wales and Ireland from the Reformation to the Twentieth Century* (Edinburgh, 1983), 2.

[142] Quoted in Durkacz, *Decline of the Celtic Languages*, 3–5.

[143] For a summary of the existing literature, see Geoffrey Parker, "Success and Failure during the First Century of the Reformation," *Past and Present*, 136 (1992): 61–62.

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Had Protestantism succeeded in France, it is virtually certain that the French language would have spread far more rapidly than it did. The Protestant churches that mushroomed in the mid-sixteenth century used the French of the court and the high nobility almost exclusively, even in the south.[144] The Calvinist preachers who swarmed through the Occitan-speaking regions in these years came bearing small, cheaply printed books such as the *Alphabet, ou instruction chrétienne pour les petits enfants*, which taught literacy, the French language, and the new faith all at once.[145] The only exception to the pattern proves the rule, for it occurred in the single place where an Occitan dialect remained an official language in the Renaissance. In the tiny remnant of the kingdom of Navarre north of the Pyrenees, the Protestant queen Jeanne d'Albret established a Calvinist church that used not French but Béarnais, the language of the royal Estates. She had a Calvinist catechism translated into Béarnais (and into Basque as well), recruited twenty Béarnais preachers, and sponsored translations of the Psalms.[146] Though short-lived, her efforts so strengthened Béarnais that the kingdom, fully integrated into France in 1620, resisted the imposition of French more fiercely than any other Occitan region. (The Estates proudly continued to use a version of Béarnais for their deliberations until 1789.)[147] But wherever French stood as the language of power in the sixteenth century, it became the language of Protestantism as well.

Louis XIV, of course, attempted to sound the death knell for French Protestantism in 1685 and very nearly succeeded. Yet the cause of general access to the Scriptures continued to find French defenders among those Catholic cousins of Calvin, the Jansenists. From the mid-seventeenth century, these advocates of a rigorous Augustinianism in the Catholic church helped produce a new French translation of the Bible and defended the legitimacy both of translation and of Bible study for all.[148] The great popularizer of Jansenist thought, Father Pasquier Quesnel, stated succinctly in his *Moral Reflections on the New Testament*, in the 1690s: "It is useful and necessary at all times, all places and for all sorts of persons, to study Scripture and to know its spirit, its piety, and its mysteries." He also declared, "The holy obscurity of the word of God is not a reason for laymen to abstain from reading it."[149] Although condemned by the pope as heretical in the bull *Unigenitus*, Quesnel's statements had an enormous influence on the eighteenth-century clergy, especially on Jansenists such as Henri Grégoire.[150] Eigh-

[144] Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, 2: 21.

[145] Brun, *Recherches historiques*, 426.

[146] Armengaud and Lafont, *Histoire de l'Occitanie*, 483–86; François Pic, "A propos de l'emploi de l'occitan par la réforme: Le catéchisme bilingue français-béarnais de Jean-Raymond Merlin," *Bulletin de l'Association d'étude sur l'humanisme, la réforme et la renaissance (France du centre et du sud-est)*, 6 (1980): 38–45; Brun, *L'introduction de la langue française*, 28.

[147] Brun, *L'introduction de la langue française*, 34.

[148] Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, 5: 25–28. For a time, in the seventeenth century, it seems as if some Jansenists were favorable to translation into Occitan (Bishop Caulet was a Jansenist, for instance). This may be due to the continued strength of Occitan print culture at the time, which may have created the impression that a translation of the Scriptures into Occitan was an ultimate possibility. But for the eighteenth century, I have found no Jansenists on this side of the issue.

[149] Cited in Catherine Maire, *Les convulsionnaires de Saint-Médard: Miracles, convulsions et prophéties à Paris au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1985), 37.

[150] The two passages cited above, and three others, were among the 101 taken from Quesnel's work

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teenth-century Jansenists numbered among the most vocal advocates of universal education as well.[151]

Given the parallels between Protestant and revolutionary approaches toward the language question, it is not surprising that several revolutionary advocates of linguistic uniformity later supported a sweeping change in the practice of Catholicism that would earn them widespread abuse as crypto-Protestants: the translation of the liturgy into French. Several of Grégoire's correspondents proposed this idea to him in 1790, and the ex-Capuchin Chabot even cited Luther favorably as a precedent on the issue![152] After the fall of the Jacobins and the reestablishment of Catholicism, Grégoire himself succeeded in having the idea enacted into law. By decree in November 1797, in a foreshadowing of Vatican II, the Directorial regime declared that only the "sacramental formulae" would remain in Latin. Interestingly, some bishops protested that if priests were to celebrate Mass in the vernacular, they should use the local dialects. Grégoire angrily responded in much the same terms he had used in his report on patois: the local dialects were not "as well known, as exact, or as stable as the French language," and this use of French would foster its development into a truly national tongue.[153]

In sum, it seems clear that all aspects of the French revolutionary engagement with the language issue followed in important ways from religious models. The initial efforts to use patois to spread the revolutionary message followed from the evangelizing enterprises of the Tridentine clergy (and indeed were partly carried out by a portion of that same clergy, who tried for a time to mix the old and new gospels together). The later attempts to impose linguistic uniformity arose in part from suspicion that ill-intentioned priests were using patois as an occult tool to control still superstitious and ignorant peasants. These attempts also stemmed in part, however, from much the same concerns about the relationship of the common people to the law first articulated by Protestants and Jansenists, concerns that did not lose their relevance when linguistic diversity became a secular rather than a religious issue. In a sense, then, the revolutionaries were seeking, somewhat contradictorily, both to destroy the linguistic power of the priest and to seize it for themselves, and this meant either destroying or seizing control of his occult language: patois. In the Year II (1793–94), they opted decisively for destruction, just as Luther had done before them.

Yet while the Protestant reformers had raised the language question in states still ruled by kings or patrician oligarchies, the French raised it in a revolutionary state where the notion of national sovereignty had just gained sudden, explosive acceptance. What had been, in Protestant states, the language of the prince could

and condemned in the controversial papal bull *Unigenitus* of 1713. See Maire, *Les convulsionnaires*, 37. On Grégoire's Jansenism, see Plongeron, *L'abbé Grégoire*.

[151] See Chisick, *Limits of Reform in the Enlightenment*, 113–18.

[152] Chabot to Grégoire, September 4, 1790, in Gazier, *Lettres à Grégoire*, 74. "Luther . . . rightfully believed that the priests abused the ignorance of the people and took advantage of their credulity." See also undated response from the club of Auch to Grégoire, in Gazier, 94.

[153] On this debate, and Grégoire's crucial role in it, see Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, 9: pt. 1, pp. 374–78, 396–97. At this date, the French constitutional church was effectively a schismatic one, disavowed by the Vatican.

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only be called, in post-1789 France, the language of the nation. Therefore, once raised, the struggle for a generally accessible language immediately became the struggle for a *national* language, and as such entered irrevocably into the larger ideology of the nation. It was in this particular, volatile conjuncture that the categories of language and nationality were powerfully fused together.

To be sure, the religious background does not explain everything about the French revolutionary engagement with the language question. As already noted, much Enlightenment linguistic theory, and also the work of local scholars, had effectively labeled patois unsuitable for use in politics (because unsuitable for abstract thought). Proposals for linguistic reform might therefore have arisen in any case in a revolution committed to universal male suffrage, particularly a revolution that exposed so many other peaks and crags of the cultural landscape to the blast of political change. Furthermore, in the Year II, the Jacobin will to cultural conformity extended to many different domains (including clothing, where Grégoire again stood out in the debates); the idea of linguistic conformity fits into the pattern.[154]

Still, if the engagement did not derive from religious precedents alone, in practical terms it was soon mapped onto a template inherited from centuries of religious controversy. This mapping occurred because during the revolution, the question of linguistic diversity was essentially a rural question, and the world of the peasant was still the world of the priest. The work of de Certeau, Julia, and Revel has strangely downplayed the reformers' recognition of this fact. These historians argue that Grégoire's urban, cosmopolitan correspondents, informed by the work of enlightened scholars, saw the peasants as wild and natural, almost untouched by civilization.[155] Yet it is not certain that the reformers really thought in this manner. Some of the revolutionary writings on language discussed here (including the responses to Grégoire) did indeed treat popular rural culture as a fascinating survival from a more primitive, "natural" past, but many others adopted the older Catholic Reformation habit of peremptorily dismissing it, not in terms of "primitiveness" versus "civilization" but of truth versus error.[156] Moreover, most of these texts prominently mention the single most important institution linking eighteenth-century peasant villages and the outside world: the church. Peasants might not have had salons and reading societies and academies structuring their cultural lives, the way educated city-dwellers did, but, as Grégoire's correspondents readily attested, they had a curate who relayed news, told them what (if anything) to read, and possibly even made notes on their grammar and vocabulary. In a sense, he *was* their salon and reading society and "Académie Patoise." He gave a structure to their cultural lives, and the linguistic reformers knew they could not pursue their own program without either winning

[154] On revolutionary policies on dress, see Hunt, *Politics, Culture and Class*, 74–81.

[155] See de Certeau, Julia, and Revel, *Une politique de la langue*, esp. de Certeau's conclusion, 155–69.

[156] Jacques Revel, in "Forms of Expertise," traces what he sees as a shift in the interpretation of "popular culture" over time, from a Tridentine attempt to equate the popular and the erroneous in the mid-seventeenth century to a more secular, sympathetic, and curious approach to the subject by the scholars of the late eighteenth century. Yet he may have overestimated the extent of this shift. Certainly, many of the revolutionary sources discussed above—most notably, Barère's report to the Convention—display little sympathy to or curiosity about patois but instead dismiss them forthrightly as "instruments of error."

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him over or in some way replacing him. Thus the first phase of the revolutionary engagement with language followed one Reformation model (a trusted intermediary translating approved doctrine directly for the villagers), while the second followed another (the villagers would be educated to the point where they could read approved doctrine for themselves without danger of error).

Beyond these parallels, the broader story of French revolutionary nationalism, of which the language policies formed a part, owed much to the previous developments within the religious sphere. Social scientists often classify this variety of nationalism as "civic" or "territorial," meaning that the existence of a stable population under a single sovereign preceded the formation of a common cultural identity.[157] Yet how did the idea of imposing such a common identity on the entire population become a political cause? What made such an idea appear both imaginable and necessary? The answer does not lie simply in changing social and economic conditions. In early modern Europe, neither the progress of print capitalism, which was generally unconcerned with a poor, largely illiterate peasantry, nor the development of an (as yet largely unforeseen) industrial society, to mention again the models of Benedict Anderson and Ernest Gellner, really fit the bill. The story of the revolutionary linguistic reforms points rather at the great efforts at evangelization, both Protestant and Catholic, which had swept over Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It was these efforts that first brought about the idea of wide-scale education for the common people (as part of a broader, coercive effort to reshape religious life) and that made the people's language and customs objects of serious study, if only to refute "popular" error.

Ozouf's "homogenization of mankind" within a given polity makes a good definition for the French republican brand of nationalism, which does not seek to exclude anyone who does not fit a particular ethnic profile but rather to include anyone willing to adopt a particular cultural identity. But this project of homogenization could hardly have taken shape without the earlier—if very different—projects of conversion and education carried out by the missionaries of previous centuries. It was these earlier projects that showed that such large-scale "homogenization" was possible, while their very success (which the Jacobins saw as confirming popular "fanaticism" and "superstition") did much to provoke the revolutionary response. The revolution's engagement with linguistic diversity reveals the direct connections and conflicts between these two evangelizing enterprises in lucid detail. It also suggests why French republican nationalism, having been born in direct competition with Catholicism, has retained such a resolutely "catholic," inclusive, immigrant-friendly character. (As a German wit once remarked, "becoming French is like getting baptized.")[158] In contrast,

[157] See, for instance, Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood,* 8. Anthony Smith adopts a somewhat similar view, although he overestimates the extent to which "core *ethnies*" as he calls them dominated in societies such as France and Spain (Smith, *Ethnic Origins of Nations,* 135–44). Peter Sahlins has made the important observation that the process of identity formation is not one of the imposition of a common identity by the center but in some respects starts at the periphery itself (Sahlins, *Boundaries,* 267–76). In general, the social scientists contrast the "civic" model of nationalism to an "ethnic" one, exemplified by Germany, in which, to quote Brubaker, " 'natural' ethnolinguistic boundaries are prior to and determinative of national and (ideally) state boundaries" (p. 8).

[158] Franz Sieburg, cited in Dominique Schnapper, *La France de l'intégration: Sociologie de la nation en*

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right-wing French nationalism, which glories in its alliance with the church, has defended a much narrower, exclusive, ethnic definition of "Frenchness."

In France, unlike in many other nations, it took a revolution to transform linguistic diversity from a religious "problem" into a political one, to draw an equation between language and nationality. This is not, as historians have often and too simplistically asserted, because French nationalism itself only came into being in 1789.[159] Rather, before 1789, religious attempts to reform language and customs in France had mostly taken place in a separate sphere from secular social reforms aimed at creating a more integrated national community.[160] Starting with this date, however, and particularly in 1790–1791, a revolution seeking to mold the diverse populations of France into a single nation ran headlong into the previous efforts of Catholic priests to mold them all into a single church. It was at this moment, therefore, that a longstanding concern of the priesthood, from Julien Maunoir to Henri Grégoire, became a concern of the state. It was at this moment that speaking the same language came to seem not only an aid to salvation but a requirement of citizenship. It was at this moment that the idea of French as a uniform *national* language, rather than just the language of an educated elite, gained the powerful ideological charge that it has retained ever since. One might say that if, in the beginning, the Word had been God, it was now time to make it flesh in the collective body of the Nation.

1990 (Paris, 1991), 63. On this aspect of French republican nationalism, see Gérard Noiriel, *Le creuset français: Histoire de l'immigration, XIX^e^–XX^e^ siècles* (Paris, 1986).

[159] For a discussion of this issue, see David A. Bell, "Review Essay: Nationalism and National Identity in Early Modern France," forthcoming in the *Journal of Modern History*, 88 (March 1996).

[160] The most prominent French exception is the field of education, where the expulsion of the Jesuits in the 1760s led to a wide-ranging debate on how to replace their secondary schools. For a general overview of this aspect of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, see John Bossy, *Christianity and the West, 1400–1700* (Oxford, 1985).

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Men against Women on the Shop Floor in Early Soviet Russia: Gender and Class in the Socialist Workplace

DIANE P. KOENKER

RUSSIAN WORKERS have carried a heavy burden. Branded by conservative historians as uncultured, irrational, and manipulated by Machiavellian political actors, they were long portrayed by cruder spokespersons for Soviet dogma as "men of marble," heroic fighters for proletarian independence, the repository of progress and virtue. Within the last twenty years, new generations of scholars in the West and in the USSR have combined to challenge these extreme stereotypes, and they have looked broadly at the experience of workers at work, at home, and in politics. Nonetheless, in rescuing workers from their enemies and their friends, in attempting to valorize Russian workers on their own terms, historians have tended to emphasize a new ideal type: the intelligent, autonomous skilled worker, a rational actor in a complicated world, a person who valued dignity and self-worth, one who prized solidarity and equality. These values and this image of workers underlay organized labor movements before 1917 and helped to shape the course of the revolution and the building of socialism that followed.

This focus on heroic and independent figures has tended to blur aspects of working-class culture and life that appear less heroic and less worthy. These model workers themselves condemned elements of worker behavior that did not conform to their image of true class consciousness, elements that are now receiving new attention by historians of Russian workers: drunkenness, violence, anti-Semitism, and misogyny.[1] It is time to reconsider the extent to which the working-class culture that "made the revolution" was an exclusively masculine

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[1] Daniel Brower, "Labor Violence in Russia in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Slavic Review*, 41 (Fall 1982): 417–31; Charters Wynn, *Workers, Strikes, and Pogroms: The Donbass-Dnepr Bend in Late Imperial Russia* (Princeton, N.J., 1992); Laura Lynne Phillips, "Everyday Life in Revolutionary Russia: Working-Class Drinking and Taverns in St. Petersburg, 1900–1929" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois, 1993); Rose L. Glickman, *Russian Factory Women: Workplace and Society, 1880–1914* (Berkeley, Calif., 1984); Mark D. Steinberg, *Moral Communities: The Culture of Class Relations in the Russian Printing Industry, 1867–1907* (Berkeley, 1992).

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culture, one that deliberately and consistently excluded women from participation and devalued women's contributions to the common cause.

Women, to be sure, were a highly visible *category* in revolutionary Russia, particularly in the official Communist project. Communist leaders argued that the emancipation of women was a prerequisite for the emancipation of all. Throughout the 1920s, organizational work among women occupied a distinct and mandated place on the agendas of every public institution. Some activists believed that women, as the most oppressed of all proletarians, could be mobilized as a lever to liberate the rest of society.[2] One path to mobilization was to reveal to women the reality of their enslavement to men and the necessity of breaking free of patriarchal domination. Another path was wage labor. Participation in the work force by women was widely assumed to be the necessary and sufficient condition for the elevation of their consciousness and for their empowerment in society.

This essay is an attempt to rethink the history of the Russian working class by focusing on gender conflict at the point of production, on how gender relations conditioned work culture and shop-floor culture in the first decade and a half of Soviet power. It is an attempt to engender Russian working-class history by demonstrating that the shop floor in Russian industry was not gender-neutral but was in fact a gender battleground.[3] It will argue that common, garden-variety misogyny, ubiquitous in prerevolutionary workplaces, carried over into the socialist period, despite official policies and official protests by men and by women. It will also suggest that initial official attempts to inculcate new attitudes toward women on the shop floor soon failed and that divisions between men and women in Soviet work places became more distinct, not less, by the eve of the First Five-Year Plan.

The perspective from the shop floor rather than from party or union headquarters is an important one. Such an approach provides an especially valuable entry into the shop-floor culture and mentalities of workers in socialist Russia and permits a consideration of the construction of social identities, of "class" identities, in the socialist project. Historians of the working class are conditioned to look for antagonisms between workers and managers on the capitalist shop floor: the explosiveness of these antagonisms has provided scholars with much raw material for understanding class relations in capitalist societies. In the USSR, by contrast, the official ideology of productivism tended to mute local conflict and hide the shop floor from view. The self-styled proletarian state sought to blur conflicts and differences between workers and their managers, who were now by origin or ascription members of the same class as the men and women they employed. A focus on the conflicts provoked by the presence of women at work reopens the shop floor to historians and provides important new understandings of the ways in which Soviet workers constructed their new culture and new society. Such a focus will also help to illuminate the experience of women workers, who

[2] Gregory J. Massell, *The Surrogate Proletariat: Moslem Women and Revolutionary Strategies in Soviet Central Asia: 1919–1929* (Princeton, N.J., 1974), xxii–xxiii.

[3] For similar calls to reevaluate U.S. and German labor history, see Ava Baron, ed., *Work Engendered: Toward a New History of American Labor* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1991), especially Baron, "Gender and Labor History: Learning from the Past, Looking to the Future," 1–46; and Kathleen Canning, "Gender and the Politics of Class Formation: Rethinking German Labor History," *AHR*, 97 (June 1992): 736–68.

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are too often visible only as statistical aggregates or economic categories, in the context of family and home, or in political activism.[4] In short, a specific focus on the battle between the sexes on the shop floor helps to provide a new approach for the study of gender and class under developing socialism.

The experience of workers in the printing industry offers an especially vivid picture of this shop-floor battle. Women had made significant inroads into the printing industry labor force since the revolution. Their share of the Moscow printing labor force in 1923, for example, was 25 percent of the industry's 12,700 workers, five times the level it had been during 1912. In Petrograd, women comprised 35 percent of the 10,000 printers there during 1923. By contrast, the proportion of women in other skilled industries after the revolution (metal work, leather, wood) hovered around the pre-war level of 5 to 10 percent.[5] Moreover, in most printing enterprises, such women worked alongside men as unskilled assistants rather than in segregated departments; they were segregated by skill level rather than by space. Proud of their craft and conscious of their long history of labor activism, workers in the printing industry produced a rich collection of labor writing before and after the 1917 revolution in which their work, their organizations, and their lives received extensive self-examination. The following discussion of the role of gender is based on a careful reading of hundreds of items (on many topics) contributed to the printers' union press from 1918 to 1930: monthly union journals, factory newspapers, and the national press, as well as on materials from the archives of the printers' union and individual factories. The evidence presented here represents, therefore, a thorough review of the public discourse on women in the industry.

Almost all the evidence about shop-floor relations between men and women, in this industry and others, is mediated through Communist sources. It is often difficult to separate the prescriptive reports from the descriptive, difficult to determine when an account represents the party's voice and when it expresses the "authentic" voice of the shop floor. Indeed, as workers learned to "speak Bolshevik," in the phrase coined by Stephen Kotkin, it is difficult to separate the voices.[6] In evaluating reports of conflicts on the shop floor, one must be perpetually aware that the reports submitted by workers were selected for publication to inculcate values and prescribe behaviors. Even archival accounts may have been sent up the line worded so as to meet with political approval. Both the morally positive fables of comradely egalitarianism and the condemnatory

[4] See, for example, Gail Lapidus, *Women in Soviet Society: Equality, Development, and Social Change* (Berkeley, Calif., 1978), chap. 2; Michael Paul Sacks, *Women's Work in Soviet Russia: Continuity in the Midst of Change* (New York, 1976); Wendy Z. Goldman, *Women, the State, and Revolution: Soviet Family Policy and Social Life, 1917–1936* (Cambridge, 1993); Richard Stites, *The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia: Feminism, Nihilism, and Bolshevism, 1860–1930* (Princeton, N.J., 1978); Carol Eubanks Hayden, "Feminism and Bolshevism: The Zhenotdel and the Politics of Women's Emancipation in Russia" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1979); Elizabeth Wood, "Gender and Politics in Soviet Russia: Working Women under the New Economic Policy, 1918–1928" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1991).

[5] *Statisticheskii ezhegodnik goroda Moskvy i moskovskoi gubernii* (Moscow, 1927), vyp. 2: 46, 70; *Pechatnik*, 7 (June 1923): 11.

[6] Stephen Kotkin, "Coercion and Identity: Workers' Lives in Stalin's Showcase City," in *Making Workers Soviet: Power, Class, and Identity*, Lewis H. Siegelbaum and Ronald G. Suny, eds. (Ithaca, N.Y., 1994), 274–310.

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accounts of verbal and physical assaults by males on their female co-workers were reported for a purpose. But since there is no reason to assume that each and every report was manipulated and fashioned by higher authorities for some unified higher goal, the way in which relations between men and women were reported is very much part of this story.

MEN AND WOMEN marched together into the brave new world of socialism still burdened with the weight of deeply ingrained attitudes about gender roles in the workplace. In her seminal study of women workers in prerevolutionary Russia, Rose Glickman writes, "On the shop floor, abuse and sexual harassment were commonplace in a woman worker's experience." The dimensions of this experience became evident only after a workers' press emerged following the Russian revolution of 1905. Women complained about male hostility on the shop floor, that they were treated like prostitutes, unnatural comrades, and viewed as a lower order of being. Attitudes may have been slowly changing after the 1905 revolution, as "conscious workers" began to write publicly about the need for cultural improvement among the working class. The call for new attitudes about social relations came heavily laden with the discourse of class struggle: only "bourgeois morality" tolerated the indignities that female workers suffered at the hands of men.[7] Such analysis may well have drawn piquancy from the liberal discourse examined by Laura Engelstein, who argues that sexuality acquired political content as a result of the 1905 revolution. Nonetheless, the male voices of proletarian gender equality remained isolated ones. Women continued to complain in the press up to 1914 about the daily hostility they endured in the workplace from foremen and co-workers alike. Male labor activists perhaps believed that such bad manners would become transformed under socialism, but they made little effort to include women in their organizations or in their culture.[8]

Public (male) attitudes about women workers in the printing industry did not change dramatically with the triumph of the proletarian dictatorship over bourgeois morality after 1917. Women workers continued to receive scorn and hostility from their male co-workers, but now in addition to traditional complaints about women's innate inferiority (their lack of physical strength, their inability or refusal to learn skills, their disorderliness), women workers were criticized on revolutionary grounds as well. According to their critics, they resisted calls to raise their consciousness: they preferred shopping over factory meetings and gossip over Lenin study circles.

It is significant that the public call for women's equality produced such strident claims about their inequality: in attempting to change attitudes, the public press reinforced old stereotypes. On work grounds, men objected to women because they were less "craftsman-like" (*iskusstnyi*) than men. Women did not have the strength to press books and cut cardboard in the bookbinding departments. "You can't make a worker from your old lady [*baba*]," said one. Women were more

[7] Glickman, *Russian Factory Women*, 142, 203–08, 276–77; Steinberg, *Moral Communities*, 243–44.

[8] Laura Engelstein, *The Keys to Happiness: Sex and the Search for Modernity in Fin-de-Siècle Russia* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1992), 215–53; Glickman, *Russian Factory Women*, 203, 276–77.

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often sick, they gave birth, they nursed infants—in a word, "they were trash [*khlam*]."[9] Women were depicted as being uninterested in learning advanced skills.[10] "They'll just get married and quit work," said one union leader. Women just want to go home after work; they refuse to learn skills, said another. "Why the devil should we train a woman? She'll get married and her husband will support her." Women were reportedly incapable of thinking about their jobs when they were not at work. Because they could not understand complicated machines, women had too many accidents and damaged the machinery as well as themselves.[11] It appeared that women were always fighting with one another. Two squabbling women at one shop in Moscow so interfered with production that one had to be reassigned to another shop by the union leadership. In Leningrad, a worker anonymously complained that one could not enter the brochure department of the print shop without observing constant tears and hysterics, especially concerning work assignments: "from morning to night women workers insult each other, and the most outstanding is the Young Communist League member Savinkova, who gives no one mercy, who swears at everyone."[12]

Women like this, argued the male-dominated workers' press, were incapable of acquiring class consciousness and therefore of participating in building the revolutionary society. Young women in the print shop cared mainly about dressing well and dancing; they remained under the spell of their aunts and godmothers. Women were too fond of gossip, of comparing notes on who was seeing whom, discussions that dominated their free time. In a small town in Tver' province, women came to factory meetings only to gossip and munch on sunflower seeds and walnuts, refusing to pay attention to the agenda item about the all-union trade union congress; in Leningrad, they slept through factory committee discussions or else thumbed their noses at the proceedings. In Khar'kov, a worker named Tulina committed the incredible gaffe of rejecting a decoration with Lenin's portrait on the day of his funeral, saying, "To the devil with him."[13] What more was there to say?

To what extent did women share these attitudes ascribed to them? The records of women themselves, while scattered, produce a fascinating plurality of voices, as

[9] *Pechatnik*, 1–2 (1918): 19; *Pechatnik*, 2 (January 15, 1925): 17; *Moskovskii pechatnik*, 4–5 (January 1926): 10; *Pechatnik*, 7–8 (March 10, 1927): 5; *Pechatnitsa* (March 8, 1924): 19.

[10] For example, in *Moskovskii pechatnik*, 9 (July 12, 1923): 20; 5 (February 8, 1925): 11; 7 (February 22, 1925): 12; 11 (March 22, 1925): 9; 10–11 (March 1926): 11; Tsentral'nyi Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Moskovskoi Oblasti (hereafter, TsGAMO), f. 699 (Moscow union of printers), op. 1, d. 570, l. 279 (factory committee protocols of the Sixteenth State print shop, 1924); *Pechatnik*, 2 (January 15, 1925): 17; 26 (November 20, 1925), 10.

[11] *Pechatnik*, 15 (August 1, 1925): 14; 10 (April 7, 1927): 10; Tsentral'nyi Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Sankt Peterburga (hereafter, TsGA SPb), f. 4804 (Leningrad Trade Union of Printers), op. 9, d. 104, l. 82 (protocols of meetings of women workers, 1925); *Pravda*, June 8, 1923; *Moskovskii pechatnik*, 8 (June 16, 1923): 2.

[12] Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii (hereafter, GARF), Moscow (formerly Tsentral'nyi Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Oktiabr'skoi Revoliutsii), f. 5525 (All-Union Trade Union of Printers), op. 5, ed. khr. 64, l. 98 (protocols of the Moscow province union board of directors, 1923); *Zorkii glaz* (newspaper of the Zinov'ev print shop, Leningrad), 27 (June 1, 1925).

[13] *Pechatnik*, 7 (March 12, 1929): 7; *Moskovskii pechatnik*, 19 (March 27, 1924): 15; *Nasha zhizn'* (newspaper of the Sixteenth State print shop, Moscow), 40 (April 30, 1925): 4; *Pechatnik*, 48 (November 27, 1926): 8; *Zhizn' pechatnika* (newspaper of the First Model print shop, Moscow), 11 (36) (June 1, 1926): 1; *Pechatnik*, 7 (April 1, 1925): 17; TsGA SPb, f. 4804, op. 9, d. 104, l. 81; *Moskovskii pechatnik*, 22 (May 15, 1924): 21; *Pechatnik*, 9 (May 1, 1925): 12; 5 (March 15, 1924): 16.

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Soviet women workers attempted to define in practice what it meant to be a worker, what it meant to be a woman, and what it meant to be a woman worker in a socialist society. The dominant female voice in these records is that of the women activists. These were full-time paid organizers employed by the trade unions or the party, women who took a regime perspective and who usually accepted the idea that women workers were still insufficiently interested in public life as well as in the life of production.[14] These activists frequently described the mass of women workers in words such as "a stagnant swamp, impossible to budge."[15] Women workers, lamented the activists, shunned meetings and organizations, to their personal detriment, since such meetings publicized the availability of socialist benefits: maternity leave and child care. "You comrades don't go to meetings, and therefore you don't know anything. I told you already, we discuss all of this at meetings," chastised a Moscow organizer.[16]

In the second half of the 1920s, a minority view in the trade-union press attempted to depict women as serious, attentive, and interested in raising their skills. Women were better teachers than men: sober and punctual, they took their production responsibilities seriously. Women were good workers, they did not take unexcused absences, they treated their work stations like their children. But even the positive portrayals of women carried a formalistic flavor. The proof of their activism was generally the number of voluntary organizations they belonged to: the Friends of Children, the Society to Help Political Prisoners, the cooperative, the mutual aid fund, and the club.[17] Women did appear to gravitate toward their own separate sphere, and this sphere was defined more by issues of everyday and family life, less by issues of work and production. Women factory committee members were encouraged to join subcommittees dealing with children, housing, health and safety, medical care, and culture. Questions of everyday life (*byt*) were most likely to draw women to factory meetings and to induce them to speak up. In Leningrad, women workers in the engraving plant came to all the meetings, and they were reportedly "not just furniture" there but were active, although "of course," they were mostly interested in questions of daily life.[18]

But if the public side of private life was acceptable territory for the mobilization of women, the private side of private life constituted a much more criticized area

[14] Elizabeth Wood's study of conflicts between the party and trade union over organizing women illuminates this activist perspective: "Class and Gender at Loggerheads in the Early Soviet State: Who Should Organize the Female Proletariat and How?" in *Gender, Class, and Labor in Modern Europe*, Laura Frader and Sonya O. Rose, eds. (Stanford, forthcoming).

[15] GARF, f. 5525, op. 4, ed. khr. 119, l. 8 (protocols of general meetings of women workers, 1922). Similar sentiments were expressed by a women's organizer at the First State print shop in Petrograd in 1921: Tsentral'nyi Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Istoriko-Politicheskikh Dokumentov (hereafter, TsGAIPD) (former Leningrad Communist Party Archive), f. 435 (Communist faction of the Leningrad branch of the printers' union), op. 1, d. 29, l. 164 (party collective meetings at the First State print shop, 1920–21).

[16] TsGAMO, f. 699, op. 1, d. 285, ll. 4–5 (protocols of women's meetings in the Krasnopresnenskii district, Moscow, 1922).

[17] *Pechatnik*, 19 (October 1, 1925): 12; *Pechatnik*, 8 (March 25, 1929): 22; TsGA SPb, f. 4804, op. 9, d. 104, l. 82; *Pechatnik*, 15 (August 1, 1925): 7; 41 (October 9, 1926): 9; 7–8 (March 10, 1927): 28; *Moskovskii pechatnik*, 17 (April 1926): 10.

[18] *Moskovskii pechatnik*, 2 (February 15, 1921): 10; *Pechatnik*, 4 (March 1, 1924): 17; other mentions of this theme can be found in *Moskovskii pechatnik*, 9 (March 1926): 12; 5 (February 8, 1925): 11; and *Leninskii zakaz* (Moscow, 1969), 141–42.

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of women's interest. Men and women organizers alike believed that women workers were far too interested in gossip, which they conducted largely during work breaks in the women's washroom. Two female apprentices received a tongue-lashing in their Moscow factory newspaper for preferring each other's company to learning their trades: they were inseparable, they pulled proofs together, they even went to the washroom together, where they spent entirely too much time discussing last night's dates with their boyfriends. The brochurist who signed her article as V. complained in her factory newspaper that her fellow women workers did not take advantage of the freedoms they had won. They discussed and argued about subjects "we don't, as women workers, need. Our heads are occupied almost entirely with what we observe, who is going with whom, who is chasing whom; does he love her, does she love him? Why do we need such conversations? Nature takes care of this without any conversations."[19]

Some historians might argue that such behaviors confirm the male and activist view of women, even at work, as being primarily oriented toward home and hearth, toward traditional family roles. Leslie Tentler described similar behaviors among women workers in the United States and concluded that their interests were fundamentally private, not public. The workroom culture in which many young women found themselves, she says, "communicated to most of them very conservative ideas about their identities and destinies as women." Other scholars, however, suggest that "gossip" could serve as a tool of consciousness and even political mobilization, and that young women's concern with dress, cosmetics, and dating served to define their autonomous, independent role in society and their relations with authority. Susan Glenn demonstrates how the early twentieth-century factory was a school of urban culture for young immigrant Jewish women. "The female gang at work served as a mediating force to funnel them into the still somewhat unfamiliar territory of mixed-sex socializing."[20] The washroom here and in Russian print shops served as a women's club, where they not only applied their cosmetics, smoked cigarettes, and discussed boyfriends, free love, and civil marriage but also defined their roles within production as well. Soviet organizers did not see the washroom in this way: organizers at the Leningrad Pechatnyi Dvor plant in 1924 complained that they could not convince women to come to general meetings, even though at other times, women gathered in groups and carried on a continuing debate about raising their pay grades and improving their wages—even "in the washroom, during work time! . . . You will not improve your position with *empty conversation*; you need to go to meetings."[21]

[19] *Nasha zhizn'*, 4 (49) (June 19, 1926): 3; *Zhizn' pechatnika*, 11 (36) (June 1, 1924): 1.

[20] Leslie Woodcock Tentler, *Wage-Earning Women: Industrial Work and Family Life in the United States, 1900–1930* (New York, 1979), 60; Susan A. Glenn, *Daughters of the Shtetl: Life and Labor in the Immigrant Generation* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1990), 156. See also Susan Porter Benson, " 'The Customers Ain't God': The Work Culture of Department-Store Saleswomen, 1890–1940," in *Working-Class America*, Michael H. Frisch and Daniel J. Walkowitz, eds. (Urbana, Ill., 1983); Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York* (Philadelphia, 1986); Christine Stansell, *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York* (New York, 1986). On how "gossip" aids in political mobilization, see Temma Kaplan, "Female Consciousness and Collective Action: The Case of Barcelona, 1910–1918," *Signs*, 7 (Spring 1982): 545–66.

[21] *Pechatnyi Dvor* (newspaper of the Pechatnyi Dvor print shop, formerly First State print shop, Leningrad) (May 19, 1924): 2, italics mine.

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Such behaviors, coded negative by men and by women activists, were not so different from the behaviors of men. Men took smoke breaks in the washrooms, and their drinking rituals occupied an important part of their shop-floor culture. They did not smoke and drink silently. Print-shop culture was a highly verbal one, especially in the relatively noise-free typesetting departments: joking, laughter, and teasing, labeled *zvon* in the printers' jargon, were all important components of working life, and had been so since well before the revolution.[22] A short story "from life" published in the union journal in 1926 described the daily shop-floor banter. Typesetting an article on "the women's question" or a textbook in anatomy would invariably set the discussion off on the theme of the sex life of one or another worker. "The laughter starts with general questions and ends with intimate details of family life—but all are devoted to sexual questions": who is sleeping with whom, paternity, and prostitution.[23]

Women's public attitudes about men were no less critical than men's views about women. In her study of the debate over the marriage laws in 1926, Wendy Goldman compiled a litany of complaints by women about their men: the new marriage law was needed to protect women because men were unfaithful, selfish, pleasure-seeking, and drunk.[24] At work, the rudeness and despotism of foremen toward women workers was an endemic complaint. Women associated with the printing industry publicly chafed under the arbitrariness and authoritarian behavior of their husbands, and they lamented their economic dependence on them. Waiting for their husbands on paydays, printers' wives lamented how one husband promised to buy his children sandals but spent his money on drink instead; another regularly spent his last kopeck on drink instead of flour for his family.[25] Aniuta, a fictional printer in a 1924 short story, mused that if it were not for the need to support her three children, she would leave her hostile and unhelpful husband and never see him again. A Moscow woman printer's political activism angered her husband; but, even after many beatings, she refused to denounce him to their factory committee for fear he would turn her out of her home.[26]

Moreover, women workers—both activists and rank-and-file workers—criticized the obstacles that men placed in their path to activism. One husband refused to agree to his wife attending a meeting: "What do you mean I should wash the diapers, baby-sit, and make the soup? The hell with that! I won't let you out to the meeting. I won't care for the kids myself." Another woman was told by her husband that she could join the Communist Party if she wanted to, but he would

[22] *Zvon* is defined as "rumor," while *spletnia*, the term used when women engage in the practice, is defined as "unfounded rumor." S. I. Ozhegov, *Slovar' russkogo iazyka* (Moscow, 1973).

[23] *Moskovskii pechatnik*, 32–33 (August 1926): 15–16. For prerevolutionary examples, see Steinberg, *Moral Communities*, 78–79; and Maxim Gorky's short story about bakers, "Twenty-Six Men and a Girl" (1899), in *The Collected Short Stories of Maxim Gorky*, Avrahm Yarmolinsky and Moura Budberg, eds. (Secaucus, N.J., 1988).

[24] Wendy Z. Goldman, "Working-Class Women and the 'Withering Away' of the Family: Popular Responses to Family Policy," in *Russia in the Era of NEP: Explorations in Soviet Society and Culture*, Sheila Fitzpatrick, Alexander Rabinowitch, and Richard Stites, eds. (Bloomington, Ind., 1991), 135–39.

[25] TsGA SPb, f. 4804, op. 10, d. 66, l. 52 (Pechatnyi Dvor factory committee, 1926); op. 7, d. 92, l. 6 (protocols of general meetings of women workers, 1923); *Pravda*, July 14, 1923; July 17, 1923.

[26] *Iskry* (factory newspaper of the Evgeniia Sokolova print shop, Leningrad) (September 10, 1928): 5; *Moskovskii pechatnik*, 11 (March 22, 1925): 9; 33 (November 7, 1924): 4.

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abandon her: he needed a non-party wife. A Khar'kov woman printer brought her husband to a comrades' court in 1924 (a "very ordinary" case) for regularly beating her up, most recently after Lenin's funeral because the husband felt she was grieving too much over the loss.[27]

To be sure, many women held onto traditional views about men and about gender roles. Such women received public criticism in the party and trade-union press. Even women who had emancipated themselves from the church and who regularly attended meetings, wrote one woman organizer, still believed that men should not be expected to do "women's work." Older women were seen as a deep repository of traditional prejudices. One woman cited her neighbor, a serious, proper, and moral woman who disapproved of young women's haircuts, boyfriends, cigarettes, and books. Grandmothers who refused to mind their daughters' children when the mothers stayed late at meetings needed to be reeducated.[28]

Such attitudes and predispositions carried over from prerevolutionary times, but they were now given new focus and urgency by the official socialist commitment to the emancipation of women. The trade union and factory committees devoted at least lip service to mobilizing women: official policy reserved a spot on each factory committee for a woman and a youth representative (they were rarely elected otherwise). Women trainees were assigned to work in the various factory subcommittees, although more frequently in cultural and labor protection work than in the powerful rates and conflicts commissions. Special meetings for women workers were held within print shops, and city-wide women's conferences encouraged women in the nation's two largest cities to discuss the issues that concerned them. The union press devoted special sections to contributions from women correspondents and to articles about women. In 1924, a special journal, *The Woman Printer* (*Pechatnitsa*), was published to mark that year's International Women's Day. But the real task of women's emancipation would be carried out not in the pages of legal, party, or trade-union journals but in actual relations between men and women in the workplace, the family, and the public sphere.

Workplace relations were often conflictual, and the remainder of this article will address three interrelated areas of contention in shop-floor relations between men and women. The first area of relationships produced the most serious conflicts: this was the overt, aggressive, and militant masculinity of shop-floor culture, with its attendant harassment of women workers verbally, physically, and sexually. A second area of conflict concerned the issue of women's acquisition of advanced skills. Women's claim to parity on the shop floor depended, in the long run, on their ability to perform the same tasks as men, and the union and the regime officially supported this goal. But, in practice, women found their efforts to upgrade their skills blocked at every turn, by the pressures of daily life and especially by men's attitudes. One reason, I will argue, is that "skill" itself was considered a male attribute: it had more to do with gender than with training, and this is why men so steadfastly sabotaged women's efforts to climb the ladder of

[27] *Moskovskii pechatnik*, 2 (February 15, 1921): 10; 11 (March 22, 1925): 9; 18 (May 8, 1925): 12; *Pechatnitsa* (March 8, 1924): 17, 18; *Pechatnik*, 10 (May 15, 1925): 10; 5 (March 15, 1924): 16.

[28] *Moskovskii pechatnik*, 10 (August 12, 1923): 19; *Pechatnitsa* (March 8, 1924): 19, 20.

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production success. A third set of relationships concerned the gender inequality rationalized by the concept of the "family wage." This area produced less conflict along gender lines. Women and men generally accepted the fairness of hiring and firing decisions based on family-wage needs, not on those of individuals, especially after 1925. This attitude, however, was conditioned by circumstances, and it need not signify women's acceptance of a traditional subservience to men. Discussions of the issue reveal additional ways in which gender structured work relations in socialist Russia.

THE PRINT SHOP was normally a place of banter, teasing, swearing, practical jokes, and even cruelty. Drinking was a normal part of the work day, particularly in typesetting departments, where all kinds of ruses were employed to sneak out and bring back vodka to share among the boys. Printers competed with one another to invent "three-story" or "seven-story" obscenities. Sexual innuendo and braggadocio were common currency in shop-floor culture.[29] This was true not only among Russian printers. Men's relationships with one another on the shop floor, as Cynthia Cockburn has pointed out, were mediated through the "coinage" of women, in which women, as abstract sex objects, were handled and routinely besmirched. Paul Willis has argued that the construction of a masculine shop-floor culture is an important mechanism of resistance and self-assertion. "Discontent with work is turned away from political discontent and confused in its logic by a huge detour into the symbolic sexual realm."[30] Neither discontent with work nor political discontent disappeared in Russia with the triumph of the socialist state; in fact, the printers' union consistently voiced opposition to Communist policies until the union was forcibly silenced in a series of repressive measures beginning in 1918 and lasting until 1923. At the same time, the socialist state's urgent need for production was transforming the workplace in the early 1920s from egalitarian experimental republics of the civil war era to regimented sites of order, discipline, production, and submission.[31] Printers might well react by reasserting their traditional masculinity, threatened by the dramatic increase in the number of women working in the industry and by the state's official discourse of gender equality.

Women were seen as intruders into the male club, and the comrades made their attitudes quite clear. Reports of hostility between the sexes, presumably with both prescriptive and descriptive intent, were especially common during the years 1920–1924, as the new socialist workplace contract was being defined and the state was attempting to carry out its promise to emancipate women. A man named Chusov, a "socialist" at Moscow's Third State print shop, declared in 1920 that all

[29] See Steinberg, *Moral Communities*, 74–79.

[30] Cynthia Cockburn, *Brothers: Male Dominance and Technological Change* (London, 1983), 186; Paul Willis, "Shop-Floor Culture, Masculinity, and the Wage Form," in *Working-Class Culture*, J. Clarke, C. Critcher, and R. Johnson, eds. (New York, 1979), 196.

[31] On this process in the printing industry, see Diane P. Koenker, "Labor Relations in Socialist Russia: Class Values and Production Values in the Printers' Union, 1917–1921," in *Making Workers Soviet*, 59–93. See also William Chase, *Workers, Society, and the Soviet State: Labor and Life in Moscow, 1918–1929* (Urbana, Ill., 1987).

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the shop's troubles were the fault of women, and he wished he could expel them all. A correspondent in the union journal wrote that it was a rare day when the men in the composing room were not drunk and insulting the women. "Vulgar" insults toward women were the most common occurrence for a factory committee member at the Krasnaia Nov' shop in Moscow. Elsewhere, women dared not open their mouths to ask a question, for fear of being insulted.[32] Some might argue that such printers were treating women like one of the boys, since insults and pranks were commonly directed against other men and not just toward women. But underlying much of the hostility toward women was a distinct sexual consciousness. A short story in the union journal described the arrival at work of the young compositor Tania, just recently married. Teased for simply arriving on time when she was still on her honeymoon ("How was it, Tania?" "Was it good?"), she decides not to notice the usual congratulations on her newly married state. The teasing moved on to other targets, and Tania was left alone. "When banter [*zvon*] is not malicious, but truthful, friendly, making fun of the abnormal events of production and daily life, it lifts your mood, and strange as it may seem, it even accelerates the tempo of work." Tania understood this kind of banter and joined in. But when it turned against a young fellow trying to quit smoking, Tania defended him, and the teasing came back to her. The pretext by mid-morning was a page of corrections in a book on geography. "Correct the geography, Tania; you will become knowledgeable, [and] you can screw all around Europe with your husband . . ." "And your husband through I-taly—" with a pun on another verb for copulation, *talit'*. The factory committee chairman would not take Tania's complaint seriously and instead just smiled at her smarmily, "Why Tania, you've gotten prettier . . ."[33]

Even where the obscenities and swearing were not directed specifically at women, many complaints were registered about the uncomfortable atmosphere created by men's language. At the Thirty-Ninth State print shop in Moscow, men spoke around women "as they would among themselves," and it made the women blush. At the Sixteenth State print shop, a male worker wrote to the factory newspaper that women bookbinders had to pass through the Linotype department to reach their workroom. Passing through this "filter," they were subject to such noise and whistles that it even made the correspondent blush. A 1923 story in the newspaper recounted how a printer's daughter had decided to become a printer, too. Her daddy was so affectionate and kind at home, she was sure that the print shop would be a wonderful place in which to work. But when she arrived, she discovered, to her embarrassment and dismay, that all the men—including daddy—were foul-mouthed and rude.[34] Sometimes, men's hostility took physical form. In Sevastopol, workers refused to permit a woman to come to work in place of a sick comrade—they insulted her, and one of them threw a metal composing stick at her. At the Third State print shop in Moscow in 1923, railing at a woman

[32] *Pravda*, October 24, 1920; *Moskovskii pechatnik*, 6 (May 1, 1921): 16; 15 (January 7, 1924): 16; 23 (June 1, 1924): 13; 12 (March 1926), 5; TsGAMO, f. 699, op. 1, d. 438, l. 5 (protocols of the Krasnyi Proletarii factory committee, November 1923).

[33] *Pechatnik*, 4 (February 1, 1928): 31.

[34] *Pravda*, August 30, 1922; *Nasha zhizn'* (September 19, 1923): 1; (October 26, 1923): 1; (December 1, 1923): 3. Other examples can be found in GARF, f. 5525, op. 4, d. 119, l. 15.

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was not enough for the factory committee chairman and member of the Moscow Soviet, so he punched her in the nose, causing her to be sent to the doctor. When the union tried to have this fellow removed from office, he was defended by his workers—both male and female. One worker said, "I've lived with my wife for twenty years, and I hit her in the snout when I feel like it. You mean I should not have the right to do this?" The normality of such practices is confirmed by the constant refrain of union officials, who repeatedly vowed to eliminate the "antagonism between men and women."[35]

Insults, obscenities, and violence were mere skirmishes in the battle of the sexes, a prelude to plotting and scheming to exercise power over women. Where did the normal—if uncomfortable—sexual banter on the shop floor end and manipulative pressures to trade job security for sex begin? Favorable job assignments were frequently attributed to a woman's "pretty face." In the all-important assignment of pay grades, supervisors enjoyed great latitude. A Communist named Stogov "not only assigns grades, but simply will fire someone because he doesn't like her mug," whereas another woman would be asked to stay, "because her mug he likes."[36]

Complaints about overt propositions and manipulative sexual relations appeared in the record throughout the 1920s. At the Third Goznak Factory, the status of a woman in production in 1923 was determined not by her work ability but by personal relations. The factory committee room in the evenings there became a place of assignation; some women workers "discreetly" disappeared for a half hour or more, claiming "pressing business" with the factory committee. When the committee room became too crowded, the "business" would be conducted in the private dining room of a nearby restaurant. And if a woman were to refuse her summons to "pressing business," another would be called and the first one fired "in the interests of production."[37] In Samara during 1928, women reported constant verbal harassment from their male co-workers and a continual devaluation of their skill grades. There was only one way to get ahead: "You're a pretty woman," the foreman would say. "Spend the night with me and I'll promote you to the 6th pay grade. If you don't, I'll find an excuse to fire you."[38]

Many women may have participated willingly in these affairs. Employment was increasingly insecure in the printing industry. By 1926, layoffs had reached alarming proportions, and women constituted a disproportionate share of the unemployed, but pressure to lay off women first was constant throughout the decade.[39] It is not surprising that some women sought non-production paths to job security. One of the more widely reported incidents came to light in a public

[35] *Pechatnik*, 2 (January 20, 1929): 15; *Moskovskii pechatnik*, 8 (June 10, 1923): 19; GARF, f. 5525, op. 6, ed. khr. 71, l. 147 (protocols of meetings of the Leningrad printers' union board of directors, May 20, 1924); *Moskovskii pechatnik*, 28 (August 15, 1924): 16.

[36] TsGAMO, f. 699, op. 1, d. 285, l. 4; another example is reported in *Pechatnik*, 9 (August 1923): 17.

[37] *Moskovskii pechatnik*, 10 (August 12, 1923): 17. Other examples can be found in TsGAMO, f. 699, op. 1, d. 266, l. 90 (Moscow factory committee protocols, 1922); d. 570, l. 61; *Nasha zhizn'*, 5 (79) (March 27, 1928): 4; 15 (89) (October 24, 1928): 4; *Pechatnik*, 24–25 (September 1, 1928): 19.

[38] *Pechatnik*, 5 (February 12, 1928): 19.

[39] William Chase, "Moscow and Its Working Class, 1918–1928: A Social Analysis" (Ph.D. dissertation, Boston College, 1979), 390–92; *Pechatnik*, 50–51 (December 20, 1926): 23.

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disciplinary trial at the First Model print shop in Moscow in 1924. Two cases were on the docket, and over a thousand workers came to listen. These were show trials, explicitly designed to illustrate appropriate social (and socialist) behaviors. In the first case, a foreman was accused of hitting an apprentice and spitting in his face. The foreman pleaded not guilty—saying that was how he was trained, and how else should he train an apprentice? (He was given a suspended sentence of six months' exclusion from the trade union.) In the second case, forty-year-old Dubov, an assistant foreman in the press department, was accused of making "vile suggestions" to a woman worker assigned to him. If women refused his frequent advances, they were assigned to another department or to more difficult jobs. In the case at hand, he had made advances toward a "middle-aged" forty-year-old worker, Ivanova, offering her candy if she accepted and threatening to transfer her if she refused. Dubov denied his guilt, claiming Ivanova herself initiated the "dirty conversations" and provoked him to proposition her. A second witness, however, a young woman, testified that Dubov had proposed she visit him at his apartment twice a week. He would give her five rubles. Another woman was offered money to live with him secretly, without his wife knowing. " 'I'll give you twenty rubles,' he said. 'You won't have to work.' " Until Ivanova brought charges against him, the younger women said they were too ashamed to report Dubov's advances. The trial of Dubov lasted until two in the morning. One witness in his behalf denied hearing any of the vile suggestions; another claimed that such jokes during work with women were a common occurrence and that the women themselves took an active part. "Passing by, you can't help but pinch a pretty worker." The court concluded that Dubov had abused his position of authority, expelled him from the trade union for six months, and requested the union dismiss him from work without compensation. Equally interesting was the factory reaction to the verdict. The decision was met "coldly," and most workers, including women, believed it was too strict. The women themselves were considered guilty of encouraging Dubov by joining in the "indecent conversation." Ivanova should be punished for her foul mouth, said one account.[40]

Indeed, women had trouble having their complaints taken seriously. In Voronezh, a young female worker claimed that Ionov, a foreman, while drunk, forced her down to the cellar. But she could not prove that Ionov, who was generally rude to the women in the shop, had done the deed, and she herself was found guilty of violating labor discipline for leaving her work. When another woman filed a formal complaint with the factory's conflict commission about verbal abuse, the women's representative who advised this course of action was removed from her post, and the commission never acted on the initial complaint.[41]

The vulnerability of women to such incidents and pressures was due to their sex, and this was something they could not change. They could, one supposes, try to fit into this shop-floor culture. They could acquire the knack of three-story

[40] *Pravda*, March 23, 1924; *Zhizn' pechatnika*, 4 (30) (March 1, 1924): 1; 7 (32) (April 1, 1924): 3; *Moskovskii pechatnik*, 20 (April 15, 1924): 17; *Zhizn' pechatnika*, 8 (33) (April 16, 1924): 4.

[41] GARF, f. 5525, op. 2, ed. khr. 56, l. 15 (protocols of printers' union comrades-disciplinary courts, 1920); *Moskovskii pechatnik*, 34 (December 5, 1924): 22.

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swearing, tell indecent jokes, and become one of the boys, but this left them open to the charge of inviting sexual relations. They could remain quiet and aloof, not daring to complain to their factory committee, losing confidence in the power of the workers' state to intervene on their behalf. There were certainly more reports in the union record of passive and apathetic women than of sexually assaulted ones. They could develop their own shop-floor culture. A woman typesetter, Sorokina, wrote the union journal about how her father had forced her to work in the print shop and about how unpleasant she found the work. She kept thinking she would find a better job elsewhere, but meanwhile she made friends with other daughters of workers, and this not only caused her to stay on but to become active in the struggle for the rights of women workers in her shop. Women workers at the Leningrad Pechatnyi Dvor print shop were rebuked for their lack of "consciousness": they would not come to regular meetings but instead would gather on their own (outside union control) and in the washroom to discuss how to raise their pay grades. To the shop's union organizers, this was "empty conversation," but for women in an aggressively masculine work environment, this may have been the most effective way to mobilize.[42] Women's gravitation to organizations devoted to daily life indicates the influence of their domestic burden, but it provided them as well with a comfortably separate space in the workplace away from the hostility of men. Most frequently of all, women blamed their vulnerability on their own lack of economic value to the enterprise, on their lack of skills. If only they could acquire proper training, they could contribute more to the enterprise, they could earn higher wages, and they would be less vulnerable to cutbacks and layoffs in the industry, to the whims of male supervisors who could easily replace them. In the struggle to acquire skills and challenge the gendered definition of skill, however, women's efforts to liberate themselves from dependence on capricious foremen and misogynist factory committees foundered on the same male attitudes that had propelled them to embrace skill-raising strategies in the first place.

THE MARXIST PROJECT of the emancipation of women and the Soviet project of productivism dovetailed neatly when it came to promoting women's occupational training. The measure of social worth was productivity, and the Soviet economy under the New Economic Policy could not afford to employ marginally productive individuals. To guarantee a place in the competitive socialist work force, therefore, women had to offer more to the enterprise than the willingness to perform menial, repetitive tasks. They needed to acquire skills. Otherwise, they were of more value to society at home cooking soup and laundering diapers than occupying a niche in the factory order. At the same time, organizers still believed that women at home would remain outside the politically and socially mobilized sphere of society, and they would remain "forces of darkness" and inertia in their private spaces. Socialist mobilization, therefore, needed to bring women into the

[42] *Moskovskii pechatnik*, 6 (May 1, 1921): 9; *Pechatnyi Dvor* (May 19, 1924): 2.

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workplace, where they could be more readily organized: women could be empowered only through waged work.[43]

The relationship between skill and productivity also concerned incentives. During the civil war, under an economic regime that came to be known as War Communism, workers' remuneration was generally independent of skill level or productivity. All workers in "essential" industries received the "reserved" ration; all others received less, with corresponding declines in output as these workers absented themselves in order to scrounge for food for their families. The transition from War Communism to the New Economic Policy brought a return to skill-based wages: each occupation was subdivided into pay grades, ranging from 1 to 24. Differentials between the lowest and highest grades were meant to be big enough to motivate workers to improve their skills. In 1921, women began to speak of the importance of attaining skilled positions on the wage grid, while at the same time, the printers' union congress adopted a resolution to *exclude* women from a number of specialties in the profession.[44] This institutional discrimination was reversed in 1923, another example of the broad-based and officially supported effort in that year to promote the equality of women. The official slogans for International Women's Day (March 8) in 1923 included the question of increasing women's production skills, and the printers' union central committee publicly reversed its "incorrect" decree of 1921 that denied women full participation in the industry. The problem, argued the union leadership, was that the average pay grade for men was 9, and for women 7, and women would be displaced from production if they did not improve on these levels.[45]

The notion of "skill" is complicated and contested. Where economists might argue that skill is the accumulation of human capital, acquired through education and training, sociologists would say that skill is a social artifact, a construction based on status and wage levels rather than pure "know-how."[46] Feminist critics would add that skill is defined by men as an exclusively masculine attribute, but I will return to this point.[47] To one Russian woman printer in 1923, however, "simple" work was a job that did not require apprenticeship, one that an adult worker straight from the countryside could easily learn. The basic attributes of "skill" were "responsibility, accuracy, complexity, craftsmanship, difficulty, injuriousness, intensity, severity, and danger."[48] For most Russian printers, as for other skilled workers, there were two traditional paths to skill. One was through apprenticeship, which began in the teenage years and lasted about four years.

[43] An early statement of this policy in the printers' union is reported in *Pravda*, February 15, 1920. Another argument can be found from 1924: TsGA SPb, f. 4804, op. 8, d. 95, l. 13ob (factory committee protocols at the Pechatnyi Dvor print shop, 1924).

[44] *Vserossiiskii pechatnik*, 11 (1921): 8; *Pravda*, January 16, 1921; *Tret'ii s"ezd soiuza rabochikh poligraficheskogo proizvodstva: Protokoly i postanovleniia (izvlechenie iz stenogramma)* (Moscow, 1921), 91.

[45] *Pravda*, June 8, 1923; *Pechatnik*, 6 (May 16, 1923): 31; 3 (February 1923): 37.

[46] Charles More, *Skill and the English Working Class, 1870–1914* (New York, 1980), 9–24.

[47] Sian Reynolds, *Britannica's Typesetters: Women Compositors in Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1989), 138; Helen Hardin Chenut, *La construction sociale des métiers masculins et féminins dans la Bonneterie Troyenne 1900–1939* (Paris, 1987); Ava Baron, "Contested Terrain Revisited: Technology and Gender Definitions of Work in the Printing Industry, 1850–1920," in *Women, Work, and Technology: Transformations*, Barbara Drygulski Wright, *et al.*, eds. (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1987), 58–83.

[48] *Zhizn' pechatnika*, 16 (July 15, 1923): 2. The Russian terms are: *otvetstvennost', tochnost', slozhnost', iskusstvo, trudnost', vrednost', intensivnost', tiazhest', opasnost'.*

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Apprentices were assigned to skilled instructors, or to skilled craftsmen, who taught them their craft and initiated them into the rituals of the trade.[49] A second method of acquiring skills was the less formal method of "training up." An inexperienced worker began doing menial tasks in the print shop and, by observing the tasks performed around him or her, acquired enough know-how to begin to perform a task, moving up gradually to machine helper and then to machine operator. Quite commonly in the 1920s, a woman would begin to work in a print shop as a floor sweeper, advance in the press section to the job of carrier, taking printed sheets off the press, and then to press feeder and general helper. In the binding department, she might begin as a sweeper or carrier, move next to the job of folder, and then move up to more complex assembly. In typesetting, the upward path started with the distribution of used type back to the typecases, then to composing straight text, the simplest kind of work. Ultimately, she might train up to work on the Linotype machine, but this was extremely rare. A worker's progress up the ladder of skill was measured by the pay grade and rewarded with pay. In both trajectories, through apprenticeship or training up, the most important element was close collaboration between the trainee and a senior skilled worker, who would share his knowledge and correct the trainee's mistakes. To supplement these traditional methods, printers' unions in the major cities organized vocational schools. Apprenticeship was also formalized into "factory training schools" in the shops themselves, and, in 1923, official union policy reserved 25 percent of apprenticeship entry positions for young women.[50] There were ceremonial promotions: every March 8, to mark International Women's Day, a few women in each print shop were selected for promotion and special training in more advanced skills.

Discussion of the factors impeding the acquisition of skills by women occupied a prominent place in the women's pages of the union's periodical press, beginning in 1923. One lamentable cause, cited by men and women alike, was that many women themselves had no interest in learning new skills and raising their pay grades. During the civil war, they had grown accustomed to the idea that they could earn the same wage whether skilled or unskilled: why bother to train?[51] Such women came to the print shop planning to work for three or four years until they married and thus chose to learn the simplest jobs rather than the entire craft. Conditioned to see themselves as contributors to the family wage and temporary sojourners in the work force, they were content to take jobs at low pay rates and skill levels, not realizing that their lack of versatility would target them for layoffs as economic pressures mounted.[52]

[49] *Istoriia Leningradskogo soiuza rabochikh poligraficheskogo proizvodstva* (Leningrad, 1925), 1: 62. Apprenticeship was generally regarded to be longer than necessary for teaching skills alone; it was also a socialization process and a way to exploit cheap labor. See also Steinberg, *Moral Communities*, 68–74; and Cockburn, *Brothers*, 45–46, 59–60.

[50] *Pechatnik*, 6 (May 16, 1923): 31.

[51] *Pechatnik*, 6 (May 16, 1923): 3. See also Goldman, *Women, the State, and Revolution*, 122–26, for similar discussions by women in other industries.

[52] *Pravda*, September 14, 1923; *Moskovskii pechatnik*, 8 (July 1923): 13; 5 (February 8, 1925): 11; *Pechatnik*, 23 (August 25, 1927): 14; 2 (January 9, 1926): 11; *Moskovskii pechatnik*, 11 (March 22, 1925): 9; 2 (January 15, 1925): 14; 18 (February 27, 1924): 24; TsGAMO, f. 699, op. 1, d. 570, l. 27; *Moskovskii pechatnik*, 10 (August 12, 1923): 20; 9 (July 12, 1923): 21.

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In some of these cases, women asserted—and activists agreed—that their domestic burden was to blame. Women at one meeting explained their reluctance to take on more demanding work or extra-work activities because of their double burden: "During all these meetings, she trembles inside." She knows that at home await her husband—maybe "half or totally famished"—her nearly orphaned children, a washtub of dirty linen, mending, unwashed dishes, and more.[53] A factory newspaper featured "a day in the life" of several women workers. One named Borisova described her routine: up at 6 a.m., she wakes her children, dresses them, readies them for school. She drinks some tea and straightens up the one-room apartment. At 8 a.m., she arrives at work for her eight-hour shift. Returning home, she is greeted by a "whole heap" of work: she cooks, hurries to the cooperative to shop, washes linen for herself and three children, mends their clothes. She has no time for public meetings or for supplementary training in her job.[54] The "eight-hour shift" is passed over as unworthy of further description: for Borisova, this was *not* the focus of her day.

In other cases, it was women's allegedly "delicate physical characteristics" that impeded true equality and skill acquisition. Night work for women was officially prohibited in the 1922 Labor Code, although exceptions were granted for industries like printing, where 50 percent of work was done at night. (Many of the reported cases of sexual assault occurred during night shifts; perhaps women who worked at night were considered to be outside the protection of the law.) In June 1923, the presidium of the union's central committee resolved that women should not be permitted to work in particularly harmful departments: typecasting, because it required work with hot metal; in the stereotype departments, where hot metal was poured into matrices; in zinc-engraving departments, where poisonous materials were involved; in engraving departments; and on the Monotype typesetting machine. These were constructed "hazards." On the one hand, they were no less harmful for men, but, on the other, machine typesetting work in other countries was considered to be especially appropriate for the "weaker sex."[55]

Most frequently of all, however, women cited the hostility of men or the indifference of male-dominated factory committees for their lack of training. At one print shop, women were not allowed to work on the presses because "they are not capable of thinking about production matters when not at work." Low-skilled women were dismissed and not trained because men said, "We don't want to work with women; it's uncomfortable for us." Women were not given access to the experience they needed to train up: if a foreman steps away from the shop floor, reported one woman, he hands over his supervisory role to an apprentice with two

[53] *Moskovskii pechatnik*, 10 (August 12, 1923): 19; the double burden was also catalogued in *Zhizn' pechatnika*, 6 (31) (March 8, 1924): 1; and TsGAMO, f. 699, op. 1, d. 395, l. 55 (protocols of meetings of active women workers, 1923).

[54] *Nasha zhizn'*, 25 (March 8, 1925): 4. See also *Pechatnitsa* (March 8, 1924): 17; *Moskovskii pechatnik*, 22 (May 15, 1924): 20; *Pechatnik*, 26 (November 20, 1925): 10; *Moskovskii pechatnik*, 9 (March 1926): 11; *Pechatnik*, 7 (March 12, 1929): 4.

[55] "Kodeks zakonov o trude RSFSR Izd. 1922 g.," in *Deistvuiushchee zakonodatel'stvo o trude*, E. Danilova, ed. (Moscow, 1927), 1: 14 (Article 130); GARF, f. 5525, op. 5, ed. khr. 118, l. 3 (protocols of general meetings of women, 1923). In Scotland, the Monotype had been considered "preeminently suited for females" because keyboarding and typecasting were in fact separated (Reynolds, *Britannica's Typesetters*, 70).

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years' experience rather than to a woman with fifteen or twenty years on the job. The heroine of a short story in a collection published by women printers begged her foreman to teach her to operate the printing press. No, he said, not worth it—better that women should stick to supplying the press with clean paper. "If you all become masters, what will our brothers do?"[56]

Again and again, in 1923, 1924, and after, women reported the same story. Training required women to work alongside a senior, experienced man. But the standard male attitude was negative: you'll get married and quit work. So most workers refused to instruct them. Such craftsmen were happy to train a man; but, for women, the output quota would be declared unreachable, there was not enough paper to allow for the inevitable wastage, or the machinery was "not appropriate." Even when trained, women were directed to "women's jobs": to the auxiliary skills of feeding and removing paper from the press, rarely to typesetting or work on the press itself.[57]

A rejection of official policies for gender equality in the printers' trade union was evident by 1924, just a year after the loud official proclamation of women's equality within the industry. Grigorii N. Mel'nichanskii, a leader of the All-Union Council of Trade Unions, admitted to printers in late 1924 that the policy of mobilizing women was in trouble. "I know that you in your conferences discuss the question, and you adopt resolutions about involving women more in our work. But I also know that many comrades, after discussing these questions at official meetings, when they go off to the side, they begin to mock them, to smile, to snigger; they say, all the same, nothing will come of such work."[58]

By the beginning of 1926, the practice of reserving one factory committee place for a woman had been abandoned; mainstreaming women and youth into regular union activities was now the norm. This retreat from tokenism was supposed to ensure that "fewer, but better" women would serve on the committees.[59] At the same time, perhaps not coincidentally, union leaders launched an assault on the status of women folders as skilled workers. Women in this occupation were not in fact skilled, union men decided, and should be paid at the same level as common day laborers. A woman delegate to a 1926 Leningrad union congress denounced this view: "We, so-called unskilled hand folders, can do whatever is needed—we sew bindings, we fold, we can do any of the work and we can do all of it." These women, who had worked side by side with men for eight years, were told they had no skills. "This is very insulting."[60]

[56] *Pravda*, June 8, 1923; October 17, 1923; TsGAMO, f. 699, op. 1, d. 395, l. 84; also *Moskovskii pechatnik*, 8 (June 16, 1923): 14; TsGAMO, f. 699, op. 1, d. 849, l. 84 (protocols of the Sixteenth State print shop factory committee, 1926); *Pechatnitsa* (March 8, 1924): 9.

[57] *Pechatnik*, 15 (August 1, 1925): 14; 10 (April 7, 1927): 10; *Moskovskii pechatnik*, 8 (June 16, 1923): 15; 9 (July 12, 1923): 21–22; 7 (February 22, 1925): 12; *Pravda*, January 4, 1924; *Moskovskii pechatnik*, 38–39 (October 14, 1925): 29; *Pechatnik*, 7–8 (March 8, 1928): 4.

[58] Tsentral'nyi Komitet Soiuza Rabochikh Poligraficheskogo Proizvodstva SSSR, *Stenograficheskii otchet V s"ezda soiuza rabochikh poligraficheskogo proizvodstva SSSR, 20–24 dekabria 1924 goda* (Moscow, 1925), 17.

[59] GARF, f. 5525, op. 8, ed. khr. 1, l. 20 (protocols of the Sixth All-Union Congress of the Trade Union of Printers, December 1926); *Moskovskii pechatnik*, 1 (January 1926): 11. Wood discusses some other factors in this shift, in "Class and Gender at Loggerheads."

[60] TsGA SPb, f. 4804, op. 10, d. 4, ll. 508, 517–18, 567 (Leningrad Province Congress of the Printers' Union, March 1926); *Moskovskii pechatnik*, 14 (April 1926): 3; TsGA SPb, f. 4804, op. 10, d. 4, l. 567–68.

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Raising women's skills on the shop floor was official union policy, but men's attitudes help explain why affirmative action was practiced often in a purely formal way. Every March 8, women complained, a few of them were ceremoniously promoted from menial jobs to positions on the skill ladder, with little regard to whether they were suited for the new work. The factory administration of the Ninth Mospoligraf print shop found a "suitable candidate," Khriapinskaia, for training as a press feeder; on March 8, it awarded her the opportunity to train on each press for a week at a time. But the male pressmen went to the factory committee and protested; Khriapinskaia remained untrained, having learned only the obscenities "that were liberally poured upon her." Women climbed up the skill ladder with the greatest difficulty, and most of them remained huddled at the bottom levels of the pay grades, from which they were all too easily declared superfluous and thrown onto the unemployment rolls. By March 8, 1928, women, who represented 24 percent of printers' union members, constituted 45 percent of the registered unemployed. In October 1929, they were 30 percent of union members and at least 60 percent of the unemployed.[61]

Increasingly, factory committees and managers responded to the requests to advance women by promoting them to positions *outside* the shop: to cooperatives, factory cafeterias, kindergartens, and medical clinics.[62] Such positions fulfilled some of the promise of socialism—economic independence and work in the public sphere—and they allowed women to escape the oppressive atmosphere of the skilled workshop. But even such successes reinforced a gendered division of labor in which men operated machines and produced goods and women provided public domestic services.

There were some notable and exceptional successes, heroic women who learned advanced skills and even became instructors themselves. But more commonly reported toward the end of the 1920s was an opposite effect: demotion (*zadvizhenie*). At the Moscow Krasnyi Maiak print shop, women who had worked in the press department since almost the time of the revolution found themselves pushed out by the administration from the press department to common labor. One delegate from the Central print shop in Moscow reported that women were regularly promoted but then returned to "sweeping snow," the common metaphor for the most menial of factory jobs. Even one of the most capable of women workers and leaders fell victim to the demotions of the later 1920s: Elizaveta Iaunzem, a skilled typesetter, had been a party member since 1919, a factory committee activist and Moscow Soviet member since 1922. When a shop needed a new assistant director, Iaunzem was chosen over two men, one who was "not very practical" and the other who was a "blockhead." Iaunzem served for two years, but when her shop was liquidated, she found herself out of a job, and as the union paper reported in October 1927, "lives to this day on the doorstep of the labor exchange"; in other words, she remained unemployed. The union's explanation for this evident callousness toward a gifted woman administrator was that

[61] *Pechatnik*, 12–13 (May 1, 1927): 33; 8 (March 25, 1929): 22; 7 (March 12, 1929): 17; 7–8 (March 8, 1928): 4–5; 6 (1930): 4.

[62] *Pechatnik*, 29–30 (October 25, 1929): 17; TsGAMO, f. 699, op. 1, d. 1059, l. 15 (protocols of the Fourth Moscow Province Conference of the Printers' Union, October 26, 1928); *Pechatnik*, 6 (1930): 4.

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sufficient enterprises did not exist for Iaunzem to find a new assistant director's post. She had been offered positions managing various lesser departments, but she had refused them, preferring to improve her typesetting skills. In early 1928, perhaps because of the publicity given to her case, the union had sent her to learn the Linotype at its vocational school in Moscow.[63] Iaunzem's marginalized career exemplifies the precarious position of women in the printing industry. If skilled women workers were the only ones who could be worthy of their male comrades' respect, most women—those without the party and union connection of an Iaunzem—found the path to respect and equality effectively barred.

IN THE CONTEXT OF such prevailing hostilities toward women's entry into the masculine realm of work, conflicts over firing women first, especially when their husbands were already employed, might seem to be yet another example of Soviet misogyny. The ideal of a male-earned wage sufficient to support a family—the "family wage"—has been seen as an example of the dual patriarchy of capitalism, in which women are subordinated both in the family and in the workplace. It has been alternatively explained as a form of working-class resistance against capitalist exploitation.[64] Other historians have suggested that the family-wage ideal illustrates the domestic ideology of women workers, their acceptance of separate spheres and separate roles; that is, women workers accepted the morality of the family wage because their primary sphere was domestic and their work strategies needed to be optimized according to domestic and family needs, not individual goals.[65] The issue of the family wage, or the problem of "doubles" (*dvoiniki*) as it was known in the Soviet lexicon, is actually more complex than a struggle between classes or between sexes. Examining some of the arguments about "doubles" in the workplace provides additional insight into the role of gender in the workplace and women's efforts to define their socialist identities. In particular, the timing of the debate about the female wage must be seen in the context of women's overall experience in the workplace. The frontal assault on inequality at work had clearly failed by 1925. The debate over the family wage perhaps reflects an adjustment and adaptation by women to the gendered realities of Soviet working-class society.

The family wage was never codified, but it was applied in practice during the earliest months of the revolution. Faced with growing unemployment in March 1918 due to the contraction of industry and the return of soldiers from the army,

[63] *Pechatnik*, 35 (December 18, 1927): 11; TsGAMO, f. 699, op. 1, d. 1141, l. 21 (protocols of the Eighth Moscow Province Congress of the Printers' Union, 1927); *Pechatnik*, 7 (March 1, 1929): 5; 29–30 (October 25, 1927): 17; 5 (February 12, 1928): 1.

[64] Heidi Hartmann, "Capitalism, Patriarchy, and Job Segregation by Sex," *Signs*, 1 (Spring 1976, Suppl.): 137–70; Jane Humphries, "Class Struggle and the Persistence of the Working-Class Family," *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 1 (1977): 241–58.

[65] See especially the discussion in Alice Kessler-Harris, "Gender Ideology in Historical Reconstruction: A Case Study from the 1930s," *Gender and History*, 1 (Spring 1989): 31–49; Margaret Hobbs, "Rethinking Antifeminism in the 1930s: Gender Crisis or Workplace Justice? A Response to Alice Kessler-Harris," and Kessler-Harris, "Reply to Hobbs," *Gender and History*, 5 (Spring 1993): 4–15, 16–19. See also Martha May, "The Historical Problem of the Family Wage: The Ford Motor Company and the Five Dollar Day," *Feminist Studies*, 8 (Summer 1982): 399–424; and Maurine Weiner Greenwald, "Working-Class Feminism and the Family Wage Ideal: The Seattle Debate on Married Women's Right to Work, 1914–1920," *Journal of American History*, 76 (June 1989): 118–49.

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a congress of labor commissars endorsed the idea that employment should be based on a "family minimum": when the combined family income raised the family wage over that minimum, one of the family members should be fired. The person fired should be the family member least necessary to the enterprise. In nearly all cases, this was a woman.[66] Women workers reacted angrily to this practice, and they protested. In January, two hundred of them had gathered at the Kushnerev print shop in Moscow to demand the right to work. They had heard that women would be fired because they were less skillful (*iskusstnyi*) and because their husbands worked. The women had worked hard in the men's place during the war, they complained, but now, "they want to take from us the right to a share of bread, the right that belongs to every citizen. They want to deprive us of that right and throw us in the street."[67]

By the early 1920s, official policy had become strictly egalitarian. The printers' trade union insisted that women were to be hired and fired only because of their personal abilities or lack of them, and it consistently overruled factory committees that fired women because of their family ties. Such discrimination, it insisted in 1923, was a survival of the "old psychology," the old workplace practice. "We should never place [a woman] in dependence on the work of her husband, since this enserfs her materially and therefore morally, turning her into a slave." Even with the growth of severe unemployment after the middle of the decade, striking especially hard in Leningrad, union voices still defended a woman's absolute right to work. Work in production liberates women, claimed a woman activist at a union congress in 1928: women should not have to be dependent on men, "since there is not one woman who is guaranteed against being left alone, without the help of a man or a husband." A male union official concurred: "There is no place in this worker-peasant state for women to be regarded as some lower form of existence. It is nobody's business whether she has a husband or not."[68] A secondary consideration in opposing the family-wage ideal was the effect the policy had on the family itself. First of all, it was difficult to enforce a policy against hiring both members of a married couple in a culture in which common-law marriage was a normal occurrence. Secondly, the ease of divorce in the Soviet family code led to fictitious divorces, which also confused those employers trying to identify a "double." And, in some cases, discrimination against two-earner families produced genuine family dissolutions.[69]

Official policy notwithstanding, women bore the brunt of the layoffs that accompanied the economic crisis in the industry. At one Moscow print shop in 1924, the rates and conflict commission upheld the firing of nineteen women: twelve were dismissed because their husbands were already employed, five because other family members were employed, and two because of their inadequate skills.

[66] Report in *Biulleten' Moskovskogo Obshchestva Tipo-Litografov*, 2–3 (April 15–28, 1918): 13.

[67] *Pechatnik*, 1–2 (January 31–February 13, 1918): 19.

[68] *Moskovskii pechatnik*, 12 (October 29, 1923): 24; GARF, f. 5525, op. 10, ed. khr. 41, ll. 71, 73 (protocols of the First Oblast Congress of the Leningrad Union of Printers, February 1928). There were other male voices of support at this congress as well (for example, see l. 84).

[69] *Pechatnoe delo*, 15 (January 31–February 13, 1918): 14; TsGA SPb, f. 4804, op. 11, d. 158, ll. 184, 220ob (protocols of meetings of Leningrad province unemployed printers, 1926–1929); TsGAMO, f. 4660, op. 1, d. 31, l. 5 (protocols of meetings of Moscow province unemployed printers, 1929).

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At the same time, ten men were dismissed, four because their fathers or other family members had jobs, one because he had income from a plot of land in the country, four because of poor skills or work habits, and only one because his wife worked.[70]

The voices that surfaced in the debate over firing doubles expressed ambiguous understandings about the right and obligation to work. Some workers tended to reject the union's (and regime's) position that the right to work was the right of every Soviet citizen. Rather, the right to work was intimately connected to the right to subsistence. The Kushnerev women protesters in 1918 demanded the "right to a share of bread," not the right to a job for its own sake. Women's right to work was couched most often in terms of their personal need or the need of their families. Single unemployed women whose only alternative was prostitution ought to have jobs, said one woman. Another said, to loud applause, "When people are offered work, first priority should be given to single women who are the most needy." By 1929, 52 percent of the female union members were listed on the rolls of the unemployed, but only 15 percent of these women were married; one of these unemployed women argued that women with children should receive priority for jobs over married women, because they most needed the income. In the good old days of socialist idealism, in fact, wrote a woman contributor to her factory newspaper, married, better-off women, those without children, "imbued with consciousness," voluntarily gave up their positions so that those who were truly needy would have work.[71]

The goal was social justice rather than individual rights: by firing "doubles," the state would not reduce unemployment but would spread its effects evenly among families. When the union intervened to lay off six men instead of six women at one Moscow shop, 110 workers at the Krasnyi Maiak plant wrote the union journal in protest: "The man is the chief support of the family." These women were not needy; they were either childless, their children were grown, or their husbands were skilled workers. "We don't want children starving for lack of a breadwinner when other families have multiple incomes."[72] Among the unemployed printers who gathered to express their grievances in the second half of the 1920s, women joined men in arguing for the firing of doubles as one solution to the unemployment crisis. Like U.S. women facing the challenge of the Depression, Soviet women and men seemed to share the notion that "work was the prerogative of those who must support themselves and their families."[73]

Nonetheless, the right to work was still special, and it was better than the dole. Women's (and men's) reactions to the family-wage problem thus reflected a fusion of public and private spheres, of the identity provided by family and the identity offered by work. The unemployed worker Petrova said, "We have to insist

[70] TsGAMO, f. 699, op. 1, d. 564, ll. 77–78 (protocols of the factory committee of the Krasnyi Proletarii print shop, Moscow, 1924).

[71] TsGA SPb, f. 4804, op. 11, d. 158, l. 159; TsGAMO, f. 699, op. 1, d. 1110, l. 9 (protocols of meetings of unemployed Moscow printers, 1928); TsGAMO, f. 4660, op. 1, d. 31, l. 6; *Zorkii glaz*, 3 (33) (March 8, 1927): 1.

[72] TsGA SPb, f. 4804, op. 8, d. 95, l. 13ob; *Moskovskii pechatnik*, 12 (October 29, 1923): 24.

[73] This view, based on letters sent to government officials during the Depression, is discussed in Kessler-Harris, "Gender Ideology," 40; one dissenting opinion labeled as "sovietization" the granting or denial of employment as a dole (39).

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on our demand to the union about the recognition of our right to work and to existence. We don't want a hand-out—give us work!" And there were alternative ways to achieve social justice: removing doubles from the workplace was only one of many strategies proposed for spreading the cost of economic dislocation. Printers endorsed work-sharing, through a ban on overtime and a reduced work week. They demanded that workers with ties to land be removed from the work rolls before women.[74] They demanded that the number of apprentices in the industry be reduced. And increasingly toward 1928 and 1929, what aroused their ire more than the dual-income family was the practice of party members and union officials placing their own family members into scarce positions in the printing industry. One unemployed man complained that a foreman at a Leningrad print shop had found jobs there for his wife and two sons, and the union did nothing to correct this. A Novgorod woman complained she had been laid off in 1926 because she had married, but her position was taken by the wife of the local newspaper editor. A Leningrad official who spoke loudly in favor of the right of all women, even doubles, to hold a job nonetheless denounced the practice of nepotism: "It is another matter when an entire family is hired at an enterprise through nepotism; we have to fight strictly against this."[75]

The battle between the sexes was relatively muted in this debate about the employment of husbands and wives facing growing unemployment. Was this because male workers had learned by the second half of the 1920s to conceal their misogynist views in public? Or had women learned through bitter experience that, as women, they could no longer expect equal treatment in the socialist economy? Given the consistent hostility to women in the printing industry, unemployed women printers perhaps shifted the discourse away from equal rights for men and women, which emphasized difference, and toward the solidarities of class. Women and men, in arguing for employment based on need, for the sharing of jobs and of incomes, were placing social needs, class needs, above individual needs, whether one was a man or a woman. The attacks on nepotism reinforced this emphasis on class solidarity, placing a class-based sense of social justice above family loyalties. The family-wage debate (and the entire discussion on unemployment, which deserves further study) thus marks an important watershed in the formation of the Soviet working class: the class that would face the challenges of the Five-Year Plan was for this moment so fundamentally differentiated by gender that appeals to essential gender equality may have seemed pointless.

THE FIRST DECADE OR SO of Soviet power was a period in which the search for new social forms and new social identities produced a rich canvas of social experimen-

[74] TsGA SPb, f. 4804, op. 11, d. 158, l. 168; op. 10, d. 4; GARF, f. 5525, op. 8, d. 1; TsGA SPb, f. 4804, op. 11, d. 158, l. 167; village ties: TsGAMO, f. 699, op. 1, d. 564 (protocols of the factory committee of the Krasnyi Proletarii print shop, Moscow, November 1924); TsGA SPb, f. 4804, op. 11, d. 158, l. 220ob; TsGAMO, f. 4660, op. 1, d. 31, l. 10. Similar sentiments were expressed in the United States during the Depression (Kessler-Harris, "Gender Ideology," 41).

[75] TsGAMO, f. 4660, op. 1, d. 31, l. 4; TsGA SPb, f. 4804, op. 11, d. 158, l. 102; *Pechatnik*, 4 (February 1, 1928): 20; GARF, f. 5525, op. 10, d. 41, l. 73. Other examples can be found in TsGAMO, f. 4660, op. 1, d. 31, ll. 5, 10, 52ob, 83.

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tation and conflict in virtually every field of human endeavor. In the sphere of relations between men and women, it would appear that those relations in the printing industry deteriorated between 1920 and 1930. Some women had emerged from the revolution and civil war with a feisty sense of equality, and the trade-union press fairly bubbled in the early 1920s with news by and about women. Much of this news documented the deep-seated hostility toward the participation of women in the hitherto masculine world of work. In the second half of the 1920s, such activity diminished, and the union seemed to drop women as a special project. By 1926, the trade-union press in general turned away from the cultural and social concerns that had characterized it earlier, and the special women's pages disappeared. By 1929 and 1930, women's issues were raised only in the obligatory March 8 issues of the journal *Pechatnik.* At work, women found their efforts to obtain skills and gain parity with men increasingly blocked.

Among other factors, the economic crisis and resulting chronic unemployment surely contributed to this increasing marginalization of women in the printing industry toward the end of the 1920s. The industry came under tremendous pressure to reduce its costs and improve efficiency throughout the 1920s, but as it did so, the demand for skilled printers fell dramatically.[76] As competition for scarce jobs became keener, it is not surprising that men would close ranks to protect the marketability of the skills they had mastered. Aspiring male workers fell victim to this contraction as well as women: the union successfully fought to reduce its quota for apprentices after 1926. Technological rationalization proceeded slowly in the printing industry, which remained last in line for imports of new technology from Western Europe; but, even here, mechanization was also beginning to erode the old privileged positions of skilled workers, as old tasks were replaced or subdivided by the introduction of machines. Given the control that men exercised on the shop floor, it is no surprise that they arranged for women to be deskilled before men were. The women folders were merely the most visible of those affected.

We must also look at the bargain struck between the Communist regime and its working class in this first decade of Soviet power. A new socialist system of labor relations was being forged in the first half of the decade of the 1920s, one in which labor-management conflict could no longer be understood as a manifestation of class conflict. State-appointed "red" directors assumed the reins of power in Soviet factories, and many of them were veterans of the labor movement, workers themselves by origin. If workers had grievances about their conditions and social positions, it was not possible to base their grievances on their political disenfranchisement or economic exploitation: the USSR was, after all, a proletarian state. Different scapegoats had to be found: not managers, who were "ours," but petty traders ("Nepmen") and shopkeepers, who were "other"; not political leaders, who were "ours," but agents of foreign class enemies, who were "other."[77] Women

[76] Unemployed union members argued in 1927 that the industry's economic problems would be solved if the government introduced freedom of the press, but such outbursts were met with cries of "Shame!" TsGA SPb, f. 4804, op. 11, d. 158, l. 141 (meeting of Leningrad unemployed printers, February 24, 1927).

[77] For more detailed discussions of both labor-management relations and of the consciousness of printers in this period, see Koenker, "Labor Relations in Socialist Russia," in *Making Workers Soviet*;

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were both "ours" and "other." Official policy stressed the inclusion of women in the working family and utilized examples of male hostility to try to educate workers about the new position of women in society. But unofficial reality—harassing women on the shop floor in the many forms indicated here—provided a safety valve, a culturally if not politically acceptable target for male frustration and anger.

We may find here an explanation for the evident shift in official policy toward women workers that took place around 1925. The year marked roughly the success of economic recovery and a repositioning of economic policy toward more rapid economic development. The debates that would produce the First Five-Year Plan were already filling the press. The new efficiency drive, with its emphasis on cost-effectiveness and more stringent quality control, hit workers hard.[78] Piecework rates and tighter supervision were reintroduced to raise labor productivity, and the very success of these policies threw thousands of printers out of work.

In exchange for these sacrifices, the regime offered workers the opportunity for new kinds of participation: a mass draft into the Communist Party (the "Lenin levy") that began in 1924; an organized campaign to promote workers into positions of authority and leadership; and the introduction of "production conferences" at work, in which rank-and-file workers would help engineers and managers solve day-to-day problems.[79] Women benefited very little from any of these forms of worker participation: relatively few joined the party, the little upward mobility they experienced propelled them into gender-specific activities, and they were notably absent from production conferences in the printing industry.[80] Perhaps their exclusion was also part of the bargain that the state made with male workers in exchange for the increased intensity of work.

One might also speculate on the need for men to reassert their masculinity and control at precisely the moment when the USSR was embarking on the radical economic transformation of the First Five-Year Plan. The traditional male enclave with its discourse of sexual conquest might serve as an anchor of stability as the Communist Party led these workers into the uncharted waters of industrial expansion. As party leadership increasingly and forcefully asserted its mastery over the rest of society through the mechanisms of political denunciations and purges, such workers needed to reassert their mastery over the subordinates closest at hand, and resistance to women could serve as a surrogate for resistance to

and "Class and Consciousness in a Socialist Society: Workers in the Printing Trades during NEP," in *Russia in the Era of NEP*, 34–57. See also Sheila Fitzpatrick, "Ascribing Class: The Construction of Social Identity in Soviet Russia," *Journal of Modern History*, 65 (December 1993): 745–70.

[78] Leon Trotsky excoriated the workers in the printing industry for the miserable quality of their output in 1926 (*Moskovskii pechatnik*, 32–33 [August 1926]: 20–21). Is it just coincidence that the same issue of the journal printed the most explicit story yet about the sexual content of workplace culture? In other words, printing the story might have been meant to compensate for Trotsky's criticism of printers' manliness, as defined in "competence." See Baron, "Contested Terrain Revisited," 71–75.

[79] See the discussion in Lewis H. Siegelbaum, *Soviet State and Society between Revolutions, 1918–1929* (Cambridge, 1992), 180–87; see also Chase, *Workers, Society, and the Soviet State*; and John Hatch, "The 'Lenin Levy' and the Social Origins of Stalinism: Workers and the Communist Party in Moscow, 1921–1928," *Slavic Review*, 48 (Winter 1989): 558–77.

[80] Examples of their "lack of interest" in production conferences appear throughout the record of the printers' union, for instance, GARF, f. 5525, op. 10, ed. khr. 41, ll. 62, 68 (1928); op. 11, ed. khr. 53, l. 53 (protocols of the presidium of the Moscow printers' union, 1929).

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management.[81] Women workers were now denounced for their femininity, which was seen to be incompatible with production values. As part of a general campaign against "petty-bourgeois proclivities" of young women (the fox-trot, plucked eyebrows, cosmetics, and dyed hair), one male worker presented the case of Marusia Vorobeva, a twenty-nine-year-old worker who liked the fox-trot and had quit the Komsomol. Now she has dyed her hair: "will the five-year plan be better fulfilled if she is a redhead?"[82] And perhaps it is no accident that the trade-union record links "Trotskyite-opportunist opposition" in 1930 with the support of women.[83] If women supported the opposition, then the manly thing was to rally round the Communist Party leadership, the Stalin leadership.

Some women accepted their exclusion from the male world of class and carved out their separate sphere of activism within a gendered public space: in child care, medicine, public catering, education, and other "domestic" concerns. Some women defined their class culture differently from party norms: why should not the fox-trot and cosmetics—living freely and looking good—mean "modern," not "bourgeois"? But these attempts by some women to develop a new class-gender identity had to evolve against the backdrop of the enduring masculine character of shop-floor culture in Russia. It was male workers as men and not as Communists who defined female characteristics and male characteristics in work. Women were represented as partial workers, incomplete and transient. They were never taught the whole job. Men, who knew the whole job, retained the power of control on the shop floor and managed to confine women to the margins of shop-floor life. A job was "skilled" because men said it was.[84] And in the Soviet Union, the socialist trade union gave them the authority to say so.

What did socialism bring to Russian women as workers? Theirs was a state officially committed to the liberation of women, to the inclusion of women in the polity, to eradicating the economic differences between women and men by supporting women's participation in the work force and by providing public services for women and the family. These ideals would continue to animate

[81] Public purge hearings begin to appear in the print-shop factory press in 1928 and 1929, and the entire union leadership was replaced in 1929 for "right deviationism."

[82] *Pechatnyi Dvor*, 14 (99) (June 5, 1930): 3. More work needs to be done to understand on their own terms some behaviors negatively coded "feminine" and "petty-bourgeois" in socialist Russia, including dancing, cosmetics, and sexuality. See Kathy Peiss, "'Charity Girls' and City Pleasures: Historical Notes on Working-Class Sexuality, 1880–1920," in *Passion and Power: Sexuality in History*, Kathy Peiss and Christina Simmons, eds. (Philadelphia, 1989). For some approaches for Russia, see Anne E. Gorsuch, "Soviet Youth and the Politics of Popular Culture during NEP," *Social History*, 17 (May 1992): 189–201; and Anne Bobroff, "Russian Working Women: Sexuality in Bonding Patterns and the Politics of Daily Life," in *Powers of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality*, Ann Snitow, Christine Stansell, and Sharon Thompson, eds. (New York, 1983).

[83] TsGAMO, f. 4660, op. 1, d. 121, l. 194 (protocols of the Second Moscow Oblast Congress of the Printers' Union, December 1930). Not long before this congress, peasant women had been in the forefront of opposition to collectivization, as shown by Lynne Viola, "*Bab'i bunty* and Peasant Women's Protest during Collectivization," *Russian Review*, 45 (January 1986): 23–42. Russian historians should pursue further the ways in which political opposition may have been coded in gendered terms.

[84] I owe this discussion to Cockburn, *Brothers: Male Dominance and Technological Change*, a study based on interviews in the London typesetting industry, and to Reynolds, *Britannica's Typesetters*. Russian women printers recognized the monopoly position of men in defining skill when they demanded that one of theirs, a folder, be elected in 1926 to the union board of directors in order to defend their position in the skill hierarchy (TsGA SPb, f. 4804, op. 10, d. 4, ll. 508, 930).

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women workers and male activists alike, and surely the battle between the sexes in the workplace would be renewed as women poured into the labor force with the five-year plans and again during the war years. But this was a state also committed to the privileging of class over gender, and as long as class was defined in masculine terms, as in the workplace, then Soviet women were left with few possibilities for resisting and transforming these attitudes.

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Pulp Fictions and Problem Girls: Reading and Rewriting Single Pregnancy in the Postwar United States

REGINA KUNZEL

> Sometimes I wake up in the dark of night, and . . . I think for a second . . . that maybe a miracle has happened and I'm back home . . . But then, lying there in the dark, . . . I remember where I am and how I got here. I think of my lipstick on a highball glass in that hotel near Lorain. Lipstick on a glass, the deathmask of a kiss, the seal on a love I thought would outlast the stars.[1]

THUS BEGAN "The Terrifying Ordeal of an Unwed Mother," published in *True Confessions* magazine in November 1949. The story recounts the travails of Norma, who, discovering herself to be pregnant, leaves her small Ohio town for the anonymity of the city. After attempting to get an abortion and considering suicide, Norma takes up residence in a maternity home for unwed mothers. The story ends with the birth of her child and Norma's indecision about whether to keep her baby or surrender him for adoption.

Stories of single pregnancy had long been a staple of the mass-circulation confession magazines that began to appear in the early 1920s and multiplied in the decades following.[2] Bearing titles like *Thrilling Love* and *Romantic Story*, these magazines specialized in stories of love triumphant, love gone bad, and sexual transgressions punished. Since the topic of single pregnancy lent itself to plot lines that combined the genre's characteristic and profitable mix of titillation and moralizing, stories featuring unwed mothers made frequent appearances in romance-confession magazines.

Neither the subject nor the plot of "The Terrifying Ordeal," then, would have seemed strange to *True Confessions* readers. Indeed, by the 1930s and 1940s, a

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[1] "The Terrifying Ordeal of an Unwed Mother," *True Confessions*, 54 (November 1949): 4.

[2] *True Confessions* was launched by Fawcett Publications in 1922 to compete with the astoundingly successful Macfadden publication *True Story*. It boasted the second largest sale of any confession magazine and, after 1937, "periodically appeared on lists of magazines with circulations of a million or more." Theodore Peterson, *Magazines in the Twentieth Century* (Urbana, Ill., 1964), 300. On the rise and popularity of confession magazines, see also Ann Fabian, "Making a Commodity out of Truth: Speculations on the Career of Bernarr Macfadden," *American Literary History*, 5 (Spring 1993): 51–76; Sean McCann, "'A Roughneck Reaching for Higher Things': The Vagaries of Pulp Populism," *Radical History Review*, no. 61 (Winter 1995), esp. 17–19.

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fast-growing, mass-marketed magazine industry competed with families, religious and medical authorities, and social-service professionals for the power to shape the cultural meanings of unmarried motherhood. By mid-century, more young women may have learned about the experience of single pregnancy and the refuge offered by maternity homes from stories in romance magazines than from traditional familial, medical, or religious sources.[3] The publication of articles on single pregnancy in popular magazines rendered unmarried motherhood at once more public and more private: by making information about maternity homes widely accessible for the first time, these stories could relieve women and girls of having to confide in parents or doctors.

While "The Terrifying Ordeal" took its place among many stories like it, it was distinguished from similar popular fictional representations of single pregnancy by a blocked column that appeared alongside. Authored by Leona Baumgartner, associate chief of the United States Children's Bureau, this sidebar addressed young women "in trouble" and advised those who shared Norma's plight to write to the bureau for assistance.[4] The Children's Bureau—a federal agency founded in 1912 to coordinate national child-welfare policy—and *True Confessions*—one of the period's most popular romance magazines—may seem unlikely partners, but this was not their only joint venture.[5] Beginning in the 1930s, in an effort both to reach a larger audience and to exert some control over proliferating popular representations of single pregnancy, the Children's Bureau routinely arranged with magazine editors to include its address in stories that featured unwed mothers in order to direct inquiring readers to local maternity homes and social agencies.

Although social reformers like those who staffed the Children's Bureau viewed magazines like *True Confessions* as trashy and even harmful, many came to see their massive readership as something that might be cultivated rather than deplored. It is possible that the Children's Bureau turned to confession magazines as a way to reach single, pregnant, working-class girls and women increasingly neglected by social workers who pursued a middle-class clientele after the war. The reasons offered by Children's Bureau officer Maud Morlock for allying with Dr. Valeria

[3] See Regina G. Kunzel, *Fallen Women, Problem Girls: Unmarried Mothers and the Professionalization of Social Work, 1890–1945* (New Haven, Conn., 1993), 74–75.

[4] The U.S. Children's Bureau was established in the Department of Commerce and Labor in 1912 and transferred in 1913 to the newly created Department of Labor. It marked the success of years of intensive lobbying by women active in various fields of child welfare—including settlement houses, child labor reform, and the juvenile court movement—and became, in historian Robyn Muncy's words, "the first female stronghold in the federal government." Muncy, *Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform, 1890–1935* (New York, 1991), 38. See also Molly Ladd-Taylor, *Mother-Work: Women, Child Welfare, and the State, 1890–1930* (Urbana, Ill., 1994); Nancy Pottisman Weiss, "Save the Children: A History of the Children's Bureau, 1903–1918" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1974); Louis Covotsos, "Child Welfare and Social Progress: A History of the U.S. Children's Bureau, 1912–1935" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1976); Jacqueline K. Parker and Edward M. Carpenter, "Julia Lathrop and the Children's Bureau: The Emergence of an Institution," *Social Service Review*, 55 (March 1981): 60–77; James A. Tobey, *The Children's Bureau: Its History, Activities, and Organization* (Baltimore, Md., 1925).

[5] The address of the Children's Bureau also accompanied Virginia Reid's "Black Market Babies," *Women's Home Companion*, 71 (December 1944): 30–31. Rickie Solinger discusses the "outreach program" led by Children's Bureau officer Maud Morlock in the 1940s and 1950s, in which Morlock "worked with editors of mass circulation and romance magazines on stories about unwed mothers." Solinger, *Wake Up Little Susie: Single Pregnancy and Race before Roe v. Wade* (New York, 1992), 112.

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Parker, author of a monthly column in *True Story* in the early 1940s devoted to unmarried mothers, suggest as much. Initially wary of appealing to young women through a popular magazine, Morlock concluded that "Dr. Parker is reaching many girls who at this stage of social work development would not be reached in any other way."[6] Children's Bureau workers realized their relative disadvantage in the battle for the attentions of young women and slowly but steadily overcame their aversion to the romance-confessional form—at least enough to devise ways to use those magazines to spread word of their services.[7] In Cleveland, Bernice Seltz of the Council of Social Agencies, for example, remarked wryly that the copy of *True Confessions* she displayed on her desk "gives my office quite a different quality" from that of most social workers, but she judged "The Terrifying Ordeal" to be "excellent."[8]

In response to "The Terrifying Ordeal," the Children's Bureau received about one hundred and fifty letters, out of which roughly one hundred have survived in the bureau's papers.[9] By and large, they were written by women with nowhere else to turn; those with greater financial or familial resources could more often call on sources other than the Children's Bureau for help in negotiating the crisis posed by single pregnancy. Although it is not always possible to discern the class background of each letter writer, the financial circumstances, occupations, and living arrangements they described suggest that they were generally representative of the largely working-class readership commanded by *True Confessions.*[10] Most described themselves and their families as financially strapped, some relied on meager public support, and a few seemed barely able to make ends meet. Some were still in school; others worked as typists, factory operatives, nurses, and domestics. Yet, within this predominantly working-class group, the letter writers were remarkably diverse in region, race, and age. Women wrote from every region of the country, from rural, small-town, and urban locales.[11] Some lived at home with their parents or other relatives; others lived alone, with friends, or with

[6] Maud Morlock to Lucille Cairns, August 14, 1942, Box 176, Folder 7–4–3–1–4, Record Group 102, Children's Bureau Papers, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (hereafter cited as CB). The Children's Bureau arranged for Dr. Parker to send the letters to them, and the Children's Bureau wrote the replies. See Maud Morlock, "Letters from Unmarried Mothers—What Answer?" December 29, 1941, Box 208, Folder 4, Welfare Council Collection, Chicago Historical Society, Chicago, Illinois.

[7] Such a calculation led the National Florence Crittenton Mission (NFCM), an organization that sponsored the largest chain of maternity homes for unmarried mothers, to join forces with confession magazines. In 1936, NFCM officers, fearing that their traditionally conservative and discreet strategies for publicizing the homes were failing to reach their audience, decided to capitalize on the large readership of these magazines by running an article, "I Was an Unmarried Mother," in *True Story.* The response was immediate and overwhelming, resulting in requests for help from thousands of single pregnant women. See "Results of Magazine Publicity," *Florence Crittenton Bulletin,* 12 (January 1937): 8.

[8] Bernice Seltz to Maud Morlock, November 11, 1949, Box 456, Folder 7–4–3–1–1, CB.

[9] Maud Morlock wrote that the Children's Bureau received "about 150 letters." Morlock to Sister Mary Assisium, Director, Family and Child Care, New York Foundling Hospital, November 2, 1950, Box 455, Folder 7–4–3–0, CB.

[10] On confession magazines and working-class readership, see Lee Rainwater, Richard P. Coleman, and Gerald Handel, *Workingman's Wife: Her Personality, World, and Life Style* (New York, 1959); George Gerbner, "The Social Role of the Confession Magazine," *Social Problems,* 6 (Summer 1958): 29–40; Thomas H. Uzzell, "The Love Pulps," *Scribner's Magazine,* 103 (April 1938): 36–41.

[11] The letters came from the following regions of the country: Northeast (19), Mid-Atlantic (14), Southeast (35), Midwest (18), Southwest (9), West (5).

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employers. Those who mentioned their ages ranged from fourteen to twenty-seven. At least ten of the letters were written by African-American women and one by a Mexican-American woman.

Few unmarried pregnant women in this period wrote willingly of their experiences. Indeed, single pregnancy was so markedly stigmatized in postwar America that most women did what they could to cover their tracks. These letters, then, are extraordinary documents that add nuance and complexity to our understanding of the sexual culture taking shape in the United States during and after World War II.[12] While "The Terrifying Ordeal" expressed and reinforced the increasingly hysterical concern of postwar Americans with female sexual transgression, the letters written in response illuminate the interplay between sexual prescriptions and lived experience, about which we know surprisingly little.[13] Because they were written by women who were among the principal targets rather than the authors of postwar prescriptions, these letters allow a rare view of the ways in which working-class women negotiated the sexual minefield of 1949.

Certainly, the letters are qualitatively different from sources that historians have typically used to explore the lives of stigmatized subjects. Historians of "deviant" populations—including prostitutes, lesbians and gay men, "delinquents," and those judged insane, as well as single mothers—have had to wrestle with the methodological quandaries presented in sources composed by those who were also responsible for surveying, analyzing, and often disciplining those subjects. In my earlier work on unmarried mothers in the first half of the twentieth-century United States, for instance, I relied heavily on maternity home and social-work case records. Key to the professionalizing project of social workers, casework used a step-by-step procedure of collecting information about a person's experiences and background, followed by "diagnosis" and "treatment" of their problem. Single pregnancy was high on social workers' list of "problems" plaguing the first half of the twentieth century, and the records generated by the process of casework provide invaluable evidence from the lives of unwed mothers. But because case records were written either by a member of the home's staff or by a social worker, they were mediated several times over—shaped by the kind of questions asked and by who was asking, by the "client's" relationship to the social worker and by what that worker considered important enough to record. Consequently, case records often reveal as much, if not more, about those conducting the interview as they do about those interviewed. One astute sociol-

[12] Recent work by historians has done much to document the new and multiplying sexual anxieties and prescriptions in this period. Elaine Tyler May, in particular, has argued that concern about female "promiscuity" addressed larger gender anxieties unleashed during wartime; May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York, 1988), esp. chap. 4. In *Wake Up Little Susie*, Solinger shows how race informed and structured postwar sexual prescriptions.

[13] Because of the increasingly sophisticated work in gay and lesbian history, we know more about how gay men and lesbians constructed identities in the postwar United States than we do about constructions of heterosexuality. See Donna Penn, "The Meanings of Lesbianism in Post-War America," *Gender and History*, 3 (Summer 1991): 190–203; Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy and Madeline D. Davis, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of a Lesbian Community* (New York, 1993); Esther Newton, *Cherry Grove, Fire Island: Sixty Years in America's First Gay and Lesbian Town* (Boston, 1993). Wini Breines investigates the ways in which middle-class white women negotiated postwar heterosexual prescriptions, in *Young, White, and Miserable: Growing Up Female in the Fifties* (Boston, 1992). See also Brett Harvey, *The Fifties: A Women's Oral History* (New York, 1993).

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ogist wrote in 1928, "the characters in case records do not speak for themselves. They obtain a hearing only in the translation provided by the language of the social worker."[14] As with the voices of many other "deviants," historians have had to strain to hear the voices of unmarried mothers, "translated" as they were by authorities who claimed expertise in the lives of "problem girls."[15]

The letters written in response to "The Terrifying Ordeal," on the other hand, seemingly offer tantalizingly unmediated evidence of the experience of single pregnancy. Especially when viewed alongside the institutional files of the Children's Bureau among which they have been kept, the letters possess an undeniable and moving authenticity. No small part of their authentic appeal for the historian lies in their nature as physical documents. Some were written in a neat, tight hand on flowered stationery, others were scrawled in pencil on cheap, lined paper. Women who worked as secretaries seem to have been able to steal some personal time on the office typewriter. Most of the letters were written by women whose despair is palpable:

> Dear Leona Baumgartner, M.D., I am a girl that would like to found [*sic*] out what a girl could do if a girl got in trouble and couldn't get married . . . When you have no money. And you are afraid to tell your Mother. When she is such a wonderful Mother. And if she knew that her daughter was in "trouble" I don't know what she would do. And when you are young and nobody knows about me being the way that I am . . . Leona Baumgartner, is there anything that you could do . . . Please help me please.[16]

Historians are often confronted with and moved by documents that speak with unusual immediacy and directness; these do so with a heartbreaking urgency that seems to bring their authors into the room.

Since sources authored by single pregnant women are so rare, it was tempting to read these letters as *true* "true confessions"—sources that might offer a window onto the lived experience of single pregnancy—in contrast to fictional representations in romance magazines or the often judgmental representations offered by evangelical reformers, social workers, and public policy makers. Furthermore, the conceptual opposition of representation and reality that informs so much social history invited me to contrast the words of "real" unmarried mothers and those

[14] Ernest W. Burgess, "What Social Case Records Should Contain to Be Useful for Sociological Interpretation," *Social Forces*, 6 (June 1928): 527. See Kunzel, *Fallen Women, Problem Girls*, esp. chap. 4. Other historians who have considered case records as historical sources include Linda Gordon, *Heroes of Their Own Lives: The Politics and History of Family Violence, Boston, 1880–1960* (New York, 1988); Elizabeth Lunbeck, *The Psychiatric Persuasion: Knowledge, Gender, and Power in Modern America* (Princeton, N.J., 1994); Peggy Pascoe, *Relations of Rescue: The Search for Female Moral Authority in the American West, 1874–1939* (New York, 1990); Clarke A. Chambers, "Toward a Redefinition of Welfare History," *Journal of American History*, 73 (September 1986): 423; Barbara M. Brenzel, *Daughters of the State: A Social Portrait of the First Reform School for Girls in North America, 1856–1905* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983). See also David Klaassen, "The Provenance of Social Work Case Records: Implications for Archival Appraisal and Access," *Provenance*, 1 (Spring 1983): 5–30; G. J. Parr, "Case Records as Sources for Social History," *Archivaria*, 4 (Summer 1977): 122–36.

[15] Jennifer Terry, in her fascinating discussion of a late 1930s study of "sex variants," details the methodological practice "reading against the grain." Terry, "Theorizing Deviant Historiography," *differences*, 3 (Summer 1991): 55–74.

[16] Portsmouth, Virginia, to Children's Bureau, Box 457, Folder 7–4–3–1–4, CB. To preserve the anonymity of women who wrote to the Children's Bureau, I refer to them by location rather than by name. Unless otherwise noted, the letters cited are all in the National Archives location, Box 457, Folder 7–4–3–1–4.

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of their fictional counterparts, in the hope that the disjunctures might elucidate the texture of lives to which we otherwise have little access. I had finally found sources in which single pregnant women spoke for themselves, in their own words.

Or so it seemed. Because at the same time that these letters shed light on the experience of single pregnancy, they draw attention to the inextricability of that experience from its representation. Since the act of writing a letter to the Children's Bureau called, to some extent, for a "true confession" on the part of the person writing, the "truth" of the woman's experience would always be mediated, and perhaps even constructed, by the linguistic and narrative means she employed to tell it.

Some other evidence suggests that popular culture might have helped women find the words to make such a confession, as well as the narrative templates with which to plot their own stories. According to one social worker in 1933, young women "almost universally came to maternity homes armed with *True Story Magazine*," explaining to disapproving elders that " 'the stories are just like us.' "[17] E. Franklin Frazier observed that the African-American women he interviewed "are often influenced in their attitudes toward sex by the printed page," and he noted regretfully that "as a rule the literature with which they are acquainted is restricted to such magazines as *True Stories* and *True Confessions*." One woman, according to Frazier in 1948, "recounted in her life-history a story from one of those magazines that centered about the romantic career of an unmarried mother."[18] In 1936, when the National Florence Crittenton Mission ran a story titled "I Was an Unmarried Mother" in *True Story* to publicize its chain of maternity homes, it was "fairly swamped" with over two thousand letters, "each telling a story similar to that of" the story's heroine.[19] Reports like these suggest that confessional stories may have provided help in answering the questions "how" and "why" that had been persistently and aggressively posed to single pregnant women by medical, religious, and social-service professionals for decades.

In this article, I propose to use "The Terrifying Ordeal of an Unwed Mother" and responses to it not only to examine the ways in which romance magazines constructed postwar sexual meanings but also to consider how those meanings might have been read, appropriated, and possibly transformed by their readers. How might women and girls have used popular culture to structure their responses to single pregnancy? How might stories like "The Terrifying Ordeal" have shaped the way they understood, represented, and even experienced unmarried motherhood?

These questions are informed by overlapping efforts in several areas of scholarship. Those working in the interdisciplinary field of cultural studies have sought to understand the processes by which people actively make meaning out of popular culture. At the same time, some literary critics, particularly those interested in reader-response criticism, have questioned the power of texts to dictate their own meaning, arguing instead that literary meaning is constructed in

[17] Charlotte Henry, "Objectives in Work with Unmarried Mothers," *Family*, 14 (May 1933): 76.
[18] E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro Family in the United States*, rev. edn. (New York, 1948), 264.
[19] "Results of Magazine Publicity," *Florence Crittenton Bulletin*, 12 (January 1937): 8. See "I Was an Unmarried Mother," *True Story*, 35 (September 1936).

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the relationship of reader and text. Calling on these insights, several historians have recently sought to explore what, how, and to what effect people in the past read.[20] Letters written by single pregnant women in response to this *True Confessions* story offer to fill in what Susan Douglas has called the "dearth of evidence" that historians typically confront in trying to reconstruct past audiences of popular culture.[21] Indeed, since we know surprisingly little about the many, mostly free-lance, writers who wrote for confession magazines, the letters present the unusual opportunity to learn more about the consumers of popular culture than about its producers.[22]

The letters also prompt methodological questions about what historian Joan W. Scott has termed the "evidence of experience" and, in so doing, raise questions about the relationship between representation and material life that has become the focus of vexed debate in recent historical scholarship.[23] Scott criticizes what

[20] For introductions to reader-response criticism, see Susan R. Suleiman and Inge Crosman, *The Reader in the Text: Essays on Audience and Interpretation* (Princeton, N.J., 1980); Jane P. Tompkins, ed., *Reader-Response Criticism: From Formalism to Post-Structuralism* (Baltimore, Md., 1980). See also Janice A. Radway, *Reading the Romance: Women, Patriarchy, and Popular Literature* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1984); Elizabeth A. Flynn and Patrocinio P. Schweichart, eds., *Gender and Reading: Essays on Readers, Texts, and Contexts* (Baltimore, 1986); Elizabeth Freund, *The Return of the Reader: Reader-Response Criticism* (London, 1987); Steven Mailloux, "Reader-Response Criticism?" *Genre*, 10 (Fall 1977): 413–31.

Historians of popular culture include Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York* (Philadelphia, 1986); Roy Rosenzweig, *Eight Hours for What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1877–1919* (Cambridge, 1983); Lawrence W. Levine, "The Folklore of Industrial Society: Popular Culture and Its Audiences," *AHR*, 97 (December 1992): 1369–99; T. J. Jackson Lears, "Making Fun of Popular Culture," *AHR*, 97 (December 1992): 1417–26; Robin D. G. Kelley, "Notes on Deconstructing 'The Folk,'" *AHR*, 97 (December 1992): 1400–08.

Related work in cultural studies includes Stuart Hall, "Notes on Deconstructing 'the Popular,'" in *People's History and Socialist Theory*, Raphael Samuel, ed. (London, 1981); Hall, "Culture, Media, and the 'Ideological Effect,'" in *Mass Communication and Society*, James Curran, Michael Gurevitch, and Janet Wollacott, eds. (London, 1977); John Fiske, *Reading the Popular* (Boston, 1989); Fiske, *Understanding Popular Culture* (Boston, 1989); Michael Denning, "The End of Mass Culture," *Industrial Labor and Working Class History*, 37 (Spring 1990): 4–18; Denning, *Mechanic Accents: Dime Novels in Working-Class Culture in America* (London, 1987); Rosalind Brunt, "Engaging with the Popular: Audiences for Mass Culture and What to Say about Them," in *Cultural Studies*, Lawrence Grossberg, Cary Nelson, and Paula Treichler, eds. (New York, 1992). For a critique of these approaches, see T. J. Jackson Lears, "Power, Culture, and Memory," *Journal of American History*, 75 (June 1988): 137–40.

Historical investigations of reading include Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, "'Nous Autres': Reading, Passion, and the Creation of M. Carey Thomas," *Journal of American History*, 79 (June 1992): 68–95; Barbara Sicherman, "Reading and Ambition: M. Carey Thomas and Female Heroism," *American Quarterly*, 45 (March 1993): 73–103; Roger Chartier, "Texts, Printing, Readings," in *The New Cultural History*, Lynn Hunt, ed. (Berkeley, Calif., 1989); Cathy N. Davidson, ed., *Reading in America: Literature and Social History* (Baltimore, Md., 1989).

[21] Susan J. Douglas, "Notes toward a History of Media Audiences," *Radical History Review*, no. 54 (Fall 1992): 135. Because of this dearth, Douglas writes, "We are, for the most part, restricted to data generated by the producers, not the consumers of popular culture" (p. 135).

[22] John Tebbel and Mary Ellen Zuckerman find that "some newspapermen made extra income by 'confessing' on behalf of women whose stories they had covered in the course of their daily work." *The Magazine in America, 1741–1990* (New York, 1991), 194. Writers made about $50 a story, and they could learn the formula of confession stories by reading articles such as "I Sell Confessions" and "How to Hit *True Story*," in the trade publication *Writer's Market*. See Gerbner, "Social Role," 33.

[23] Joan W. Scott, "The Evidence of Experience," *Critical Inquiry*, 17 (Summer 1991): 773–97. See also Scott, "On Language, Gender, and Working-Class History," *International Labor and Working-Class History*, no. 31 (Spring 1987): 1–13; Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "Writing History: Language, Class, and Gender," in *Feminist Studies/Critical Studies*, Teresa de Lauretis, ed. (Bloomington, Ind., 1986); Teresa de Lauretis, *Alice Doesn't: Feminism, Semiotics, Cinema* (Bloomington, 1984), esp. 159.

I am indebted to the work of historians who have begun to consider the relationship of

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she sees as the tendency of historians to depict "experience" as an unmediated, transparent category, leading them simply to "document" the experience of their subjects. Rather than considering experience a foundational category, an end point, or a kind of bedrock to be excavated, Scott urges historians to explore the cultural system of meaning in which that experience is embedded, investigate the ways in which "experience" is discursively produced, and analyze the politics of that production.

Historians have met Scott's criticisms and other allied approaches characterized broadly as taking the "linguistic turn" with varying degrees of enthusiasm or resistance. Many believe that such a turn can only harm the practice of history, though the precise nature of that harm has been imagined and expressed differently. Some criticize what they see as an implicit elitism in the theory and methods of linguistic analysis, usually expressed in a disdain for the seemingly inaccessible jargon of literary criticism in favor of the supposedly common-sense vocabulary of historians. Surely speaking for many historians, Christine Stansell has written, "While we doggedly truck and barter our empirical goods, the critics sport about in the fields of cosmopolitan debate, tossing glamorous French names to and fro, plying intellectual arabesques, making graceful play of ponderous philosophical speculation."[24] The historian's trade is assumed to be a grubbier, down-to-earth business and, many would have it, more honorable for it.

There is more to this critique, though, than the complaint that historians have been left behind in theoretical debates. What troubles many historians is a sense that the use of literary methods leads to the denial of agency—what Stansell has aptly termed "the conscious activity of people in making and remaking the world."[25] Some historians are especially concerned that literary techniques tend to reduce reality to textuality, a reduction that, some fear, works most perniciously to erase the materiality of oppression and suffering.[26] Animating many of these criticisms is the concern that text-based analyses dance airily above the ground of

representation and experience, including Judith R. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (Chicago, 1992); Mary Poovey, *Uneven Developments: The Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England* (Chicago, 1988); JoAnne Brown, *The Definition of a Profession: The Authority of Metaphor in the History of Intelligence Testing, 1890–1930* (Princeton, N.J., 1992); Natalie Zemon Davis, *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France* (Stanford, Calif., 1987); Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York, 1985); Hayden White, "The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality," in *On Narrative*, W. J. T. Mitchell, ed. (Chicago, 1988), 1–23.

My argument is also informed by recent efforts by historians to engage theoretical questions about the ways in which identities are socially and discursively constructed. Joan Scott has considered these questions most directly in "Evidence of Experience." See also Terry, "Theorizing Deviant Historiography"; Lisa Duggan, "The Trials of Alice Mitchell: Sensationalism, Sexology, and the Lesbian Subject in Turn-of-the-Century America," *Signs*, 18 (Summer 1993): 791–314; Esther Newton, "The Mythic Mannish Lesbian: Radclyffe Hall and the New Woman," *Signs*, 9 (Summer 1984): 557–75; Sueann Caulfield, "Getting into Trouble: Dishonest Women, Modern Girls, and Women-Men in the Conceptual Language of *Vida Policial*, 1925–1927," *Signs*, 19 (Autumn 1993): 146–76.

[24] Christine Stansell, "A Response to Joan Scott," *International Labor and Working-Class History*, no. 31 (Spring 1987): 24.

[25] Stansell, "Response to Joan Scott," 28.

[26] See, for example, Bryan Palmer, *Descent into Discourse: The Reification of Language and the Writing of Social History* (Philadelphia, 1990); Linda Gordon, review of Joan W. Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, and reply, *Signs*, 15 (Summer 1990): 848–59.

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the "real," on which historians' feet are supposed to remain firmly planted. More than that, these analyses produce a kind of disciplinary vertigo by threatening the solidity of that ground. The discipline of history, of course, was founded on the opposition of objectivity and subjectivity, and historians are supposed to be in the business of telling the difference between "fact" and "fiction."[27] Efforts to destabilize that dichotomy or to blur that boundary can seem to threaten the very premise of history. What often seems to be at stake in this debate, then, is nothing less than disciplinary definition, authority, and even legitimacy.

My aim is to use "The Terrifying Ordeal" and letters written in response to examine some of these pressing methodological questions. My broadest intent is to reflect on the discursive construction of social experience with attention to historically situated readers. By examining the interactions between textual representation and material life, I hope to suggest that such an exploration can enrich rather than erase our sense both of material life and the agency of the people we study, and can broaden rather than limit the project of doing history.

PUBLISHED IN 1949, "The Terrifying Ordeal of an Unwed Mother" appeared in a historical context in which it resonated particularly loudly. Single pregnancy had been cast as a "social problem" of some magnitude since at least the late nineteenth century, when evangelical women founded national networks of maternity homes for unmarried mothers under the auspices of the Salvation Army, the National Florence Crittenton Mission, and various religious denominations. To social workers eager to earn their professional stripes in the first decades of the twentieth century, single pregnancy was the most serious and vexing manifestation of a larger "girl problem," over which they claimed expertise.

Single pregnancy assumed additional prominence in the wartime and postwar period, when public policy experts, social workers, and psychologists drew attention to rising illegitimacy rates. But unmarried motherhood assumed a symbolic importance in these years that far outran its numbers. The national preoccupation with female "promiscuity" accelerated during World War II, when observers noted with alarm "the increase in the number of footloose, unprotected girls roaming Main Street, loitering in parks, hanging around juke joints, and often getting themselves into serious trouble."[28] Much of this fear focused on the threat of venereal disease to men in the armed services, and it precipitated a massive drive against prostitution, as well as police roundups of women branded

[27] Peter Novick argues that among the most important of the "principal elements" of the idea of "historical objectivity," upon which the American historical profession was founded, was the distinction "between history and fiction." Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge, 1988), 1–2.

[28] American Social Health Association, "The Challenge of Prostitution: An Outline for Communities Fighting Prostitution and Venereal Disease," 1945, 14, Box 129, Folder 3, American Social Health Association Papers, Social Welfare History Archives, University of Minnesota. See also May, *Homeward Bound*, chap. 4; John D'Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* (New York, 1988), chap. 11; Karen Anderson, *Wartime Women: Sex Roles, Family Relations, and the Status of Women during World War II* (Westport, Conn., 1981).

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"Victory Girls" and "Khaki-wackies."[29] After the war, fears of family fragility, neurotic maternity, and female autonomy raised the stakes on single pregnancy. At a time when boundaries between normality and abnormality, good and bad, were being reconfigured and aggressively policed, the unwed mother was one of the most visible affronts to postwar notions of proper family, gender, and sexual behavior.[30]

Heightened concern about female promiscuity combined with a new attentiveness to and anxiety about single pregnancy among African Americans to catapult illegitimacy into the public spotlight during the postwar period. Although observers had commented on black illegitimacy rates since the early twentieth century, black unmarried mothers had not attracted a great deal of interest before the late 1930s.[31] Beginning in the 1940s, however, race assumed an increasingly visible, central, and defining place in constructions of single pregnancy. When unmarried mothers and their children became eligible for public assistance under the Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) program in this period, black women bore the brunt of white anger at rising public welfare costs. Although many more white single mothers than black obtained public assistance, efforts to deny assistance to children born out of wedlock were buttressed by a racist rhetoric that riveted public attention to single pregnancy among African Americans.[32]

Readers of *True Confessions* may have been unaware of the nuances of shifting and increasingly racialized constructions of single pregnancy in the postwar period, but they were no doubt cognizant of a larger sexual culture in which "bad girls" loomed large on the national psychic landscape. Although the depiction of Norma's plight was intended to evoke readers' sympathy, "The Terrifying Ordeal" was thoroughly implicated in the postwar anxieties about gender and sexuality that ensured that single pregnancy would indeed be a truly terrifying ordeal.[33]

[29] See Allan M. Brandt, *No Magic Bullet: A Social History of Venereal Disease in the United States since 1880* (New York, 1985), esp. 165–69.

[30] Those boundaries were policed even as, and probably because, they were challenged more visibly in this period. See Estelle B. Freedman, " 'Uncontrolled Desires': The Response to the Sexual Psychopath, 1920–1960," *Journal of American History*, 74 (June 1987): 83–106; John D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940–1970* (Chicago, 1983).

[31] See Ruth Reed, *The Social and Health Care of the Illegitimate Family in New York City* (New York, 1932), 17; Helen S. Trounstine, "Illegitimacy in Cincinnati," *Studies from the Helen S. Trounstine Foundation*, 1 (September 1919): 221; Reed, "Illegitimacy among Negroes," *Journal of Social Hygiene*, 11 (February 1925): 73–91; E. Franklin Frazier, "An Analysis of Statistics on Negro Illegitimacy," *Social Forces*, 11 (December 1932): 249–57; Olive Davis Streater, "Some Aspects of Illegitimacy among Negroes," Inter-City Conference on Illegitimacy, in Child Welfare League of America, *Bulletin*, 10 (May 1931): 8. In *Wake Up Little Susie*, Solinger has documented the central importance of race in constructing the cultural meanings of single pregnancy after World War II, shaping public policies toward unmarried mothers, and determining the ways in which women experienced single motherhood.

[32] Solinger traces the turning point in public attitudes toward black single pregnancy in the 1940s to the uneasiness of whites toward ADC and other forms of public assistance; *Wake Up Little Susie*, 29–34, 56–76. See also Winifred Bell, *Aid to Dependent Children* (New York, 1965).

[33] Some historians suggest that illegitimacy became a crisis of new proportions—familial and personal—in the nineteenth century. See Joan Jacobs Brumberg, " 'Ruined' Girls: Changing Community Responses to Illegitimacy in Upstate New York, 1890–1920," *Journal of Social History*, 18 (Winter 1984): 249; Barbara Meil Hobson, *Uneasy Virtue: The Politics of Prostitution and the American Reform Tradition* (New York, 1987), 59. Wini Breines argues that "the terror of pregnancy, shared by all girls who considered or engaged in sexual intercourse . . . mediated girls' appropriation of the

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Norma is a young woman in her twenties living with her parents in the small Ohio town of Ceylon Junction. At the opening of the story, she wakes to find that her nightmare is true: she is pregnant, the result of a two-week affair with a man she meets when he conducts a time-motion study of the factory where she works. He later writes to tell her that he is married. Norma's first impulse upon learning she is pregnant is to search for "information." She asks her co-workers "what you could do when you 'missed' " and tries a variety of methods to induce abortion: jumping from tables, sitting in hot mustard baths, and taking turpentine capsules, "until all I wanted to do was retch out my insides and die."[34] When these efforts fail, Norma contemplates suicide. The only thing that keeps her from killing herself is her refusal to shame her parents. "Ceylon Junction was their home," Norma noted. "You can't live with a scandal in a small town, and I couldn't die without it."[35] But neither can she bring herself to tell her parents that she is pregnant. Overwhelmed with shame and obsessed with the need for secrecy, Norma insists that "no one must know!"—a line that becomes the story's incantation and structures its narrative logic. As Norma exclaims, "People would find out! The crux of my problem seemed to revolve about that one point."[36]

To avoid detection, Norma makes the iconic trek of the unwed mother from rural village to big city—in this case, Cleveland. She goes to the first doctor she can find to ask for an abortion, but he refuses; at four months, she is too far along. Despondent but too ashamed to return to Ceylon Junction, Norma stays in Cleveland, figuring that "I could lose myself in the impersonal crowds, that I could hide in the teeming numbers."[37] She bides her time in the city, staying at the YWCA, but is unable to find a job because she refuses to supply references, which might alert people back home to her condition and her whereabouts. Only when she is down to her last three dollars does Norma come to "the end of the line," when she "could go no further alone."[38] Appropriately, she goes to church to make her own "true confession." After the service, she talks with the minister, who gives her the addresses of four maternity homes in Cleveland. Norma becomes a resident of the local Salvation Army home and gives birth to a baby boy.

pleasure-seeking ethos of sexualized consumerism and diminished their pleasure of heterosexual sex." Breines, *Young, White, and Miserable*, 115. See also May, *Homeward Bound*, chap. 4.

While Joanne Meyerowitz's survey of postwar magazines suggests that postwar gender ideology was more complex and contested than suggested by the model of the "feminine mystique," she notes that magazines "seemed least willing to entertain alternatives in the area of sexuality," and that they "presented carefully framed articles with explicit directives about appropriate behavior." Meyerowitz, "Beyond the Feminine Mystique: A Reassessment of Postwar Mass Culture, 1946–1958," *Journal of American History*, 79 (March 1993): 1472. Contemporary reviewers of confession magazines came to similar conclusions. See Milton C. Albrecht, "Does Literature Reflect Common Values?" *American Sociological Review*, 21 (December 1956): 722–29; Ann Warren Griffith, "Love in the Pulp Magazines," *American Mercury*, 67 (October 1948): 406–12; Uzzell, "Love Pulps"; Patricke Johns-Heine and Hans H. Gerth, "Values in Mass Periodical Fiction, 1921–40," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 13 (Spring 1949): 105–13.

[34] "Terrifying Ordeal of an Unwed Mother," 6.

[35] "Terrifying Ordeal of an Unwed Mother," 6.

[36] "Terrifying Ordeal of an Unwed Mother," 107, 109.

[37] "Terrifying Ordeal of an Unwed Mother," 15.

[38] "Terrifying Ordeal of an Unwed Mother," 109.

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At the story's end, she weighs the options of keeping her baby or putting him up for adoption.

Regret, shame, secrecy, and concern for reputation—all familiar tropes of single pregnancy since at least the mid-nineteenth century—mark Norma's story. Extra-textual cues worked with "The Terrifying Ordeal" to bolster the postwar gender and sexual prescriptions inscribed within the text. In her work on *True Story* magazine, Ann Fabian has found that advertising copy writers were instructed to run advertisements "among the stories they most resembled."[39] The ads accompanying "The Terrifying Ordeal"—for deodorant, bras, and products for "intimate female hygiene"—reinforced the imperative of female body control that Wini Breines has argued was a "central project" of postwar culture.[40] This imperative became most literal in the foundation garments of the period (journalist Brett Harvey recalls that "fifties clothes were like armor") and was given force by the weight of new gender and sexual prescriptions.[41] These ads assumed additional meaning when placed alongside a story about the consequences of losing control, raising fears of sexual chaos and buttressing an ethos of sexual containment.[42] In the most cruelly ironic of these juxtapositions, at the harrowing moment in Norma's narrative when she begins to "show," an advertisement for a girdle is placed alongside the story, picturing a woman looking in a mirror and exclaiming, "Yipes! Could I use a belly-flattener!"[43]

Other *True Confessions* stories, read together, provided a less coded lesson in postwar sexual prescriptions. A few months before the publication of "The Terrifying Ordeal," *True Confessions* readers were offered "The Moment of Decision": the tale of a woman who, fearful of becoming an "old maid" at the age of twenty-eight, considers sleeping with a man to "win" him. Because, at the "moment of decision," she is unable to go through with it, the story ostensibly ends happily, and the man calls her for another date. But in the November issue, just a few pages separated "The Terrifying Ordeal" from "Hard to Get," a story described as "the heart-rending revelation of a girl who lost the man she loved because she believed it was 'cheap' to show the depth of her emotions."[44] *True Confessions*, then, encapsulated the quandary posed to single women by a culture that mandated sex appeal but prohibited sex, and it dramatized the dilemmas that could arise from the paradox.

Given the postwar sexual culture in which "The Terrifying Ordeal" appeared, it is fitting that the language in the story is richest and most excessive when detailing Norma's anguish. The terror of out-of-wedlock pregnancy, as Norma describes it in a tangle of horrific metaphors, is "something that grows like a cancer on your soul. It gnaws away at your insides until you wish you could tear it out by the roots and have it done with in one bright spasm of excruciating pain . . . It crushes you a little at a time. It's like bleeding to death without losing any

[39] Fabian, "Making a Commodity out of Truth," 66.
[40] Breines, *Young, White, and Miserable*, 104.
[41] Harvey, *The Fifties*, xi.
[42] May develops the notion of "sexual containment" in *Homeward Bound*.
[43] *True Confessions*, 54 (November 1949): 109.
[44] "The Moment of Decision," *True Confessions*, 53 (May 1949); "Hard to Get," *True Confessions*, 54 (November 1949).

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blood. You find yourself screaming inside without moving your lips, without making a sound."[45] The depiction of single pregnancy as the worst tragedy that could befall a woman resonated with and perhaps reinforced or even helped construct the experiences of many who wrote letters in response. "The more I think about the way I am," one woman wrote, "I almost go 'crazy.' "[46] Another ended her letter, "I feel that I have reached the final point, and my mind only leads me to doing desperate things."[47]

Because single pregnancy constituted a crisis of enormous dimensions, it had to be kept secret at any cost. By the end of the story, Norma still has not told her parents. Secrecy was an overriding concern of many who wrote to the Children's Bureau as well. One woman echoed Norma's mantra "No one must know" when she wrote, "I cannot tell my mother or father or anyone about myself. And they must never know," immediately following, "No one must know that I'm pregnant, least of all my parents."[48] Of course, "The Terrifying Ordeal" did not, on its own, produce an obsession with secrecy in its readers; indeed, any other response would have been surprising, given how thoroughly single pregnancy was stigmatized in the postwar United States. But the letters suggest that the story served to legitimize and naturalize the notion of out-of-wedlock pregnancy as something so terrible as to be unspeakable.

"The Terrifying Ordeal" imposed undeniable limits on the possibilities of alternative, much less transgressive, imaginings of single pregnancy. While the letters in response to the story testify to the power of those limits, they also suggest that women might have read the story in ways unintended by its producers and put it to purposes subtly subversive of the larger postwar culture. "The Terrifying Ordeal" did not overtly invite alternative readings, but some elements of the story seemed to lend themselves to them.[49] Unlike earlier confessional stories of single pregnancy, which were typically structured around a melodramatic narrative, "The Terrifying Ordeal" presented itself as primarily "informational." Norma's first and overriding thought at discovering she is pregnant is that she does not know what to do, and the story moves from her lack of "information" to her desperate quest and ultimate success in finding it. The Children's Bureau, presumably concerned with upholding its own legitimacy, was especially invested in representing "The Terrifying Ordeal" as a story that provided readers information, rather than just titillation. In Baumgartner's words, the story offered "valuable information . . . facts that every girl in trouble should know . . . facts, too, that everyone who might help such a girl should know."[50]

Baumgartner's repeated and defensive insistence on the centrality of "facts" to the story probably betrayed a lingering discomfort over the association of the Children's Bureau with *True Confessions*, but it also begged the question, for what

[45] "Terrifying Ordeal of an Unwed Mother," 6.
[46] Portsmouth, Virginia, to Children's Bureau.
[47] Asheville, North Carolina, to Children's Bureau.
[48] Sloan, New York, to Children's Bureau.
[49] Stuart Hall argues that texts have dominant, "preferred" meanings but that they allow for readings "negotiated" with or "oppositional" to those meanings. Hall, "Encoding/Decoding," in *Culture, Media, Language*, Stuart Hall, *et al.*, eds. (Birmingham, Ala., 1986).
[50] "Terrifying Ordeal of an Unwed Mother," 5.

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facts did "The Terrifying Ordeal" offer? Most obviously, the story included the Children's Bureau's address, which many women used to attempt to get help. But getting help required asking, and asking, to some extent, required putting single pregnancy into words—a task that proved difficult for many. "Not knowing how to begin" was the way many began their letters. The woman who wrote "I really don't know how to start this letter" suggested that women did not "naturally" find the words to identify themselves as unwed mothers.[51] The task of requesting help from the Children's Bureau called on women to try their own hand at representing single pregnancy, and therein lay the possibility for writing and rewriting the "story" of unmarried motherhood.

"The Terrifying Ordeal" offered ways to articulate an experience that, to many, seemed beyond words. The title page announced, "My story could be your story, or your daughter's," and some women readily accepted the invitation to inscribe themselves into "The Terrifying Ordeal."[52] "I loved Wayne and I [k]now Norma loved Jim," one woman wrote. "Our story is similar because Jim married another woman and so [did] Wayne."[53] Others adopted a more euphemistic approach, using references to "The Terrifying Ordeal" to do the difficult work of naming single pregnancy for them. "After reading the story," one woman wrote, "I find that what happened to that girl has happened to me."[54] Women wrote that they were in "the same position," "the same condition," "the same trouble," the "same predicament," the "same shoe," "the same fix" as Norma.[55] Norma offered a compelling model even to those whose own stories stretched the narrative limits of "The Terrifying Ordeal." One woman who claimed that her story was "similar to Norma's" wrote to ask not for assistance in finding a maternity home but for much-needed financial help to raise her ten-year-old son.

Some women sampled more broadly from the language of "facts" offered in the story. When Norma is at her most desperate, she is calmed by the "information" supplied by the minister. In a section of the story probably drafted by the Children's Bureau, Norma learns that "the Children's Bureau, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D.C., believes that the unmarried mother's problem is a problem for all society. She needs understanding and assistance in planning for herself and baby . . . The earlier in pregnancy she can enlist the help of a social agency, the better it is for her and the baby."[56] This self-endorsing passage legitimized the authority of social-service professionals, not simply by detailing the contributions of the Children's Bureau toward promoting better standards of care

[51] Decatur, Illinois, to Children's Bureau.

[52] "Terrifying Ordeal of an Unwed Mother, 4. In his 1958 study, George Gerbner notes that "reader identification" was an explicit goal of confession magazines: "Reader identification is a key quality required of the material. 'We use,' advises one editor, 'strong, hit-home confession stories that are sincere, gripping, and might have come out of the readers' lives, so that they can readily identify themselves with the narrator.' " Gerbner adds that "sympathetic characterization is not an easy task when combined with the requirements of realistic flavor in sordid situations." "The Social Role of the Confession Magazine," 33, 34.

[53] Wheelersburg, Ohio, to Children's Bureau.

[54] Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, to Children's Bureau.

[55] Jonesville, Virginia, to Children's Bureau; Corpus Christi, Texas, to Children's Bureau; Waterloo, Wisconsin, to Children's Bureau; Greenwood, Mississippi, to Children's Bureau; Otisville, New York, to Children's Bureau; Winston-Salem, North Carolina, to Children's Bureau.

[56] "Terrifying Ordeal of an Unwed Mother," 109, 111.

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for unmarried mothers and their babies but, more broadly, by removing single pregnancy from the realm of morality and religion to that of "rational" and "objective" social science—a point made more striking by having the minister preach the Good News of state-sponsored social service. In so doing, the Children's Bureau marked its dominance over earlier evangelical reformers, with whom social workers had wrestled for authority over "problem girls" since the early twentieth century.[57] The bureau's sidebar and Norma's story asserted that unmarried mothers would ultimately be the province not of the church but of the state.

Some women struggled to emulate a similar, dispassionate tone in their letters. "This is to inform you that after reading some very important information on my Case I decided to write so that I could get the facts . . . concerning myself," one wrote, who asked "to whom must I apply to in order to get proper results?"[58] The social-scientific language of the Children's Bureau column and "informational" sections of the story granted another woman a disarmingly breezy opening for her letter: "Just a few lines seeking advice on the unwed mother problem," she wrote. This distancing language cushioned her own confession, which came several lines later: "Am going to be an unwed mother."[59] Others lifted the "facts" of the story, almost verbatim, for their own use. "The Terrifying Ordeal" presented Norma as "one of the 100,000 distraught, disillusioned women who will bear illegitimate children this year," and many letter writers identified themselves similarly. One wrote, "I am one of the 100,000 women who will bear an illegitimate child in 1950."[60] Another referred to herself as "one of the girls as true confession put it that will bear an illegitimate child this year."[61]

The tendency of women to incorporate the language of the story into their own letters suggests that "The Terrifying Ordeal" provided readers with a lexicon of legitimacy and authority they might use to communicate with an agency of the federal government. The "fact" of the illegitimate birth rate offered in the text of the story went further, giving young, single pregnant women the important information that they were far from alone. Social workers had worried about the consequences of this knowledge for some time. In 1919, for example, social worker Helen Welsh noticed that young women arrived at the maternity home she supervised "under the impression that it was but very seldom indeed that an unmarried girl became a mother," but, once there, "they suddenly realize that there are many girls who have done what they should not, conventionally at least. They begin to think that after all their deed was not so wrong." In the process, Welsh noted with some dismay, unmarried mothers "were losing their regret and conscience-stricken feeling."[62] By the 1940s, this concern had led many social workers to advocate placing single pregnant women in individual "foster homes" with private families rather than risk the demoralizing influences of maternity homes, which could nurture a subversive group consciousness among single

[57] See Kunzel, *Fallen Women, Problem Girls.*
[58] Houston, Texas, to Children's Bureau.
[59] Brattleboro, Vermont, to Children's Bureau.
[60] Metamora, Indiana, to Children's Bureau.
[61] Hartsville, South Carolina, to Children's Bureau.
[62] Helen Welsh to Julia Lathrop, December 23, 1919, Box 68, Folder 7-4-4-1, CB.

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mothers.[63] "The Terrifying Ordeal" might have worked to this end as well, creating a virtual community of readers who might come to understand their pregnancy as part of a collective "social problem," rather than as a private trauma. One woman suggested as much, seeming to take a kind of refuge in the numbers the story offered by couching her own problem in the larger context of the "problem" of single pregnancy: "As is the problem of many a young girl now," she wrote, "I am an expectant mother."[64]

"The Terrifying Ordeal" combined an "informational" style with an older, but apparently still resonant, literary convention of seduction and abandonment. Deceived by a married man, Norma bears her pregnancy like "a crown of thorns, a mantle of shame that was mine because I loved not wisely but too well," these stock phrases calling up a story of male sexual irresponsibility and betrayal and female passivity and victimization that had structured tales of unmarried motherhood since at least the eighteenth century.[65] The formulaic references to betrayal in "The Terrifying Ordeal" called on older vocabularies of single pregnancy that survived, even as they sat in awkward and contradictory relationship to the larger modern, "informational" project of the story. This language appeared in many letters as well. "I do not think they should scorn us," one woman wrote, "for after all what are we but humans like you, all we did was love too much."[66] Many women wrote of being betrayed by boyfriends and fiancés. "I got in trouble with a man who promised me a home and a future," one wrote. "After learning I was pregnant, he told me he was married."[67] Another likened her story to Norma's: "I too fell into the clutches of a married man, and as Norma said in her story everything was a starry haze, until I became pregnant then the father of my unborn child tells me he is married and nothing can be done about it."[68]

The language of social science aimed to replace the melodramatic flourishes of starry hazes, loving too much, and dastardly betrayals with the hard facts of "social problems." Both "informational" and melodramatic narratives, however, may have served those who wrote letters in a similar fashion. By presenting unmarried mothers as alternately part of a larger "social problem" or as seduced victims, the story could be appropriated to absolve women of sexual agency and blame; it offered them ways of recasting single pregnancy as neither sinful nor deviant. Whether a woman adopted the identity of "distraught and disillusioned," "Girl in Trouble," or "seduced and abandoned," she was relieved from assuming the dominant postwar culture's mantle of "bad girl."

[63] See Maud Morlock, "Foster-Home Care for Unmarried Mothers," *Child*, 3 (September 1938): 51–55; Erma C. Blethan, "A Foster Home Program for the Unmarried Mother," *Family*, 23 (December 1942): 291–96; Mary S. Brisley, "Parent-Child Relationships in Unmarried Parenthood," National Conference on Social Work, *Proceedings* (1939): 435–45; U.S. Children's Bureau, "Maternity Homes for Unmarried Mothers: A Community Service," by Maud Morlock and Hilary Campbell, Pub. No. 309 (Washington, D.C., 1946), 27–28; Louise K. Trout, "Services to Unmarried Mothers," *Child Welfare*, 35 (February 1956): 26; Leontine R. Young, *Out of Wedlock* (New York, 1954), 229–33.

[64] Newport News, Virginia, to Children's Bureau.

[65] "Terrifying Ordeal of an Unwed Mother," 16, 107. See Kunzel, *Fallen Women, Problem Girls*, chap. 1.

[66] Wheelersburg, Ohio, to Children's Bureau.

[67] Owensboro, Kentucky, to Children's Bureau.

[68] Detroit, Michigan, to Children's Bureau.

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While some women did indeed appropriate either the story's cool, detached, factual language or its more florid excesses to identify themselves and articulate their condition, others seemed to use the story to avoid explaining themselves. In contrast to case records, which were intended to draw out the "story" behind single pregnancy in order to diagnose its "cause," many letters written to the Children's Bureau were marked by a reluctance to narrate the circumstances that led to pregnancy. Reticent letter writers may simply have hesitated to tell a story they were not proud of. Reticence may also have signaled an attempt to retain a shred of dignity and privacy in the face of the many intrusions believed justified into the lives of single pregnant women. Less forthcoming letter writers may also have followed Norma's lead in sketching her story so minimally. Unlike many other stories of its genre, "The Terrifying Ordeal" dispenses with Norma's romance with "Jim" and the circumstances that led to her pregnancy in a few scant paragraphs.

The seeming reluctance of many to narrate the story of single pregnancy may also suggest an uncertainty in 1949 about how to construct the narrative of events leading to pregnancy. The story of seduction and abandonment, after all, characterized by evangelical women at the turn of the twentieth century as an "old, old story," was questioned by social workers disinclined to believe in the sexual passivity of girls they took to be "sex delinquents" as early as the 1910s. And the new explanation for single pregnancy based on "psychological maladjustment" may have been too new to be familiar.[69] The diagnosis of single pregnancy as a neurotic symptom pervaded the professional literature of the period, but it was notably absent in "The Terrifying Ordeal," the letters, and the responses of the Children's Bureau.[70]

The unwillingness on the part of so many voluntarily to offer any detail about their pregnancy might also suggest an instinctive awareness that confessions, especially those elicited in an effort to exact the "truth" of sex, call forth and structure relations of power.[71] Some women who offered fuller accounts in their letters seemed to understand that they took a risk in doing so, and they worried that their confessions would be publicized. Historian Ann Fabian argues that the

[69] Early examples of psychiatric explanations for single pregnancy include Babette Block, "The Unmarried Mother: Is She Different?" National Conference of Social Work, *Proceedings* (1945): 274–83; Viola W. Bernard, "Psychodynamics of Unmarried Motherhood in Early Adolescence," *The Nervous Child*, 4 (October 1944): 26–45; Leontine R. Young, "Personality Patterns in Unmarried Mothers," *Family*, 26 (December 1945). I argue elsewhere that the growth in popularity of psychiatric constructions of single pregnancy was tied to a rise in single pregnancy that social workers noted among middle-class white women. These women seemed to defy the "causes" assigned to those single pregnancies assumed to have a working-class etiology, and the psychiatric understanding ensured that white, middle-class unmarried mothers would not be cast among the ranks of working-class "problem girls." See Kunzel, *Fallen Women, Problem Girls*, chap. 6; Solinger, *Wake Up Little Susie*, chap. 3.

[70] Women so diagnosed probably never gave much credence to this diagnosis. In a memoir written in 1967, one white woman suggested that the "experts" ' understanding of illegitimacy as neurotic bore little resemblance to her understanding of her own pregnancy: "I've been reading a book on the psychology of the unwed mother," Jean Thompson wrote. "The book says such a pregnancy is rarely accidental. It says the girl nearly always wants it—as a crutch, an excuse to fail, a way to rebel or demonstrate against her parents . . . Phew, that sounds like a mouthful, as if the author is really looking for symptoms where there aren't any." Jean Thompson, *House of Tomorrow* (New York, 1967), 7–8.

[71] See Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Vol. 1: An Introduction*, Robert Hurley, trans. (New York, 1980), esp. 58–63.

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popularity of magazines like *True Confessions* lay in the claim of publishers, however disingenuous, that their stories were written by readers.[72] Some of these readers apparently believed that claim and feared that their own stories might be published. One woman added in a postscript, "Please don't write this letter out in the true story book."[73] Another offered a sort of trade, promising to tell her story in exchange for information on maternity homes. "Please help me please," she concluded. "If I could see you I could tell you how it happened and everything."[74]

In addition to providing women with vocabularies and narrative plots with which to represent single pregnancy, as well as possibilities to evade that telling, "The Terrifying Ordeal" may also, perhaps unwittingly, have encouraged the claims of some single women to maternal rights that opposed those rights dictated by the social work and psychiatric establishment. The qualification, "some," is crucial, since postwar attitudes toward those rights were thoroughly saturated with ideas about race.[75] While white single mothers in this period were increasingly diagnosed as "neurotic," their African-American counterparts were stigmatized as agents of a "pathological" black family, scapegoated for draining public welfare coffers, and subjected to increasing public hostility and, in some cases, sterilization.[76] Racialized constructions of single pregnancy tightly circumscribed the choices available to single mothers: while white women were encouraged and often coerced to surrender their babies for adoption, black women were told that their babies were "unadoptable."[77]

Norma's story hints at a departure from the scenario that would soon be firmly established for white women. Although Norma leans toward surrendering her child to a placement agency, the unresolved ending of the story leaves open the possibility that she will keep her baby. In its ambiguity, "The Terrifying Ordeal" defied the postwar consensus that denied single white women a rightful claim to maternity and may have granted some readers a similar subversive license. While many asked about adoption, others expressed a desire to keep their babies.[78] The very notion that it was their choice to make ran counter to the growing conviction that the recovery of the reputation and mental health of white single mothers (and, importantly, a growing adoption market) depended on their relinquishing their children.

"The Terrifying Ordeal" also offered an excess of "information" about abortion, which may have allowed for readings it surely did not intend. Although

[72] Ann Fabian argues that "Macfadden's great innovation was to offer his readers a hand in the production of the artifacts they so happily consumed, to urge them at every turn to become writers as well as readers, producers as well as consumers. Even if his invitations were largely fictitious, he made the production of mass culture seem accessible and offered the pages of his magazines as occasions for the sort of popular ratification that helped turn twentieth-century mass culture into a culture of the people." Fabian, "Making a Commodity out of Truth," 52.

[73] Dawson Creek, British Columbia, to Children's Bureau. See also West Newton, Massachusetts, to Children's Bureau.

[74] Portsmouth, Virginia, to Children's Bureau.

[75] See Solinger, *Wake Up Little Susie*; Kunzel, *Fallen Women, Problem Girls*, chap. 6.

[76] Solinger notes that while some black unmarried mothers were sterilized, efforts to pass sterilization legislation on the state level were largely unsuccessful. *Wake Up Little Susie*, 53–57.

[77] See, for example, Metamora, Indiana, to Children's Bureau; Los Angeles, California, to Children's Bureau; Atlanta, Georgia, to Children's Bureau.

[78] Rickie Solinger discusses the racism inherent in the "postwar adoption mandate," in *Wake Up Little Susie*, chap. 5.

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Norma refrains from detailing her sexual experience, she supplies a wealth of gruesome detail about the physical, legal, and moral risks incurred by the woman who sought an illegal abortion in 1949:

> She dares prison and death and hideous disfigurement. She submits to a dangerous operation, usually at the unskilled, germ-laden hands of a criminal abortionist. If she doesn't hemorrhage to death on the table, she takes the chance of being nerve-shocked for life. And even if she apparently wins against the unequal odds, the fact remains that she, herself is lost . . . Forever afterward she carries increasing burdens of unrelenting remorse in the knowledge that she has murdered her own child.[79]

Some women stated their refusal to contemplate terminating their pregnancy in their letters. "I [do] not believe in abortion," one woman wrote, "and I want to bring it up as long as I have to go through with it."[80] But while Norma certainly did not skimp on the horrors, her story left a loophole, however small, that may have made it possible for others to consider abortion. Although in most states, abortions were legal in 1949 only when pregnancy was judged to jeopardize the mother's life, the doctor in the story refuses to perform an abortion because he determines Norma's pregnancy, at four months along, to be too advanced.[81] But what about before that point? One woman, two weeks pregnant, wrote to the Children's Bureau that she "was told that if I caught early enough, theres [*sic*] drugs or pills that can be taken to get rid of the child. That is if taken right away."[82] Rickie Solinger identifies the late 1940s, the period in which "The Terrifying Ordeal" appeared, as a transitional moment in the history of abortion. In the early 1940s, she finds, the law against abortion was "sometimes enforced, sometimes not"; in contrast, during the 1950s, local governments ordered police raids on the offices of abortion practitioners.[83] "The Terrifying Ordeal" seems poised between these attitudes toward abortion that characterized the immediate postwar period and the 1950s, and at least one letter writer tried to exploit its perhaps inadvertent ambivalence.

"The Terrifying Ordeal" offered a less equivocal and more concrete invitation for women to seek private maternity home care. For many readers, especially those in rural areas who had never heard of maternity homes, "The Terrifying Ordeal" was a revelation. "I did not know that there were agencies willing to help unwed expectant mothers," one woman wrote; "I found out there were such by running

[79] "Terrifying Ordeal of an Unwed Mother," 14.

[80] Lockport, New York, to Children's Bureau.

[81] Solinger argues that "the number and rate of therapeutic abortions performed in hospitals plummeted all over the country" in the 1950s but that "women did not stop seeking abortions." *The Abortionist: A Woman against the Law* (New York, 1994), 187. On the history of legal and illegal abortions in the postwar United States, see Carol Joffe, "Portraits of Three 'Physicians of Conscience': Abortion before Legalization in the United States," *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 2 (July 1991): 46–67. Solinger finds that legal abortions were performed "often and routinely" in most hospitals in the early postwar period but that a combination of forces, including advances in medical and obstetrical procedures, concern for professional legitimacy and consensus among physicians, the emergence of therapeutic abortion committees, and a new, disembodied definition of pregnancy, led to a decline in the years after the war. Rickie Solinger, " 'A Complete Disaster': Abortion and the Politics of Hospital Abortion Committees, 1950–1970," *Feminist Studies*, 19 (Summer 1993): 241–68.

[82] Dawson Creek, British Columbia, to Children's Bureau.

[83] Solinger, *Abortionist*, xi, chap. 7.

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across a magazine story."[84] A South Carolina woman explained that she "live[s] so far back here" that she had "never heard of those places."[85] And "The Terrifying Ordeal" presented "those places" in the best possible light. The Salvation Army home represented in the story provides Norma with shelter, time to think, and assistance in keeping her pregnancy a secret from her parents. During her stay, she is able to pursue hobbies "like glove making, sewing, and other types of craft work." The home represented in the story also sponsors classes and group discussions and provides tickets to movies, concerts, and shows.[86]

To many young women, it sounded too good to be true, and, in a way, it was. After reading about penniless Norma's easy acceptance into a Salvation Army home, for instance, many were surprised and angry to learn that maternity homes charged fees that, for some, were prohibitive. One woman found that the Salvation Army entrance fee in her state was $75, "but I cannot manage that until I get well again."[87] Another reported that the Salvation Army home in New York "all but said I had to be a millionaire," by charging a fee of $270. "Sure I have a job," she wrote, "but *no* bank account and no rich friends." Wryly observing, "I note that the girl in the story didn't mention any money at all," this woman simultaneously used the story as a source of information and exposed it as a work of fiction.[88]

Even though "The Terrifying Ordeal" was addressed to "the girl in trouble," as if "trouble" of this sort leveled all other differences among women, it was read by a remarkably diverse audience, and the "information" it offered was not available to all in the same way. The story's claim that maternity homes "existed in practically every large city throughout America!" was technically true—the Salvation Army and National Florence Crittenton Mission together sponsored hundreds of homes all over the country—but "Norma" failed to alert readers to the race-specificity of her story. Since most maternity homes had "white only" admission policies, not all who wrote to the Children's Bureau could take advantage of the "information" the story offered.[89]

Although "The Terrifying Ordeal" failed to mark the ways that Norma's whiteness determined the choices available to her, most African-American women were well aware that racism dictated different rules for black than for white single mothers. A sixteen-year-old from Milledgeville, Georgia, wrote to ask "if there is any hospitals for unwed mothers and does it matter whether the unwed mother is

[84] Newport News, Virginia, to Children's Bureau.
[85] Hartsville, South Carolina, to Children's Bureau.
[86] "Terrifying Ordeal of an Unwed Mother," 112.
[87] Owensboro, Kentucky, to Children's Bureau.
[88] Flushing, New York, to Children's Bureau. Children's Bureau officer Maud Morlock sometimes intervened on the behalf of women who could not afford maternity home fees. In 1950, she wrote to Salvation Army Lt. Col. Ruth Pagan, that although she could "sympathize with homes in their attempt to meet rising costs, and the pressure from chests and councils to give less service to non-resident girls, and the pressure to raise more in fees from individuals," "many of the unmarried mothers sound so desperate and frequently live in spots far remote from any caseworker." Morlock to Pagan, January 13, 1950, Box 457, Folder 7-4-3-1-4, CB.
[89] "Terrifying Ordeal of an Unwed Mother," 109. Solinger finds only seven black maternity homes and a "handful of others" that accepted a limited number of black women, in 1951. *Wake Up Little Susie*, 51.

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colored or white," explaining, "I am a Negro."[90] Another woman asked about homes in Chicago, because, "down here in Mississippi I don't have a possible chance to get help because my face is Black."[91] Some black women, however, used the promises of "The Terrifying Ordeal" to claim entitlement to the maternity care it described. The woman who wrote, "You see i am a Negro girl and my story is very much the same," by likening herself to Norma, defied the postwar effort to dichotomize black and white unmarried mothers and to locate different, race-specific etiologies of single pregnancy.[92]

Regardless of how it was read, however, "The Terrifying Ordeal" ultimately failed African-American women. When they wrote to request referrals to maternity homes, the Children's Bureau suggested that they contact a public welfare agency. The one Mexican-American woman who wrote to the Children's Bureau received the same response. One woman who did not specify her race in her first letter asked for advice about maternity homes, which the Children's Bureau sent. Soon after, she wrote back: "Perhaps I had better tell you that I am a Negro girl, and the Crittenton home only accepts white girls. Doctor isn't there any place at all for unwed Negro girls?"[93] She closed her letter: "Is there any place for me or not please tell me right away unless there isn't I will just kill myself. There is no other way."[94] Was this a melodramatic flourish designed to elicit more decisive action on the part of the Children's Bureau or an expression of actual intent? This line stands as a horrible reminder of the painful circumstances that generated these letters and also signals the difficulty of simultaneously reading sources as literary productions and as expressions of material life. The records do not reveal whether this woman ever found her way to one of the few maternity homes open to black women.

While women appropriated vocabularies and plot lines from "The Terrifying Ordeal," with varying degrees of success, others transformed Norma's story of shame to tell their own, quite different stories of economic vulnerability, hardship, and sometimes grinding poverty. For Norma, "secrecy seemed to be the bridge between safety and shame,"[95] and many letter writers similarly emphasized their own shame and need for secrecy. One woman who, "like Norma," lived in a small town, felt that "the disgrace would just about kill my parents."[96] "I come from a big family from a small town here in Maine," another wrote. "I couldn't stand to hurt them if I tell them about my condition and the disgrace that will bring us all."[97] Still another, writing on her sister's behalf, explained, "We live in a small town, and if everyone knew about it then she will probably be wrecked for life."[98]

Many others, however, while insisting that Norma's story was their own, made clear that poverty, not shame, made their own single pregnancy a "terrifying

[90] Milledgeville, Georgia, to Children's Bureau.
[91] Greenwood, Mississippi, to Children's Bureau.
[92] Hartsville, Alabama, to Children's Bureau. See Solinger, *Wake Up Little Susie*; Kunzel, *Fallen Women, Problem Girls*, chap. 6.
[93] Baltimore, Maryland, to Children's Bureau.
[94] Baltimore, Maryland, to Children's Bureau.
[95] "Terrifying Ordeal of an Unwed Mother," 109.
[96] Hartsville, South Carolina, to Children's Bureau.
[97] Perry, Maine, to Children's Bureau.
[98] Taber City, North Carolina, to Children's Bureau.

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ordeal." Of course, respectability and financial security for women were often intimately linked and interdependent. Women who were fired from jobs or thrown out of their homes when parents learned of their pregnancies detailed the ways in which a crisis of reputation could lead to an economic crisis of the direst sort. "I am working now," wrote one woman who was forced to leave her parents' home, "but should not be because I am already seven months with child. Soon I will not be able to work, then I will have to have some assistance."[99] Another woman had worked as a domestic, "but am now unable to work," and was "worried sick as I have no money for doctor or hospital care."[100] Still another wrote to ask for "help for my child and a place to live." She worked for $14 a week but had "no place to call home because I am unable to pay the high room rent. Just door to door. After I pay for the child to be kept while I work an buy milk for her it is just a little money left."[101] One mother of a three-year-old had managed to obtain some public relief but wrote that her daughter was "growing fast" and that it was "impossible for me to keep up with the money they send and the prices so high." "Now I am trying to have a chance to go to work and give my child what she needs," she wrote, so that "we don't have to live for the rest of our lives in furnished room and on relief. I am a young girl of twenty-six years old and I like to live like other people."[102]

Although resistant readings of "The Terrifying Ordeal" hardly had the power to change desperate circumstances, these women transformed the story of single pregnancy from one in which shame was the driving force to one in which their own economic hardship took center stage. The letters show how women and girls used the story to make sense of their predicament and appropriated it to do the difficult work of putting single pregnancy into words. They speak powerfully to the limits imposed by postwar culture generally and, by "The Terrifying Ordeal" in particular, to the ways in which women might counter dominant constructions of single pregnancy.

LETTERS WRITTEN by single pregnant women in response to "The Terrifying Ordeal" support arguments made by scholars of popular culture, cultural studies, and reader-response criticism that readers are active producers of meaning and that popular texts provide cultural resources open to a wide but far from limitless range of uses. My project here has not been to use the letters to distinguish the "true" identities of these women from the commodified, fictionalized version offered in *True Confessions.* Rather, I have tried to show that the experience of single pregnancy was mediated by language and that our access to experience in the past, as in the present, is decisively shaped by its encoding in particular rhetorical conventions.

[99] Newport News, Virginia, to Children's Bureau.
[100] Washington, Pennsylvania, to Children's Bureau.
[101] Atlanta, Georgia, to Children's Bureau.
[102] New York, New York, to Children's Bureau. Children's Bureau officer Mildred Arnold replied, "We can understand how discouraged you are and how much you would like to go to work to give your daughter better living conditions. However, we have no way of helping you." Arnold sent her a Children's Bureau bulletin, "Your Child from One to Six." Arnold to New York, New York, November 4, 1949, Box 457, Folder 7–4–3–1–4, CB.

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Focusing on the narrative and linguistic aspects of these letters opens up a constellation of questions not only about how women read popular stories but about how they might have used them to tell their own. Rather than looking to unmarried mothers as the source of "real experience," upon whom medical and religious authorities, social-service professionals, and culture industries heaped alternately pathologizing, condescending, and sensationalizing constructions, we can see from the letters that unmarried mothers themselves participated in writing and rewriting the story of single pregnancy. They alert us to moments in which, as John Fiske writes, "the experiences of everyday life conflict with the represented world of the text," and certainly the letters show that the complexity of these women's lives often outran the constraints of the representation of single pregnancy offered in *True Confessions*.[103] But if their experiences were not wholly constructed through the discursive, neither were they wholly separable from it. I propose that it is possible—even necessary—to view single pregnant women as both discursive figures and authors, without disregarding the material circumstances that often made their lives unbearably difficult or denying the agency and resourcefulness with which they met those circumstances.

To be sure, young women's self-representations made little impact on the dominant narratives of single pregnancy of the day. Widely considered unreliable narrators—"liars," in fact—by those with power over them, they would never be acknowledged as legitimate authorities of their own experience.[104] And neither "The Terrifying Ordeal" nor dissident readings of it would change the fact that unwed motherhood in 1949 was, as Rickie Solinger has shown, a "grim status."[105] But by using "The Terrifying Ordeal" for their own purposes, single, pregnant women occasionally wandered outside the orbit prescribed by *True Confessions* and by the larger postwar sexual culture.[106] Even as "The Terrifying Ordeal" underwrote postwar sexual prescriptions, it created opportunities for some readers to give voice to the unspeakable and to unsettle the postwar binary of "good" girls and "bad."

Though surely less deliberately, women who wrote in response to "The Terrifying Ordeal" authored documents that also unsettle binaries that have both troubled and undergirded the discipline of history. One woman, writing on another's behalf, tellingly conflated the textual and the material, the fictional and the real, when she wrote, "The story of the unwed mother is something that happens all the time in my town."[107] These letters suggest that the opposition between representation and reality from which historians have long drawn disciplinary authority can obscure the important ways in which stories indeed "happen," as well as the way "happenings" are always given meaning through stories.

[103] Fiske, *Understanding Popular Culture*, 133.

[104] Social workers had long believed that single pregnant women lied with uncommon frequency. There is evidence that some clients turned to dissembling, evading, or outright lying as a means of resisting the intrusions of casework investigations. See Kunzel, *Fallen Women, Problem Girls*, 136–37.

[105] Solinger, *Wake Up Little Susie*, 3.

[106] I take this metaphor of "wandering outside the orbit" from Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, Steven Rendall, trans. (Berkeley, Calif., 1984), xviii.

[107] Johnstown, Pennsylvania, to Children's Bureau.

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Review Article

The Agony and Romance of the American Left

MICHAEL KAZIN

AT THE END OF THE 1940s, Daniel Bell sat down to write the first scholarly history of the Marxian Left in the United States. "Socialism was an unbounded dream," began the young sociologist and labor editor of *Fortune*, evoking the millenarian faith that, over the previous century, had moved countless people on both sides of the Atlantic to imagine a future of social equality amid economic abundance and to dedicate their lives to realizing it.[1]

Then he turned critical. In the United States, Marxists had utterly failed to build a large or stable movement. Bell summarized what were, at the time, the most popular reasons for that failure—from Werner Sombart's evocation, in 1906, of the "reefs of roast beef and apple pie" supposedly available to American workers to Selig Perlman's stress, in a 1928 work, on the "free gift" of the ballot to men without property (whose European counterparts had won the suffrage only after threatening or waging revolution).[2]

But none of these provided a sufficient explanation for what Bell called "the melancholy question." There was, after all, a good deal of industrial strife in the American past and several deep depressions—all of which, by Marxist lights, should have awakened the class consciousness of the wage-earning masses. To understand why the socialist movement had been unable to adapt to such intermittent flashes of opportunity, one had to appreciate the crippling effect of the Left's own world view. Wrote Bell: "The socialist movement, by its very statement of goal and in its rejection of the capitalist order as a whole, could not relate itself to the specific problems of social action in the here-and-now, give-and-take political world. It was trapped by the unhappy problem of living '*in*

I apologize, in spirit, to the late Christopher Lasch for borrowing the title of his fine study, *The Agony of the American Left* (New York, 1969). Thanks to Gary Gerstle and Maurice Isserman for sharpening my ideas and correcting my prose. And all gratitude to Daniel Bell for giving me the idea and doing me the honor of arguing back.

[1] *Marxian Socialism in the United States* was originally published as "The Background and Development of Marxian Socialism in the United States," in *Socialism and American Life*, Vol. 1, Donald Drew Egbert and Stow Persons, eds. (Princeton, N.J., 1952), 213–405. It was reprinted in a paperback edition as *Marxian Socialism in the United States* (Princeton, 1967). Bell included a much shorter version, "The Failure of American Socialism: The Tension of Ethics and Politics," in his well-known collection, *The End of Ideology: On the Exhaustion of Political Ideas in the Fifties*, rev. edn. (New York, 1961 [1960]), 275–98. In this essay, all page references are to the 1967 edition unless otherwise noted.

[2] Werner Sombart, *Why Is There No Socialism in the United States?* C. T. Husbands, ed. (1906; rpt. and trans., White Plains, N.Y., 1976); Selig Perlman, *A Theory of the Labor Movement* (New York, 1928).

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but not *of* the world,' so it could only act, and then inadequately, as the moral, but not political, man in immoral society."[3]

Almost half a century later, no other argument about the fate of the American Left has been as ubiquitous as that simple premise, with its key phrase borrowed from Martin Luther's motto for the new church he founded. Some interpreters regarded the analogy between socialism and religious faith to be self-evident; others found it simplistic and dismissive. But Bell's larger theme—developed in a vivid narrative—has been impossible to ignore.

This is due, in large part, to the clarity of the guiding concept and the erudite passion of its creator. Bell, like most of his subsequent critics, had been active in the Left since his youth—albeit in its least radical camp, that of reformist social-democracy.[4] It was thus as a chastened partisan as well as an energetic scholar that, in an extended essay of fewer than 200 pages, he condemned the entire Marxist tradition. According to Bell, every major organization and leader of the Left—whether they called themselves Socialist, Communist, or Trotskyist—was fatally addicted to an "eschatological" vision, a commitment to ethical purity and utopian illusions that doomed the movement to the political margins. This was as true for a principled democrat such as Eugene V. Debs as for the many intellectuals who were smitten by Stalin and the U.S. Communist Party in the 1930s. The former, Bell wrote, "wore [his] romanticism like a cloak—and this was his strength as well as his weakness"; while the latter outfitted themselves with "a bravura and romanticism that sought to gird itself in the hard angular armor of realism."[5] Time and again, Marxists blinded themselves to the political obstacles and ideological complexity of the society they wanted to transform.

Midway through the twentieth century, Bell avowed, the Marxian moment, such as it was, had passed. Perhaps musing about the meager results of his own youthful activism, he did allow that, "socialism has, as a pale tint, suffused into the texture of American life and subtly changed its shadings." Yet he concluded, portentously, "by 1950 American socialism as a political and social fact had become simply a notation in the archives of history."[6]

Since its original publication, Bell's brief history has been a favored foil for debate and a frequent point of departure for scholars of and activists in the American Left, whatever their political persuasion. While avidly refighting old battles (in which a steadily decreasing number participated), nearly everyone writing about the topic—from democratic socialists such as Michael Harrington and Irving Howe to erstwhile New Leftists such as James R. Green, Mari Jo Buhle,

[3] Bell, *Marxian Socialism in the United States*, 5.

[4] On Bell's youthful politics, see Howard Brick, *Daniel Bell and the Decline of Intellectual Radicalism: Social Theory and Political Reconciliation in the 1940s* (Madison, Wis., 1986); and an interview conducted with Bell in 1972 by Job L. Dittberner, published as an appendix to Dittberner, *The End of Ideology and American Social Thought, 1930–1960* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1979), 309–36.

[5] Bell, *Marxian Socialism in the United States*, 186, 89, 137.

[6] Bell, *Marxian Socialism in the United States*, 191, 193. In the year before he began drafting the book, Bell had written several articles in which he repudiated the explanatory value of Marxian class analysis for understanding the postwar world. In particular, see Bell, "America's Un-Marxist Revolution," *Commentary* (March 1949): 207–15. Also see Brick, *Daniel Bell*, 142–92.

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and Paul Buhle to skeptical pragmatists such as John Patrick Diggins—has felt it necessary to position him or herself in regard to the "in but not of" question.[7]

Bell meant his book to stand as a coda to the history of American socialism. His acidic, albeit somewhat wistful, judgment implied that further work on the subject was unlikely to add anything of significance. But serious scholarship about the U.S. Left really began with *Marxian Socialism.* Bell's forceful thesis and lively narrative helped create one of the more stimulating as well as more contentious subfields in U.S. history. It is a field that has always been dominated by scholars who were also activists in the politics of their day. Like Bell in the 1950s, however, some of these scholars repudiated their former commitments as radicals and took to scolding contemporary leftists for continuing to insist that their predecessors had, with qualifications, always been doing the right thing.

The provocations are intellectual as well as political. Scholars of the Left, unlike most American historians who study their own country, have always believed in the necessity of comparative, even transnational, history. The Marxist tradition spurred an examination both of capitalism and of the socialist movements that aimed to replace it as dynamic phenomena whose evolution could not be confined within the boundaries of individual nation-states. At the same time, the weakness of the Marxist Left in the United States during the period of industrialization, while not as "exceptional" as once thought, presented a problem that could not be addressed without a simultaneous investigation of stronger movements in other countries. To study the American Left, therefore, has long meant to debate the "big structures, large processes, and huge comparisons" that, thanks to Charles Tilly and other theoretically inclined scholars, more and more historians have come to appreciate.[8]

This essay evaluates histories of socialist movements in the United States published since the early 1950s.[9] It discusses how, beginning in the 1960s, much of that work departed from Bell's approach and yet, in some ways, ended up sustaining it. I conclude with brief suggestions for understanding the strange career of the American Left that employ insights garnered both from Daniel Bell and his critics.

A CORPS OF DISSENTERS did not immediately appear. For more than a decade after the publication of *Marxian Socialism,* historians writing about the U.S. Left continued to focus, as had Bell, on the internal flaws and foibles of radical spokesmen and the organizations they led. Books by Howard Quint and David Shannon about the Debsian-era Socialist Party offered quiet praise for the party's critique of industrial capitalism. Both scholars noted its ability to inspire a diverse

[7] For examples, see Michael Harrington, *Socialism* (New York, 1972), 132; Irving Howe, *Socialism and America* (New York, 1985), 35; James R. Green, *Grass-Roots Socialism: Radical Movements in the Southwest, 1895–1943* (Baton Rouge, La., 1978), xiv; Mari Jo Buhle, *Women and American Socialism, 1870–1920* (Urbana, Ill., 1981), xviii; John Patrick Diggins, *The Rise and Fall of the American Left* (New York, 1992), 19.

[8] Charles Tilly, *Big Structures, Large Processes, Huge Comparisons* (New York, 1984).

[9] There is, of course, a wealth of scholarship about the influence of Marxism on intellectuals and intellectual culture in the United States about which I say little.

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assortment of Americans—native-born entrepreneurs such as Gaylord Wilshire, Jewish immigrant garment workers such as Sidney Hillman, and former Populist evangelicals from Oklahoma and Texas—with the same grand vision of a "cooperative commonwealth."[10]

But such works, genial and judicious, did not take issue with Bell's critique and persuaded few PhD students to give the pre–World War I Left a second look. By the 1950s, the old Socialist Party was safely tucked away inside the archives of nostalgia. Thus Ira Kipnis's detailed polemic, *The American Socialist Movement, 1897–1912* (1952), which accused Socialist Party "right-wingers" such as Victor Berger, leader of the Milwaukee party, of fearing class struggle and lusting after political office, seemed thoroughly anachronistic. Kipnis carefully reconstructed often complex and always passionate intra-party debates. But, in the age of sunny liberal pluralism, who still cared about the 1913 expulsion of Big Bill Haywood from the Socialist Party's Executive Committee for advocating industrial sabotage?[11]

The nature of the U.S. Communist Party was quite a different matter. The Communist Party survived into the Eisenhower era as a controversial presence in American political life (though one whose notoriety always surpassed its actual influence). And a number of writers, many of whom had once been active either in the Communist Party or competing Marxist groups, were eager to subject the party's history to the type of critical but scholarly examination that had not been possible in the two preceding decades—when both heated skirmishes between leftists and the great war against fascism had made sustained reflection impossible.

In 1953, an excellent opportunity arose. The Fund for the Republic, a liberal group headed by Robert Hutchins (former president of the University of Chicago), financed a series entitled Communism in American Life. The ten volumes that eventually appeared, all edited by the political scientist Clinton Rossiter, represented the initial wave of scholarly studies about the most controversial organization in the United States.[12] Leading off the series was Theodore Draper's book *The Roots of American Communism* (1957), an insightful, fluidly crafted volume whose point of view would go essentially unchallenged for a generation. Draper, who had been a correspondent for *The Daily Worker* in the 1930s, wrote the ultimate insider's history—dispassionate, wonderfully detailed, and thoroughly damning. His was a study of political lines that regularly shifted and of the dozens of key activists who took up the quixotic mission of making an American revolution by Bolshevik means. In the words of a historian (who, in the 1980s, departed from Draper's approach), "*The Roots of American Communism* rarely ventured out of a few tiny smoke-filled rooms in New York and Moscow, a

[10] Good examples include Howard Quint, *The Forging of American Socialism: Origins of the Modern Movement* (Indianapolis, Ind., 1953); and David Shannon, *The Socialist Party of America: A History* (1955; rpt. edn., Chicago, 1967).

[11] Ira Kipnis, *The American Socialist Movement, 1897–1912* (New York, 1952).

[12] For discussion of Communist Party historiography, I am indebted to a fine essay by Maurice Isserman, "Three Generations: Historians View American Communism," *Labor History*, 26 (Fall 1985): 517–45.

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narrative strategy that served Draper well in revealing the cramped character of the faction-ridden and marginal Communist movement of the 1920s."[13]

Draper did not disagree with Bell's verdict on the Marxian Left. "At bottom, socialism was 'foreign' to American life because of a shortcoming inherent in itself," wrote Draper. "The Socialist analysis and appeal had been conceived for a much more rigid and retrogressive society."[14] Yet he treated the Communist Party more as a tragic illusion than as a totalitarian menace. Perhaps seeking to understand his own youthful faith, Draper took pains to show how thousands of idealistic Americans had, in his view, come to see the future through a series of opaque lenses manufactured by the Bolsheviks. In memorable phrases, he contended that the party's fate had been determined in the quarreling years of its birth. In the Communist Party's "infancy," wrote Draper, "It was transformed from a new expression of American radicalism to the American appendage of a Russian revolutionary power. Nothing else so important ever happened to it again."[15]

Indeed, after Draper's *Roots*, no other explanation for the Communist Party's torturous history seemed necessary. Reeling from the double shock of Khrushchev's "revelations" about Stalin in 1956 and the crushing of the Hungarian Revolution that same year, the Communist Party soon devolved back to the sectarian status from which it had emerged a quarter-century before. In 1959, David A. Shannon, also underwritten by the Fund for the Republic, told, in *The Decline of American Communism*, the story of how the anxious party was, during the early Cold War, jerked back and forth and pulled down by repression at home and the twisting Soviet line. Draper's own second volume, which took the party through the 1920s (*American Communism and Soviet Russia: The Formative Period*, 1961) lacked the originality and narrative drive of its predecessor. And no wonder. Given his institutional framework, Draper had to detail how key Communist Party cadres spent years shifting positions, alliances, and strategies—while seeking Moscow's approval at every stage. None of this, by 1929, gained the party more influence in American politics than it had enjoyed at its creation a decade before.

A few writers pushed the story of domestic Communism into the 1930s and beyond. In so doing, they altered, if modestly, Draper's dreary fatalism. Irving Howe and Lewis Coser, in *The American Communist Party: A Critical History* (1957) (which was not part of the Rossiter series), surveyed, with considerable brio, the Communist Party's entire history through the Khrushchev revelations. As democratic socialists, Howe and Coser viewed Communism as a baleful chapter in the history of the American Left. But unlike Bell and Draper, they allowed that the Communists had at times been capable of acting like an ordinary, opportunistic political party—for example, tilting toward the New Deal in 1935 just as FDR himself turned left and consolidated his support among wage earners.[16]

At the same time, Nathan Glazer, a close friend of Bell's and later his successor

[13] Isserman, "Three Generations," 533.

[14] Theodore Draper, *The Roots of American Communism* (New York, 1957), 35.

[15] Draper, *Roots*, 395.

[16] Irving Howe and Lewis Coser, *The American Communist Party: A Critical History* (Boston, 1957), 233. Howe enlarged on this point almost three decades later, while adding some grudging words of admiration in *Socialism and America*, 87–104.

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as co-editor (with Irving Kristol) of *The Public Interest*, quietly initiated a kind of Communist Party study that eschewed the weapons of ideological critique and concerned itself with the party almost solely as a social and cultural organism. In *The Social Basis of American Communism* (1961), Glazer used the party's own records to trace which class and ethnic groups joined and quit the Communist Party at different points in its history. Glazer's conclusion that, during the 1930s, the party became steadily more middle-class and native-born suggested one reason why so many Communists embraced the Popular Front so enthusiastically—and regretted the Nazi-Soviet pact that nullified it in 1939, even if most kept their misgivings private and stayed in the fold. These revolutionaries longed to be accepted as "true Americans." But such observations did not lead Glazer to revise what had quickly become the standard conclusion about U.S. Communism: its failure was both inevitable and well deserved. "In America," wrote Glazer, "even the most oppressed and the most miserable could see that the normal processes of American democracy, operating in this huge and wealthy land, could give them more than the Communists ever could."[17]

Bell, Draper, and those who followed their lead had made a clear, powerful statement about the U.S. Left that most Americans, inside and outside the academy, probably regarded as both sensible and sufficient. Because Communism, however duplicitous, was the most influential successor to the Debsian Socialist Party, the Communist Party's collapse must also spell the end of the socialist dream. The entire movement could thus be neatly packaged and shoved into Trotsky's dustbin of history. This was a cathartic analysis for the disillusioned; one's youthful passions could be expunged with an air of detachment about the multiple leftist absurdities culled from a long documentary record. Of course, it also confirmed, in the middle of the Cold War, the views of a larger group of readers who never had any illusions about Marxism to begin with.

Only one major work produced during this first period of Communist Party scholarship portrayed Communism with any sympathy. Surprisingly, given the reigning mistrust of Marxist theorizing, it was a book about intellectuals themselves. In *Writers on the Left* (1961), Daniel Aaron was more interested in understanding how the party had encouraged some of the best minds of the 1930s generation to try to cure their wounded nation than in dissecting the Stalinist corpse, with all its gaping deformities. Aaron was no literary Marxist. He lamented the deliberate crudeness of "proletarian literature" and recognized that political earnestness was the enemy of imaginative prose. But he did not forget the urgent, humane motivations that had drawn many fine novelists and essayists to join Communist Party fronts such as the John Reed Clubs and the League for American Writers and to write probing, passionate works such as John Dos Passos's trilogy *U.S.A.* (1936) and Mike Gold's *Jews without Money* (1930).

In his concluding paragraphs, Aaron admonished retrospective critics of the Left. "In their excavations of the radical past, the historians have dug up little but fragments and ruins," he wrote. "Yet surely a movement which involved so many intelligent and generous men and women cannot be barren of significance . . . We

[17] Nathan Glazer, *The Social Basis of American Communism* (New York, 1961), 191.

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who precariously survive in the sixties can regret their inadequacies and failures, their romanticism, their capacity for self-deception, their shrillness, their self-righteousness. It is less easy to scorn their efforts, however blundering and ineffective, to change the world."[18]

LATER IN THE 1960s, NEW LEFT HISTORIANS took a similarly warm-hearted approach, although none seems to have credited Aaron's work as inspiration. Their own movement was never defined by a faith in Marxist ideology. By the end of the 1960s, leaders of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and the Black Panther Party were quoting various revolutionary icons—particularly Ho Chi Minh, Mao Zedong, and Che Guevara—to justify or explain their actions and desires. But most participants in the larger anti-war and black power movements were preoccupied with contemporary events and spent little or no time perusing the sacred texts of European socialism, although "anti-imperialist" authors from the Third World had their champions. "Liberation"—racial, national, and personal—was the watchword of the New Left; "class struggle" was seldom mentioned.

However, a growing number of young scholars in the 1960s did take Marxism seriously, as an analytical tradition if not necessarily as a guide for contemporary political action. No new socialist party formed, but a Socialist Scholars Conference was initiated in 1965, and, after a hiatus during the 1970s, it has been holding annual meetings ever since.[19] The Marxian texts that most excited leftist academics were ones that analyzed the cultural powers of capitalism, rather than simply its domination of the economic realm. Favorite sages included Herbert Marcuse, who, along with other members of the émigré Frankfurt School, tried to marry Freud and Marx, and Antonio Gramsci, father of the Italian Communist Party and inventor of the concept of "cultural hegemony."[20]

But most young socialist scholars took a greater interest in what Marxists had *done*, in different circumstances and diverse societies, than in studying Marxist theory as such. Radical historians, trained in the American pragmatic tradition, were particularly enthusiastic about discovering lost paths that might presage contemporary possibilities. Academics who took part in (or at least cheered on) the civil rights and anti-war movements wanted to write a history of past lefts as grass-roots *movements*—and, in the process, recover a domestic tradition to celebrate and learn from. They were unafraid of adopting new illusions.

Daniel Bell, as the voice of liberal skepticism, became a favorite target for budding radical intellectuals. "The Age of Complacency is ending. Let the old

[18] Daniel Aaron, *Writers on the Left: Episodes in American Literary Communism* (1961; rpt. edn., New York, 1979), 395–96.

[19] For the flavor of the early conferences, see *The Revival of American Socialism: Selected Papers of the Socialist Scholars Conference*, George Fischer, ed. (New York, 1971).

[20] Two early works of rediscovery were Martin Jay, *The Dialectical Imagination: A History of the Frankfurt School and the Institute of Social Research, 1923–1950* (Boston, 1973); and Eugene Genovese, "On Antonio Gramsci," orig. pub. in *Studies on the Left* in March 1967, and included in *For a New America: Essays in History and Politics from "Studies on the Left," 1959–1967*, James Weinstein and David W. Eakins, eds. (New York, 1970), 284–316.

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women complain wisely about 'the end of ideology,' " sociologist C. Wright Mills (a hero to many early members of SDS) sneered in 1961. "We are beginning to move again."[21] Portraying Bell as a leading spokesman for the bureaucratic, managerial order, New Left scholars were eager to demonstrate that conflicts—over ideas as well as interests—had always been central to the making of American society. Most young radical historians wanted to study "the people" in all their variety and not the organized Left per se. But the nature and fate of past radicalisms were seldom far from their hearts and minds.

The first new historian from the Left to begin crafting an alternative interpretation *of* the Left was James Weinstein. In several articles published in the journal *Studies on the Left* and then in *The Decline of Socialism in America, 1912–1925* (1967), Weinstein (who had once been a Young Communist) set out to redeem American Marxism by restoring the promise of the early Socialist Party.[22] He scoffed at the idea, stated most clearly by Daniel Bell, that the Socialist Party began a rapid descent in 1912 from which it never recovered. Instead, argued Weinstein, it was the bitter split brought about in 1919 by would-be Bolsheviks, most of them immigrants from the tsarist empire, that began the party's irrevocable decline. Before then, the Socialist Party had been that precious phenomenon—a genuinely radical, authentically American mass movement seemingly on the verge of transforming the political universe.

In contrast with the New Left, Weinstein's Socialist Party was "conscious of its traditions" and knew that only "a socialist reorganization of society" could solve "the inequalities and corrupting social values it believed were inherent in American capitalism." And these Marxists were a formidable presence in their land:

> Before 1920, the old Socialist Party had mass support at the polls, a widespread and vital press, a large following in the trade union movement, and a profound influence on the reformers and reforms of the day. Furthermore, the prewar Socialists overcame the very obstacles that have allegedly explained their impotence. The Party united those of old American stock with newly arrived immigrants, developed major strength among the small farmers of the most recently closed frontiers, flourished in a period of general prosperity, and garnered its greatest Presidential vote in 1912, the year that Theodore Roosevelt took over substantial sections of its platform.[23]

Weinstein did not set out to write a social history. Like Bell and Kipnis, he focused on leaders and the positions they took, while contending that the party was relatively united on the pivotal matters of working inside the American Federation of Labor and opposing World War I—and gained new adherents for these practical yet principled stances. Moreover, this pioneering piece of New Left

[21] C. Wright Mills, "Letter to the New Left," orig. pub. in *New Left Review*, 1961, as rpt. in *The New Left: A Collection of Essays*, Priscilla Long, ed. (Boston, 1969), 25. Bell had written a powerful critique of his one-time friend's book *The Power Elite*, contending that it was closer to an angry conspiracy theory than to a cool assessment, à la Marx, of class relationships. "Is There a Ruling Class in America? The Power Elite Reconsidered," in Bell, *End of Ideology*, 47–74.

[22] For an outline of his project, first published in 1963, see James Weinstein, "Socialism's Hidden Heritage: Scholarship Reinforces Political Mythology," in Weinstein and Eakins, *For a New America*, 221–52.

[23] James Weinstein, *The Decline of Socialism in America, 1912–1925* (New York, 1967), ix.

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scholarship concluded, as had Bell, that the morbidity of American socialism was largely self-inflicted. If so many radicals had not been caught up in the revolutionary frenzy that followed World War I, Weinstein implied, there likely would have been no need for a *new* left at all. "The legacy of 1919," he wrote, "was the alienation of American socialism."[24]

What was most memorable about his book was not its argument but the marked originality of its political detail. Weinstein uncovered the names of 323 different socialist newspapers, most of which were just getting started in 1912. He listed the names of hundreds of cities and towns in which Socialist Party candidates were elected to office between 1911 and 1920. It was a revelation simply to learn that avowed Marxists had gained a plurality of votes in hamlets such as St. Mary's, Ohio, and Grand Junction, Colorado, and that the *Rebel* of Halletsville, Texas, could, for several years, sustain a weekly circulation of 25,000. Clearly, this was a political movement rooted in the American heartland, even though it had been unable to persuade more than a minority of ordinary citizens in such locales to cast their ballots consistently for Eugene V. Debs and the cooperative commonwealth. Weinstein had set out to explain why the Socialist Party declined and ended up creating a new fascination with how the party had grown into the broadest, most popular organization of its kind in U.S. history.[25]

Subsequently, other scholars of the Left explored the history of sizable detachments belonging to what, in their view, was a heroic movement rudely neglected by their contemporaries. James R. Green, in *Grass-Roots Socialism: Radical Movements in the Southwest, 1896–1943* (1978), demonstrated how radicals in Oklahoma and Texas spoke the language of evangelical Protestantism while convincing many former Populists that socialism would not mean an end to small farming.[26] Mari Jo Buhle, in *Women and American Socialism, 1870–1920* (1981), told how two different kinds of women reformers—native-born advocates of Christian altruism and working-class immigrants from trade union backgrounds—worked together to criticize the immorality of capitalist values and to press for sexual equality within their party, as well as inside the larger feminist insurgency.

Green and Buhle, unlike most earlier scholars of the U.S. Left, were seeking to complicate the mainstream story of American social and political development. Socialists, they argued, did not lead marginal lives or preach an iconoclastic faith. The Oklahoma farmers and wage earners who voted for the Socialist Party had the same grievances as those who voted for Populists and for progressives from the two

[24] Weinstein, *Decline of Socialism*, 339.

[25] Weinstein was and is also an editor and publisher of leftist periodicals. While writing his book on the Socialist Party, Weinstein sought to convince other editors of *Studies on the Left* to convert the journal into the organ of a barely embryonic socialist party. But an equal number of editors favored more reporting on the developing grass-roots movement, and the split led *Studies* to cease publication in 1967. In 1970, Weinstein started the journal *Socialist Revolution* (which changed its name to *Socialist Review* in 1978). In the mid-1970s, he created the weekly *In These Times*, based in Chicago. He remains its editor today.

[26] The most powerful voice of the southwestern Socialist Party was a newspaper, *The Appeal to Reason*, that boasted a circulation of well over half a million. An excellent study of the paper and its editor is Elliot Shore's *Talkin' Socialism: J. A. Wayland and the Role of the Press in American Radicalism, 1890–1912* (Lawrence, Kan., 1988).

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major parties. And Socialist spokeswomen differed from their suffragist sisters mainly in the prominence they gave to the needs of laboring women.

Surprisingly, apart from a few pages in Green's book about Texas Socialist Party members who favored the disenfranchisement of blacks, neither historian said much about racial conflict, so central to the world view of the New Left. The party's lack of interest in signing up African Americans and other non-whites and the openly racist beliefs of many Socialist Party members (including Representative Victor Berger of Milwaukee and most California Socialists who cried wolf about "the Yellow Peril") were all but omitted from the story.

These historians had not chosen their subjects in order to recite a litany of damning details. Like most leftist scholars of the 1960s generation, Buhle and Green were disciples of E. P. Thompson's romantically democratic approach to the past. Echoing Thompson's famous vow to "rescue" his subjects "from the enormous condescension of posterity," Mari Jo Buhle introduced her book with a tribute to "the tens of thousands of rank-and-file women who formed the Socialist women's movement . . . the defeated and now forgotten warriors against triumphant capitalism."[27] Several years later, Paul Buhle, her husband, published a sweeping intellectual survey of American Marxist thought. This learned and idiosyncratic writer reveled in the literary gifts and unrealized visions of dozens of radical authors, some of whom he had interviewed at the end of their lives. "I like to think that they have made me wise enough," he wrote, "to recognize that I belong to the same family as my radical antecedents, all of them."[28]

Inevitably, such works were written, in part, to cast off the incubus of Daniel Bell. James Green allowed that the "emotionalism and moralism" of southwestern Socialists suggested an otherworldly component to their activism. But he maintained, along with Weinstein, that the Socialist Party would never have won the electoral allegiance of hard-pressed miners, tenant farmers, and timber workers without an "ability to organize methodically around pressing issues in the 'real world' of regional and local politics." And Mari Jo Buhle criticized Bell for staying on the level of the Socialist Party's "formal ideology" and neglecting the ordinary people who built the movement.[29]

The method of empathetic social history thus became a necessary, if insufficient, critique of Bell, the ex-leftist who preferred to reside, mandarin-like, in the province of theory. Young scholars of the Left—similar to Mr. Dooley, the fictional Irish-American bartender who delighted turn-of-the-century newspaper readers—disdained the kind of historians who, like physicians, "are always lookin' f'r symptoms" and making "a post-mortem examination." "It tells ye what a countrhy died iv," complained Mr. Dooley. "But I'd like to know what it lived iv."[30]

Not that the larger debate about the causes of the Socialist Party's downfall ever lacked for disputants. During the 1950s and 1960s, a number of prominent social

[27] E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York, 1963), 12; Mari Jo Buhle, *Women and American Socialism, 1870–1920* (Urbana, Ill., 1981), xiii, xviii.

[28] Paul Buhle, *Marxism in the United States: Remapping the History of the American Left* (London, 1987), 3.

[29] Green, *Grass-Roots Socialism*, xiv; Buhle, *Women and Socialism*, xviii.

[30] Finley Peter Dunne, *Mr. Dooley on Ivrything and Ivrybody*, Robert Hutchinson, ed. (New York, 1963), 208.

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scientists and historians—including Seymour Martin Lipset, Louis Hartz, and Stephan Thernstrom—had taken up the old question of the weakness of American socialism in order to make some larger point about the nature of the United States as a social and intellectual system. Although few took on Bell's thesis directly, they all assumed that a combination of "external" or "structural" elements had conspired to doom the American Left; socialist organizers could have done little to alter their fate. Thus Hartz held that the long dominance of liberal thought, with its vaunting of the classless individual, always made Marxists politically superfluous. And Thernstrom suggested that the high rate of geographic mobility among the poorer stratum of wage earners in the industrializing United States prevented radical organizations from building a stable working-class constituency.[31]

In 1974, Lipset and the radical historian John H. M. Laslett co-edited a thick anthology, *Failure of a Dream? Essays in the History of American Socialism*, in which noted scholars debated one another about a variety of "internal" and "external" factors that may have contributed to the agony of the Left. Highlighted were the absence of deep-seated class feelings (that elsewhere stemmed from a feudal past), severe ethnic and racial divisions among workers, the power of the Catholic church within organized labor, and the ideological flexibility of the two-party system.[32]

The first debate in the anthology pitted Daniel Bell against John Laslett over "the problem of ideological rigidity." Bell's contribution was a reprinted essay from *The End of Ideology*; it essentially summarized the argument of *Marxian Socialism*. Laslett, a socialist but one committed to structural explanations, boldly used the occasion to deny the entire validity of Bell's "in but not of" thesis. Bell's argument, contended the UCLA historian, is "a static, essentially ahistorical view of American society" which "comes close to imposing a moral imperative upon socialists *not* to interfere with the basic structure of the society, because to do so would run counter to the 'rules of the game.' "[33]

Author of a detailed study of Socialists in the turn-of-the-century union movement, Laslett cited numerous examples of Marxian radicals in municipal governments and AFL unions who acted cautiously and pragmatically, whatever their rhetoric. And he pointed out that all political parties—including the powerful Socialists of Western Europe—employed language that "is in some sense visionary or future-oriented, whatever ideology it purports to represent." Certainly, none of Debs's best-known electoral rivals—William Jennings Bryan, Theodore Roosevelt, and Woodrow Wilson—stated their goals in moderate terms or eschewed the grand, chiliastic flourish. Laslett concluded that Bell did not even consider the "nature of the society" in which Socialists operated "but simply *assumes* the primacy of ideological rigidity."[34]

[31] Louis Hartz, *The Liberal Tradition in America: An Interpretation of American Political Thought since the Revolution* (New York, 1955), esp. 244–48; Stephan Thernstrom, "Urbanization, Migration, and Social Mobility in Late Nineteenth-Century America," *Towards a New Past: Dissenting Essays in American History*, Barton J. Bernstein, ed. (New York, 1967), 168–69.

[32] All page references are to the revised edition of *Failure of a Dream?* (Berkeley, Calif., 1984).

[33] John H. M. Laslett, "Comment," in *Failure of a Dream?* 31.

[34] Laslett, "Comment," 40. Laslett's book is *Labor and the Left: A Study of Socialist and Radical*

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Bell responded rather curtly to this sweeping attack on his work. Structural arguments like Laslett's, he averred, can only provide "*contexts* and *constraints*; what they omit is human agency." Because radicals were in thrall to a purist brand of Marxism, insisted Bell, they badly misunderstood the socially fluid, politically democratic nature of American society. Thus they had no hope of changing it—not, at least, as avowed Socialists. Marxists, he suggested, would have done better to organize themselves into a "ginger group" within the labor movement and to abandon their dreams of radical transformation.[35]

Although Bell wisely stressed the contingent nature of historical outcomes, his rebuttal failed to address Laslett's point about the role of idealism in politics. To become a socialist involved thinking beyond what was and had to be to what *should* be. To a heckler who shouted that a vote for the Socialist Party was a wasted ballot, Eugene Debs once responded, "That's right. Don't vote for freedom—you might not get it. Vote for slavery—you have a cinch on that."[36] The more radical the creed, the greater was the need for a rhetoric of transcendence. Bell gave no reason why activists inspired by what he called the "unbounded dream" of socialism would have been satisfied nudging men like Walter Reuther and George Meany a bit further leftward. Indeed, Reuther had shelved his own youthful socialist hopes by the time he ascended to the leadership of the United Auto Workers.[37]

Neither Bell nor Laslett had the last word on the issue of whether external factors or internal flaws best explained the fate of the Marxian Left. In 1981, Aileen Kraditor, an erstwhile radical turned neo-conservative, offered an original variant of the internalist position in her book *The Radical Persuasion, 1890–1917: Aspects of the Intellectual History and the Historiography of Three American Radical Organizations.* The Left suffered, Kraditor argued, from suicidal arrogance. The oratory and journalism produced by the Socialist Party (as well as by its smaller rival, the Socialist Labor Party, and the Industrial Workers of the World, the IWW) demonstrated, she wrote, that radicals believed themselves to be "people assigned a special mission by History."[38] They addressed average workers, then immigrants or immigrants' children, as if they were simply the ignorant dupes of capitalism, with no ideas or culture of their own. Most members of the target population, Kraditor contended, sensibly rejected this awkward messianism and clung to their strong familial bonds and ethnic identities (all amply documented for her by latter-day social historians whose politics leaned left).

Kraditor's view betrayed the romantic notion that "John Q. Worker" (her term)

Influences in the American Labor Movement, 1881–1924 (New York, 1970). Studies of the local history of the Socialist Party that, in general, support Laslett's argument include *Socialism and the Cities,* Bruce Stave, ed. (Port Washington, N.Y., 1975); *Socialism in the Heartland: The Midwestern Experience, 1900–1925,* Donald T. Critchlow, ed. (Notre Dame, Ind., 1986); Richard W. Judd, *Socialist Cities: Municipal Politics and the Grass Roots of American Socialism* (Albany, N.Y., 1989).

[35] Daniel Bell, "Reply," *Failure of a Dream?* 48, 49.

[36] An anecdote from the 1908 presidential campaign. Cited in Ray Ginger, *Eugene V. Debs: A Biography* (1949; rpt. edn., New York, 1962), 294.

[37] For a close study of this process, see Nelson Lichtenstein, *The Most Dangerous Man in Detroit: Walter Reuther and the Fate of American Labor* (New York, 1995).

[38] Aileen Kraditor, *The Radical Persuasion* (Baton Rouge, La., 1981), 236.

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was a satisfied toiler, content to go home every night to a rewarding life of kin and community. She brushed aside all structural factors as based on "writers' own assumptions as to what should cause a worker to become a socialist."[39] Kraditor also denied that elites or dominant cultural mores had any power to influence John Q.'s decisions; her interpretation excluded IWW organizers who were shot at and blacklisted and Socialist Party speakers who were jailed for opposing World War I.

But she did have a sure, if censorious, grasp of past radical fantasies—which Bell had also emphasized but which few contemporary academic leftists were willing to acknowledge. Socialists tended to wrap themselves in an ideological cocoon from which the world seemed garbed in absolute categories: workers had no country, the triumph of the proletariat was inevitable, electoral coalitions with other parties (even labor parties) were prohibited. In a national environment already inhospitable to Marxism, this dogma could only bind leftists into a subculture that felt more and more like an intellectual ghetto.[40]

In the 1970s and 1980s, historians of working-class America—successors to an older labor history that had dwelled almost exclusively on national unions—tired of asking "why no socialism" and changed the question. Instead of responding yet again to the dismal negative, they tried to understand what kind of ideology discontented working people *had* expressed. "Republicanism" emerged as the most popular alternative, particularly for scholars who specialized in the nineteenth century. For Alan Dawley, historian of the shoemaking capital of Lynn, Massachusetts, this meant an "equal rights" tradition that demanded fair treatment from bosses and loyalty from politicians whom workers had elected. For Sean Wilentz, historian of early industrial New York City, it meant a vision of social justice that equated permanent wage labor with a betrayal of American ideals. For Leon Fink, historian of the Knights of Labor, it meant a producer ethic that clearly separated the virtuous, hard-pressed many from the self-interested, unelected few who dominated the booming industrial economy. Whatever else it meant, "republicanism" was, for young historians battling the assumptions of Bell and Hartz, a way to demonstrate that many American workers had thought about political power differently than their social superiors—and used their alternative beliefs to justify a series of galvanic organizing campaigns and strike waves. What Eric Foner in a splendid review essay called "an ethic of community and mutuality, rather than individualism and competition" became an Americanized substitute for socialism.[41]

But the replacement of "Why no socialism?" with "Look at all the republicanism!" had its costs.[42] The term itself was impossibly fuzzy; any concept that

[39] Kraditor, *Radical Persuasion*, 43.

[40] For a longer critique of Kraditor's book, see my essay "Why Did the Left Fail? The Answers of a Neo-Conservative," *Socialist Review*, 12 (September–October 1982): 121–29.

[41] Alan Dawley, *Class and Community: The Industrial Revolution in Lynn* (Cambridge, Mass., 1976); Sean Wilentz, "Against Exceptionalism: Class Consciousness and the American Labor Movement, 1790–1920," *International Labor and Working Class History*, no. 26 (Fall 1984): 1–24; Leon Fink, *Workingmen's Democracy: The Knights of Labor and American Politics* (Urbana, Ill., 1983); Eric Foner, "Why Is There No Socialism in the United States?" *History Workshop*, no. 17 (Spring 1984): 62.

[42] For some of the problems, see Daniel Rodgers, "Republicanism: The Career of a Concept," *Journal of American History*, 79 (June 1992): 11–38.

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supposedly united James Madison, Terence Powderly, and millions of small farmers explained very little about political conflict; indeed, it risked replicating, albeit under another name and for different purposes, the Hartzian concept of a dominant ideological tradition that New Left intellectuals had originally set out to demolish. What historians of the Left so grandly called working-class "republicanism" was sometimes simply a species of populist rhetoric and, at other times, a way of asserting one's patriotic *bona fides* while pursuing diverse agendas. In the end, the intellectual vogue did little to clarify how and why socialism, as theory and tentative practice, had proved so unpopular on American soil. Bell's (and Sombart's) "melancholy question" remained a useful way to understand the unique qualities of U.S. development.

The new left historian who made perhaps the most astute attempt to resolve it was Nick Salvatore. His 1982 biography of Eugene V. Debs, subtitled *Citizen and Socialist*, portrayed the Socialist Party's premier orator and five-time presidential candidate as a skilled worker and railroad unionist who gradually came to believe that monopoly capitalism was betraying the American Dream.[43] Analyzing Debs's life as a microcosm of the rise and fall of the socialist movement, Salvatore was able to transcend the internal versus external debate without evading the central fact of the Socialist Party's failure. On the one hand, he perceived Debs as a working-class republican: opposed to corporate moguls and their political allies as the foes of upstanding producers, roughly egalitarian communities, and Christians inspired by the Sermon on the Mount. On the other hand, he explained that Debs's class-conscious definitions of such broad identities were always unpopular in "a political culture that saw in American institutions as they were the promise of the future."[44] The Socialist Party standard-bearer drew huge crowds around the country with as genuine and emotional an appeal for human solidarity as was ever expressed by an American politician. But, as a socialist, his solutions were roundly judged to be "un-American," and many members of his adoring audiences never gave him their votes.

Salvatore's biography made U.S. socialism in its modest heyday seem more a tragedy than a tale of self-delusion (as Bell and Kraditor would have it). And he eschewed the theme of unhonored heroism espoused by James Green and both Buhles. But Salvatore's sober treatment of Debs, the most attractive individual in the small pantheon of American Marxism, did manage to highlight what so endeared his generation of scholars to the Socialist Party and, in lesser degree, to the IWW.[45]

These self-sacrificing organizers and courageous rebels held out the forgotten promise of a thoroughly democratic, humane, even proto-feminist brand of radicalism. Debs—and Mother Jones and Big Bill Haywood and John Reed and Emma Goldman (an anarchist, but no matter)—were loving combatants who said

[43] Nick Salvatore, *Eugene V. Debs: Citizen and Socialist* (Urbana, Ill., 1982).

[44] Salvatore, *Eugene V. Debs*, 271.

[45] There is a large literature devoted to the IWW, but few works engage larger questions about the course of American radicalism. The more analytically acute studies include Melvyn Dubofsky, *We Shall Be All: A History of the Industrial Workers of the World* (New York, 1969); Joseph R. Conlin, *Bread and Roses Too: Studies of the Wobblies* (Westport, Conn., 1969); Salvatore Salerno, *Red November, Black November: Culture and Community in the Industrial Workers of the World* (Albany, N.Y., 1989).

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Eugene V. Debs on the stump at a socialist picnic in Knoxville, Tennessee, 1905. Courtesy of the Cunningham Memorial Library, Indiana State University, Terre Haute.

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exactly what they believed and acted accordingly. The Great War had allegedly destroyed forever the possibility of such innocence, such comradely idealism. But historians who had either been radical organizers in the 1960s or greatly admired grass-roots activism longed for ancestral soul mates—especially ones who had gained a serious hearing in what would later be called Middle America.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY was a more difficult case. In the 1960s, the party continued to applaud everything Soviet officials did or said and still (as in the heyday of the Popular Front) advocated working inside the Democratic Party. What did young radicals (even the "red-diaper babies" among them) have to learn from this bunch of Stalinists, now in their political dotage? The 1968 crushing of the Czech rebellion seemed to close the question. Indeed, the first glimmers of a new history of American Communism only appeared in the early 1970s when several men and women who had broken with the Communist Party wrote chastened, critical memoirs, most of which were sympathetic to what younger radicals were trying to accomplish.

These memoirs, as one would expect, were an uneven lot. A few authors attempted doggedly to document every twist in their political careers, while others seriously or lightheartedly assessed the party's pitfalls and contributions as a whole.[46] In contrast to autobiographical accounts written in the morning of the Cold War by Louis Budenz, Elizabeth Bentley, and other ex-Communists, none of the 1970s memoirists published a *mea culpa* or adopted a confessional tone tailored to the needs of a Senate investigating committee. With the headlines full of Vietnam and Watergate, hardly anyone outside the precincts of the Left cared very much about the internal mysteries and miseries of aging American "Reds."

The most thoughtful of the autobiographies struck a balance between the visionary intentions and practical organizing of Communist Party members and their ruinous fealty to the USSR. Joseph Starobin, in his memoir/history of the party's years of "crisis" (1943 to 1957), agreed with Bell that the Communist Party's hermetic mode of thinking rendered it neither "in" nor "of" the world. But Starobin, erstwhile foreign editor of *The Daily Worker,* also argued, persuasively, that Communists tried to nurture both a "force for radical reform" and a lively counter-culture: "Not intended to be a family but a quasi-military elite, forged for stern historical tasks, it was in fact a family to many."[47]

Starobin was a tough-minded critic, but he was also a fair one. His concern with how Communists themselves experienced the rupture of their political "family" moved beyond Bell's polemical tone and Draper's final verdict—even though the one-time party journalist's conclusions did not significantly differ from theirs. Starobin explicitly wrote his book for the "succeeding generation" that "might

[46] A good example of the first type is Al Richmond's *A Long View from the Left: Memoirs of an American Revolutionary* (New York, 1972). For a witty alternative, see Jessica Mitford, *A Fine Old Conflict* (New York, 1977).

[47] Joseph R. Starobin, *American Communism in Crisis, 1943–1957* (Berkeley, Calif., 1972), 237, 235. As he was completing the book, Starobin experienced a wrenching blow. His son Robert, a radical historian of American slavery, committed suicide because, according to his father, he was "humiliated by the collapse of his own illusions, for example, about the Black Panthers." Starobin, xiv.

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benefit from a sober reassessment of the American radical past as seen by someone who believed in socialism, never concealed this belief, tried to make a go of achieving it, and was defeated by the inability to distinguish between what *could* be accomplished and what *could not* be."[48] In his wake, one-time New Leftists took up the same challenge, albeit with more explicit empathy than Starobin had been able to muster.

By the mid to late 1970s, radical activists and scholars could no longer be so optimistic about their own political prospects. A decade earlier, they had helped topple liberal bureaucrats and war-makers, only to see clever Republicans such as Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan take their place. And the insurgent wave that had crested in the late 1960s now flowed into such separate, if still rising, channels as feminism, gay liberation, and environmentalism. Having given up the belief that radicalism meant a relentless challenge to the structure and values of capitalist society, historians of the Left revisited the Communist Party, particularly during the Popular Front period, and discovered a movement more benign and less revolutionary than the conspiratorial organization scheming for power that Daniel Bell had described.

The first historian of the Communist Party to make a "revisionist" argument with force and coherence was Maurice Isserman in *Which Side Were You On? The American Communist Party during the Second World War* (1982).[49] Isserman, unlike his contemporaries who studied the Debsian Socialist Party, had no intention of extolling his subjects. He acknowledged "the crimes of Stalinism" and gave Theodore Draper and his fellow Fund for the Republic authors due credit for placing the American Communist Party's history "within the general context of the Soviet Union's foreign policy and domestic situation." But the young historian was also determined to understand party members as rational men and women who did not merely act out a script written in Moscow. Nephew of a one-time party lawyer, Isserman wrote from the standpoint of a retrospective activist. He tried to think along with the Communists, often pointing out how a failure to see and do things differently damaged their public reputation and, eventually, destroyed their hopes for radical change.

Isserman's Communist Party was an organization of resourceful and talented organizers. From 1935 through World War II (a period Draper's books never reached), Communists dominated the Left by building effective mass organizations such as the United Electrical Workers, the National Negro Congress, and the American Student Union. Most party members welcomed the turn toward the Popular Front in the mid-1930s and not only because it promised to repel the fascist demons who were threatening the Eurasian homeland of socialism. The new line that sentimentally celebrated American "progressive" traditions, wrote Isserman, "provided a bridge by which the children of immigrants could adapt themselves to the culture of the New World without renouncing the ideals that

[48] Starobin, *American Communism*, xiii.

[49] Maurice Isserman, *Which Side Were You On?* (Middletown, Conn., 1982). Isserman is my friend and sometime co-author—which does not mean we always agree about how to interpret the history of the American Left.

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had sustained their parents in the move from the Old."[50] Although his focus was on decisions made by leaders and on commentary in the party press, Isserman had pushed open the door for social and cultural historians, with similar political sympathies, to rush through.

The most sophisticated, provocative new studies of the Communist Party have focused on the party's participation during the 1930s and 1940s in industrial unions and among African Americans (and sometimes on a conjunction of the two).[51] For Marxists, there could be no worthier task than to organize workers in the nation's largest firms; hostile commentators—from right-wing Congressmen to liberal scholars—had long rued the fact that individual Communists were essential to the success of the CIO and took charge of some of its larger affiliated unions. At the same time, the Communist Party was the first white-dominated national group on the left actively to recruit black members and to make the extirpation of racism (inside as well as outside the party) a matter of urgent significance. Such activities were, of course, compelled by Soviet dicta and usually stayed within the ideological limits of the current Comintern line. But recent studies have taken pains to trace—often through collective biography—the creative, home-grown nature of individual and ethnic group commitments.

Thus Ronald Schatz portrayed the "pioneer" organizers of the United Electrical Workers (many of whom were Communist Party members) as skilled workers from secular backgrounds who won the loyalty of devout Catholics—and built "the largest Communist-led institution of any kind in the U.S."—by fighting hard for seniority rules and higher wages. Thus Bruce Nelson showed how Harry Bridges and other wily immigrant radicals who belonged or were close to the Communist Party organized West Coast dock workers by burrowing inside the mainstream AFL longshoremen's union at a time when party leaders were trumpeting the "revolutionary" pure but hopeless unions of the Trade Union Unity League. And thus Joshua Freeman described how the New York subways were organized by a tight band of former Irish Republican Army soldiers (led by Mike Quill) and Communists who knew a tough, effective, rank-and-file leader when they met one.[52]

These and similar works pay little attention to what top officials of the American Communist Party (not to mention the Comintern) thought about what their crack labor cadres were doing. The neglect bespeaks a political conclusion: working-class radicals were devoted to the difficult, quotidian task of establishing the CIO and, as it happened, to crafting a new career for themselves. The history of Communism thus was subsumed within the history of American unionism; home-grown Leninists influenced the political ideology of the larger movement, but they never tried to define it. Of course, one could count on labor Communists

[50] Isserman, *Which Side*, 22.

[51] For details on the "progressive" racial practices of many Communist Party–led unions, see Michael Goldfield, "Race and the CIO: The Possibilities for Racial Egalitarianism during the 1930s and 1940s," *International Labor and Working-Class History*, no. 44 (Fall 1993): 1–32.

[52] Ronald Schatz, *The Electrical Workers: A History of Labor at General Electric and Westinghouse* (Urbana, Ill., 1983), xiii; Bruce Nelson, *Workers on the Waterfront: Seamen, Longshoremen, and Unionism in the 1930s* (Urbana, 1988); Joshua Freeman, *In Transit: The Transportation Workers Union in New York City* (New York, 1990).

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to urge their unions to pass resolutions backing the Scottsboro boys, the Spanish Republicans, and a Second Front. But the site of their real work and real love was blue-collar America, and this usually kept them focused on the task at hand.[53]

Black Communists were, according to recent studies, even less motivated by international struggles or lashed by Stalinist discipline than their white comrades. In his prize-winning book on the Alabama party, Robin Kelley remarked that the whole question of "the CPUSA's relationship to the Communist International . . . seems, in retrospect, rather superfluous, even silly." Local cadres naturally "tried their best to apply the then current political line to the tasks at hand" but so too did members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. "Besides," writes Kelley, "if Alabamians had waited patiently for orders from Moscow, they might still be waiting today."[54]

Instead, Kelley argued that the rise and fall of the Alabama Communist Party in the 1930s and 1940s formed a neglected chapter in the long struggle for black freedom. African Americans dominated the party in the Deep South, and they used it to teach literacy and black history, to unionize black workers, and to give poor sharecroppers and steel workers a sense that their battle against Jim Crow laws and despotic employers was not an isolated one. In Alabama at least, the routine charge of "foreign conspiracy" actually helped the party's recruiting drive. Writes Kelley, "For many black radicals, the Russians were the 'new Yankees,' Stalin was the 'new Lincoln,' and the Soviet Union was a 'new Ethiopia' stretching her arms in defense of black folk."[55]

This strongly positive, bottom-up appraisal broke sharply with an older image of condescending white Communists who tried to tell black folk what to think and to bend civil rights organizations to their factional purposes. (For his part, Daniel Bell had ignored the Left's record on race.)[56] Ralph Ellison, in *Invisible Man*, had narrated the exploitation of his black anti-hero as militant symbol by the "Brotherhood" (modeled on his involvement with the Communist Party); while Harold Cruse had reproached Jewish Communists for "brainwashing" black

[53] The only book-length assessment of this topic was published a bit earlier by a former Trotskyist—Bert Cochran, *Labor and Communism: The Conflict That Shaped American Unions* (Princeton, N.J., 1977). Cochran focuses on factional fights within the unions and takes a more jaded, ironic view than either Bell and Draper or the new left "revisionists." Thus he writes that Communist Party leaders "were, in fact, typical members of a millenarian sect . . . , bickering zealots, ideologues, extremists, romantics, firebrand militants and saints, unworldly dreamers and worldly egotists, utopians and would-be world saviors and men of destiny; in other words, the not uncommon conglomeration of humanity that made up world-sanctifying movements from the 1848 revolution onwards" (p. 6).

[54] Robin D. G. Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe: Alabama Communists during the Great Depression* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1990), xiii–xiv.

[55] Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe*, 100. Nell Irvin Painter made a similar argument in her collaboration with the longtime Alabama Communist Party stalwart, Hosea Hudson. See *The Narrative of Hosea Hudson: His Life as a Negro Communist in the South* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979).

[56] For the older view, see Richard Wright's essay in *The God That Failed*, Richard Crossman, ed. (New York, 1949); Wilson Record, *The Negro and the Communist Party* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1951). Recently, I raised with Daniel Bell his neglect of race in *Marxian Socialism*. He responded, "My instinct is to say that it wasn't there at the time. I am sensitive to it insofar as I was doing publicity for A. Philip Randolph during the war, and went with him to Washington on his first visit to see F.D.R. (The only place we could eat was in Union Station.) Yet as a movement, it was not 'there.'" Personal correspondence with the author, June 8, 1994.

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intellectuals who otherwise would have built a liberation movement of their own.[57] But the new works told of dedicated organizers of both races who viewed themselves and were often perceived, by friend *and* foe, as the second coming of the abolitionists.

The shift of focus from Harlem to the rural Black Belt made it hard to draw a tight comparison between the old interpretation and the new.[58] But, as Kelley indicated, new scholars were impatient with, even bored by, the traditional focus on the Moscow line. Like asking "why no socialism?" it failed to capture what grass-roots radicals did and talked about every day and how, pro-Soviet blinders intact, they blazed the trail to a more egalitarian future.[59]

Orthodox critics of the Communist Party had no intention of allowing the new monographers to have their way. In 1984, Harvey Klehr, a conservative political scientist, published a history of the party during the 1930s that disagreed, both in tone and content, with Isserman and his counterparts. His *Heyday of American Communism* was a faithful and worthy successor to Theodore Draper's earlier books on the party—and its author had full use of the elder scholar's large store of research materials, as well as his ideological blessing. For Klehr, the first major historian of the Left with no background in radical activism, any valid interpretation of the Communist Party depended on a thorough knowledge of the shifting policies and actions of party leaders. His survey of the Communist Party's presence in various social movements—of workers, the unemployed, students, intellectuals, and African Americans, as well as inside several state Democratic parties—was admirably thorough and predictably condemnatory. The nuanced concern of the revisionists with the motives of individual activists was, he implied, an evasion of the main point that Draper had stated a generation before. As Klehr concluded:

> There was nothing unique or peculiar about Communists as people. They came out of all environments, had all sorts of motives for becoming members, and differed greatly in their commitment to the cause. But once a person entered the Party, and especially once in the leadership, only both unconditional and unwavering loyalty to the dictates of Soviet policy, both foreign and domestic, enabled one to stay.[60]

Although Klehr made his views clear, he chose not to dwell on the historiographical debate. It was a reluctance his patron did not share. In 1985, Theodore Draper wrote two lengthy articles for *The New York Review of Books,* America's

[57] Ralph Ellison, *Invisible Man* (New York, 1952); Harold Cruse, *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual: A Historical Analysis of the Failure of Black Leadership* (1967; rpt. edn., New York, 1984), 158 and *passim.*

[58] But see Mark Naison, *Communists in Harlem during the Depression* (Urbana, Ill., 1983), for a sympathetic evocation of the black-white alliance in the Communist Party. On the cultural issues that were of particular concern to Ellison and Cruse, Naison finds a "tension between the imaginative instincts of rank-and-file intellectuals and the sectarian impulses of Party leaders" (p. 211).

[59] For example, Kelley ends his book with evidence that poor black farmers who, in the 1960s, rallied to the voting registration campaign of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee had first been mobilized thirty years earlier by the Alabama Communist Party. *Hammer and Hoe,* 228–30. An effective popularization of this overwhelmingly positive view of Communist Party history is the documentary film by Julia Reichert and Jim Klein, *Seeing Red: Stories of American Communists* (New York, 1984).

[60] Klehr, *The Heyday of American Communism: The Depression Decade* (New York, 1984), 415–16. Klehr made a similar statement in his first book, a monograph about the members of the Communist Party Central Committee that included an admiring foreword by Draper. *Communist Cadre: The Social Background of the American Communist Party Elite* (Stanford, Calif., 1978), 117.

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preeminent intellectual journal, that passionately denounced the entire effort to rewrite the history of the party he once had served and later wrote about with such authority. The new historians, Draper charged, were "left-wing intellectual yuppies" seeking to build an academic career on a sentimental, empirically false portrait of Stalinists for whom the Popular Front was merely a four-year masquerade in "Americanism." He derided the social-history approach as "a cop out" that "avoid[ed] facing the political reality of American communism" and accused the would-be revisionists of inventing an impotent "radicalism of nostalgia," adding, "No one has to do anything about this radicalism except to teach it to others."[61]

Draper's polemic, which drew a cascade of letters from the writers he had scolded, was unfair to its targets and overlooked the longevity of Popular Front ideology. Neither Isserman nor most of his fellow new historians ever denied that the Soviets ultimately controlled the American Communist Party or failed to cite that fact as the main reason why the party failed to become a legitimate political force.[62] And, while the party's 1938 slogan, "Communism Is Twentieth-Century Americanism," did not survive the decade, its spirit lived on through the 1940s as the quixotic fantasy of activists who craved acceptance from the same society they wanted to convert to socialism. Even when the Communist Party broke with liberal Democrats over the Cold War, the party kept operating Jefferson bookstores and advocating an "anti-monopoly coalition." There would be no return to the revolutionary fantasies characteristic of the Third Period (from 1928 to 1934).

However, Draper's intellectual wrath did indicate that Communism could not be analyzed as if it were a normal part of American politics, even one belonging to the radical tradition. An organization whose members proudly took their lead, if not all their lines, from a foreign power could not yet be studied with the kind of empathy and subtle cultural shadings evident in works about the Socialist Party, the Knights of Labor, or even the New Left. The Bolshevik Revolution was an obvious watershed in world history. And it propelled American leftists, whatever their views about Lenin's methods and the evolution of Soviet society, into bitter debates and sectarian commitments that ensured the marginality of socialism in America.

Even after the collapse and dissolution of the USSR itself in the early 1990s, Klehr and Draper continued to blast their opponents—who responded, somewhat wearily, by reasserting their own agenda. In 1995, Klehr, with historian John Haynes of the Library of Congress, opened a powerful new line of attack. They edited and annotated a volume of Communist Party documents stored in previously secret Moscow archives that seemed to show that leading American Communists—most notably, longtime party chairman Earl Browder—were either spying for the USSR or aiding others to conduct espionage. The American Communist Party was a "conspiracy financed by a hostile foreign power" after all.[63]

Heralded by conservative journalists such as George Will and reviewed respect-

[61] Theodore Draper, "American Communism Revisited," orig. pub. in *New York Review of Books*, May 9 and 30, 1985, rpt. in Draper, *A Present of Things Past: Selected Essays* (New York, 1990), 119, 143, 150.

[62] See the letters and Draper's response in the *New York Review of Books* (August 15, 1985): 40–44.

[63] Harvey Klehr, John Earl Haynes, and Fridrikh Igorevich Firsov, *The Secret World of American Communism* (New Haven, Conn., 1995).

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fully if critically by Maurice Isserman, the book, along with additional documentary volumes in preparation, may severely narrow the debate about the meaning of Communist Party history. Instead of arguing the virtues of social versus political history, disputants could well become amateur sleuths, contesting the import of individual letters and the precise movements of pro-Soviet "moles."[64] If that occurs, recent scholarly attempts to leave the polemics aside and to view members of the Communist Party as "normal [if particularly idealistic] men and women" with a fatal but not criminal case of political obtuseness would be stillborn.[65] Perhaps sometime in the twenty-first century, discussions of American Communism will sound, in measured tone and requisite qualification, more like current ones about the Whig Party or New Deal liberalism. But then the remarkable passion that Daniel Bell and nearly all subsequent interpreters have brought to the subject—which has taught us more about ordinary Communists during the Depression and World War II than about either Democrats or Republicans in the same era—will surely be gone.[66]

WHAT THEN OF BELL'S ORIGINAL INDICTMENT of the socialist Left? How does it stand up as we approach the end of our own persistently bloody, intermittently glorious century?

Marxian Socialism certainly heaped too much blame on the leaders of the Debsian Socialist Party and passed too briefly over the difficult conditions in which they had to operate. As John Laslett argued, socialist parties in Germany, Britain, and Russia during the two decades before World War I suffered major doctrinal splits and were still major political forces in their respective nations.[67] Because of a feudal past and the long delay in granting the vote to men without property, a sustained attack on class inequality and exploitation made common sense to millions of working people in those countries—and their support was passed on from generation to generation. In the United States, that never occurred.

Bell's reliance on the "in but not of the world" explanation also lacked a comparative dimension. As Irving Howe pointed out, its "timeless and placeless,

[64] For glimpses of the possible future, see Maurice Isserman's lengthy review in *The Nation* (June 12, 1995): 846–56; and Murray Kempton's bemused comments in the *New York Review of Books* (July 13, 1995): 29–34. There seems to be a gathering consensus about the Rosenberg case, an old cause célèbre for both pro and anti-Communists. After the National Security Agency's release of decoded messages to and from the Soviet KGB between 1943 and 1945, two of the staunchest critics of the trial and execution acknowledged that at least Julius Rosenberg was, in fact, guilty of espionage. "What these messages show, briefly," write Walter Schneir and Miriam Schneir, "is that Julius Rosenberg was the head of a spy ring gathering and passing nonatomic defense information . . . And they implicate the American Communist Party in recruitment of party members for espionage." "Cryptic Answers," *The Nation* (August 14–21, 1995): 152. Whether Rosenberg passed *atomic* secrets to the Soviets is not yet clear.

[65] Leo Ribuffo, "The Complexity of American Communism," in Ribuffo, *Right Center Left: Essays in American History* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1992), 153. Also see the balanced assessment in Robert Cohen, *When the Old Left Was Young: Student Radicals and America's First Mass Student Movement, 1929–1941* (New York, 1993), xvi and *passim*.

[66] In a short history, Harvey Klehr and John Earl Haynes comment about the proliferation of Communist Party studies, "It sometimes appears that never have so many studied so much about so few." *The American Communist Movement: Storming Heaven Itself* (New York, 1992), 1.

[67] Laslett, "Comment," 38.

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indeed world-encompassing" claim is of little use in accounting for the greater success of European Marxists, who were not reluctant to spin their own messianic vision. Closer to home, Debs and his American comrades were hardly the only Americans possessed of a dogmatic, millenarian world view.[68] Indeed, one can view the Socialist Party's perfectionist impulse, in part, as an inheritance from the Puritans, the abolitionists, temperance enthusiasts, and other movements of Americans who burned to make the world anew.[69] Why should, how could, a radical who admired Wendell Phillips and Frances Willard have made a sober assessment of the limits facing his or her party and then pursued only the most modest of ends?

At the same time, the wealth of newer studies of both Socialists and Communists qualifies Bell's portrait of a movement too purist for the pragmatic give-and-take of American politics. Within the Gompers-era AFL and then the CIO, Marxists *were* a skillful pressure group, working hard for the common union cause while also finding time to recruit for socialism. As for the many Socialist Party members elected to local office early in the twentieth century, they seldom acted very differently from their counterparts in the British Labour Party, the German Socialist Democratic Party, or the SFIO (the French Socialists). They tried to end corrupt dealings with big business, to institute progressive taxation and good social services, and to keep the police neutral during strikes. "Revolution" was fine for May Day speeches. But it did not stop graft or pick up the garbage.

On the national level, it would be hard to disentangle the history of the Left from the history of American reform. Both Wilsonian progressives and New Deal liberals were cognizant of the analytical power of Marxism and were quite willing to work with socialists such as Mother Jones, Florence Kelley, and Sidney Hillman for their mutual benefit.[70] In the 1960s, Martin Luther King, Jr., borrowed much of his critique of poverty from Marxian thinkers Bayard Rustin and Michael Harrington and, in private, came to regard himself as a democratic socialist.[71]

The absence of a socialist perspective has helped to deepen the current crisis of liberalism. Of course, Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman did not need Marxists to teach them how to talk to working people. But the naïve belief that class grievances no longer matter much has hindered the ability of recent Democratic standard-bearers Michael Dukakis and Bill Clinton to speak convincingly to the many Americans who have experienced a decline in their standard of living and in the quality of their jobs.

The scholarly focus on grass-roots politics has also restored a certain retrospec-

[68] Howe, *Socialism and America*, 35.

[69] On this point, see Paul Buhle, *Marxism in the United States*, 11; Howe, *Socialism and America*, 29–32.

[70] This is an old point, made, for example, in Will Herberg's essay "American Marxist Political Theory," which was published in the same volume where Bell's long essay first appeared. In fact, Herberg probably exaggerated the Left's influence: "It would not be too much to say that socialist agitation and propaganda have constituted the single most influential factor in the advance of American social reform. Untiring socialist criticism of existing conditions has invariably served as the main force in opening the way for reform legislation." *Socialism and American Life*, 1: 521. For more recent perspectives, see Martin Sklar, *The Corporate Reconstruction of American Capitalism, 1890–1916* (New York, 1988); and Steven Fraser, *Labor Will Rule: Sidney Hillman and the Rise of American Labor* (New York, 1991).

[71] David J. Garrow, *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference* (New York, 1986), 591–92.

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tive dignity to historical actors whom Bell had ridiculed so effectively. One need not share their ultimate ends to acknowledge Socialist Party members as prophets of Social Security and industrial unionism or the Communist Party as a fierce interracial battler against Jim Crow. And the kind of people who championed such causes influenced the national sensibility in telling, if indirect, ways as well. The artistic modernism of *The Masses* and *Partisan Review* and Popular Front notions about the idiocy of class distinctions and the need for cultural tolerance that coursed through the art of such disparate figures as Lillian Hellman, Woody Guthrie, and Dr. Seuss changed American culture—high, middlebrow, and low—in ways that have yet to receive the attention they merit.

Still, Bell's thesis remains compelling. Aspects of republicanism, feminism, and ethnic nationalism flavored the activism of many leftists. But to be a committed Socialist or Communist (or Trotskyist) meant accepting the validity of a set of categories and concepts borrowed from Europe. And few activists allowed themselves to reflect on how poorly these tools fit the realities of American society. Factors of elementary significance, such as the sometimes intimate, always tortured relationship between blacks and whites, the immigrant nature of the industrial labor force, and the cross-class power of an idealized Americanism, were either neglected by the Left or cobbled crudely onto the old-time ideology (as with such slogans as "black and white, unite and fight" or "Communism Is Twentieth-Century Americanism").[72] The result, as Christopher Lasch pointed out to his fellow radical intellectuals in the late 1960s, was a form of Marxism more dogmatic and economic determinist than the European variety, regarded "as a complete set of answers to every conceivable problem, which one need only 'apply' to history in order to produce instant explanation."[73]

Too much scholarship published since the 1960s skirts this fundamental flaw, one that validates Bell's portrait of leftists who kept reasserting their "truths" to a populace that was persistently indifferent or hostile to them. The newer monographs often give in to a romantic temptation. They closely examine a handful of bygone golden moments—the Socialist Party from 1910 to 1912, the Communist Party in the late 1930s, and, increasingly, the New Left in the early 1960s[74]—as if to demonstrate that failure need not have occurred, that skillful historians can point the way their subjects should have kept following. It is understandable, even laudable, to search for a usable past; and historians on the right as well as the left are fond of interpretations that reinforce their current political views.[75] But a history that does not grapple with the reasons for and consequences of failure will not take the current Left very far.

Nor is it likely to persuade young historians to undertake their own revision of the subject. Studies of the Marxist Left continue to trickle from word processors

[72] On Americanism as a substitute for socialism, see the unjustly neglected work by the independent Marxist Leon Samson, *Toward United Front* (New York, 1935).

[73] Christopher Lasch, "From Culture to Politics," in Fischer, *Revival of American Socialism*, 219.

[74] An empirically rich account that overestimates support for an interracial, social-democratic vision and program in the 1960–1965 period is Peter Levy, *The New Left and Labor in the 1960s* (Urbana, Ill., 1994).

[75] For example, see Gertrude Himmelfarb, *The Demoralization of Society: From Victorian Virtues to Modern Values* (New York, 1995).

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into academic publications. But the appearance, in 1990, of the *Encyclopedia of the American Left*—edited by Mari Jo Buhle, Paul Buhle, and Dan Georgakas—provided a coda of sorts for the empathetic, culturally sensitive scholarship and memoirs, the "hitherto lost history," that had so boldly emerged in the 1960s.[76] No fresh and probing interpretation has yet surfaced that might shake the confidence of either erstwhile New Leftists or their cynical intellectual adversaries in the certitude of their respective views. Strange as it may sound, historians of the Left urgently need to put their past behind them.

When he finished his first book at mid-century, Daniel Bell understood that he was living in a nation most of whose citizens had abandoned all serious thoughts of socialism—except, perhaps, as a vague menace from abroad. We now live, at the end of the twentieth century, in a post-socialist world. If the current American "Left" has any meaning at all, it defines a variety of movements focused on such issues as the rights of women, the health of the environment, and the needs and identities of sexual and ethnic minorities. In this aspect of national development as in others, the United States showed the way to the future for other industrial and post-industrial nations.[77]

In 1966, Lewis Coser and Irving Howe began an essay on "Images of Socialism" by quoting Tolstoy's statement, "God is the name of my desire." They explained, "Without sanctioning the facile identification that is frequently made between religion and socialist politics, we should like to twist Tolstoy's remark to our own ends: *socialism is the name of our desire* . . . [I]t is a vision which objectifies and gives urgency to [our] criticism of the human condition in our time."[78]

Many people, including this author, have come to share Daniel Bell's suspicion of a rigid political faith that neither made very good sense of nor was able to transform that condition. But neither have we, on the left, found anything to replace that longing—for a world where, as Marx and Engels prophesied, "In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association in which the free development of each is the condition of the free development of all."[79] That great dream, which must begin by relieving the often nightmarish realities of daily life under capitalism, will simply have to be fought for under another name.

[76] *Encyclopedia of the American Left*, Mari Jo Buhle, Paul Buhle, and Dan Georgakas, eds. (New York, 1990), xi. I am a minor contributor to the volume (a short article on the McNamara Case).

[77] A point made forcefully by Foner, "Why Is There No Socialism?" 76.

[78] Lewis Coser and Irving Howe, "Images of Socialism," in *The Radical Papers*, Irving Howe, ed. (Garden City, N.Y., 1966), 13.

[79] Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party," in *Marx and Engels: Basic Writings on Politics and Philosophy*, Lewis S. Feuer, ed. (Garden City, N.Y., 1959), 29.

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Featured Reviews

ANNA CLARK. *The Struggle for the Breeches: Gender and the Making of the British Working Class.* (Studies on the History of Society and Culture, number 23.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1995. Pp. xv, 416. $35.00.

For decades, historians have circled around E. P. Thompson's *The Making of the English Working Class* (1963) brandishing the standards of feminism. How could an account of the process of proletarianization, set in England between 1750 and 1832, fail to examine closely the place of women as workers and political agents? Initial feminist responses to Thompson set about incorporating women into the master narratives of radicalism and trade unionism. But in recent years, historians have moved into writing the history of two genders, synthesizing monographic work on women with theoretically informed frameworks. In examining the making of policy and labor politics in the later part of the century, for example, Harold Benenson and Sonya Rose highlighted the central place of gender in contemporary discussions of wage-earning and labor organization. Studies of the margins of male radicalism, such as that by Iain McCalman, indicate that even the celebrated masculinity of artisans was an identity fraught with tensions. It is now hard to think of the period as belonging in quite the same way to a monolithic, male working class.

By returning to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Anna Clark has chosen a confrontational strategy. Convinced that plebeian women were present at the "making" of their class, and sensitive to the fact that people seldom exercise power without a contest, she has reexamined the records seeking more evidence of what actually happened during those critical years. Taking us once again through that congested intersection of labor and radical history, she focuses on what working people thought and did about perceived differences between the sexes. Her style is not so much theoretical as "Thompsonian," abounding with vivid examples and surprising detail. Because her stories rest on the impact of the Industrial and French revolutions, the outline of the book is deceptively familiar. Readers will find chapters on spinners and weavers, radical politics from 1767 to 1816, and Chartism. But unlike most other treatments, her accounts are framed in terms of the gender conflict that characterized work and organizations within the working class. Rather than abandoning the master narrative, she has added a multitude of new dissenting voices. Her revision of the forging of a self-conscious working class arrives at profound, sometimes unsettling insights into the making of collective identities.

As a way of establishing gender conflict as an operational force, Clark opens and closes her study with discussions of plebeian sexuality, culture, and community. Conflict over authority (or over who wore the breeches), according to Clark, was inherent in gender relations among plebeians: in domestic matters, in the streets, in production, and in political organizations, people vied for power, and in most cases, men attempted to assert dominance over women. Urban settings provide the context, and in keeping with her ambitious goals, Clark adds evidence from Lancashire and industrial Scotland to material on London. Domestic space plays a small part in her account, being, for most plebeians, a place crowded, dirty, and lacking in comforts. Public space, however, gave plebeians, and women to an unusual degree, access to social relationships and knowledge about the world. Clark's women and men make William Hogarth's London come alive with their lust for life, their pleasure in drinking and conviviality, and their readiness for confrontation. Spilling out into streets and neighborhoods, common people forged their identities and commonalities not only at work, in the pub, and in labor organizations but also in public places where women and men shared space and exchanged thoughts. Clark's approach, somewhat postmodern in its depiction of urban chaos, particularly well suits eighteenth-century London.

Not surprisingly, sexuality is a central fact in this reading of plebeian culture. And it is here that

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plebeians, notably women, often ran into trouble. In keeping with an overarching argument that sees the late eighteenth century as a time of transition, Clark shows how we can see cohabitation and illegitimacy as an indicator of widening and eventual narrowing of possibilities entertained by plebeians. In Scotland, illegitimacy reflected a self-conscious flouting of the constraints of the kirk. In London, where many plebeians were without a ready network of financially solvent friends and relations, such strategies were riskier and not necessarily supportive of Clark's claim that this behavior represented an alternative sexual morality. Although a surprisingly large percentage of unmarried mothers in Clark's sample (19 percent between 1780 and 1815) had cohabited with the fathers of their children, necessity may well have played as great a part in their sexual behavior as choice (p. 49). Seen from the perspective of the history of poor law removals, one can only assume that cohabitation and illegitimacy were a tremendous risk, and very often spelled misfortune for the unmarried laboring woman, who stood a good chance of ending up in the streets or in a cart on her way back to her last place of settlement. Backing away from a positive portrayal of this "alternative" plebeian world, Clark also shows how insults and assaults served as weapons in the continually shifting relations between the sexes. Clark concludes that sexual and moral practices led not to a mutual recognition of class identity but rather to a set of distinctions and divisions within families and neighborhoods.

Adding gender and sexuality to the history of the working class may inevitably stir up more evidence of conflict than mutuality. Clark devotes a chapter to the chronic problems of plebeian marriage, where tensions over money, especially during hard times, led to conflict and violence. Although some marriages were harmonious, she stresses the pragmatism adopted by many plebeians, who saw matrimony as the business of settling down and putting food on the table. Hence, Clark concludes, the "experience of neglect and violence was very common among plebeian women" (p. 67). Certainly the evidence of popular literature and ballads gives a timeless picture of the war between the sexes, although Clark admits that the melodrama of sexual antagonism was meant to improve sales rather than accurately portray social relations within the community. Perhaps the nature of one of the richest sources available on plebeian marriage—court records of assault and murder—leads far too easily to a dismal depiction of violence between the sexes, nearly all of it perpetrated by men against women. (Happy marriages left far scantier evidence, which historians would probably not regard as credible anyway.) Yet Clark's findings are interesting and important. Through Glasgow police records and Preston quarter sessions, she constructs tables of occupations of men charged with wife-beating. Artisans score very high, leading us back to the history of the declension of skilled trades. But rather than linking domestic life directly to the economic, Clark presents culture as an intermediary structure. She convincingly suggests that domestic violence grew out of "tensions between loyalty to the family and loyalty to the hard-drinking world of journeymen's bachelor culture" (p. 75).

Clark's analysis of radical artisan culture provides a crucial part of her argument about the making of the English working class. For traditional labor historians, artisans embody the principles of radical political ideology and provide the vanguard of the working class. Artisanal conviviality, located in that temple of political interaction, the pub, has achieved the status of a fetish among social historians. Clark has positioned herself outside the pub door, as it were, to eavesdrop and tell the truth about the politics forged within those confines. Pub culture, she argues, fostered a radical politics of exclusion, masculinist in principle and tinctured with a misogyny that became visible intermittently throughout the period. Using evidence such as ballads, court records, and fugitive memoirs, Clark reconstructs the sexual politics of artisans, which she connects to the economic pressures that forced them into poverty. Delaying marriage, they embraced a "bachelor camaraderie as compensation" (p. 58) and put their misogynist views into practice, through song, sex with prostitutes, violence against women, and persistent subordination of women in economic activity. Shoemakers, those archetypal heroic radicals once celebrated by Joan Scott and Eric Hobsbawm, come off looking particularly bad; at least they are the most prone toward wife-beating. In the dark years of political and economic oppression following the French Revolution, misogyny seems to have functioned as the artisan's own chiliasm of despair.

In the most impressive chapters of the book, Clark traces the path of radical ideas about plebeian citizenship as they developed from notions of fraternity through community, and finally, in a Victorian denouement, into the paternalism congenial to domesticity. Radicals of the 1790s wrestled with the contradiction between their demands for citizenship and their lack of property, between their identities as men and their membership in a larger community, and between their political goals and the immediate material needs of their families. As the limitations of masculinist radicalism became more apparent, plebeian men turned to more inclusive ideological alternatives. Clark's narrative comes to its zenith in the years 1820 and 1821, when the Queen Caroline affair mobilized working people of all stripes behind a broad assertion of constitutional rights and gender politics. At this juncture, Clark argues, "a decisive change in radical manhood" took place, shifting from misogyny to chivalry in its attitude toward women (p. 167). The shift augured a restricted future for women. As John Bohstedt has shown, as more formal politics incorporated plebeian men, the political role of the crowd—the locus of much female activity—

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became discredited. As plebeians confronted the challenges of the New Poor Law, political reform, and the factory acts, the terms of debate altered to circumscribe not only the issues but also the identity of participants in the political arena.

In the final section of the book, Clark charts the foundering of egalitarianism among working-class radicals through the 1840s. By going beyond 1832, the year in which Thompson positioned the triumph of the organizational efforts of the working classes, Clark is able to illuminate the process through which Chartist radicals engaged in a political dialogue with Victorian liberalism. By embracing a rhetoric of domesticity, plebeian radicals could defend their masculinity and respectability, and thus earn a voice (or a least a promised place) in political discussion. Here Clark travels over some of the ground covered by Sonya Rose, although she links her account to many more strands of ideology, particularly among the working class in Lancashire and Glasgow. She also adds an interesting analysis of Chartist rhetoric as melodrama, a strategy that must have added to the popular appeal as well as the credibility of radicals. Through the domestic trope, we can see the simple notion of a family economy slip into an erasure of women's economic activity and, ultimately, their political identity.

Clark's study forces us to face the conflict, competition, and violence that are endemic to industrial capitalist society, not just between classes but also within them. Readers may set this work beside interpretations that emphasize consensual politics and ponder the options that lay before eighteenth and nineteenth-century Britons. Clark's synthesis of political, social, and even religious history (the latter a welcome complication of earlier arguments concerning radicalism) demonstrates impressive versatility. Social historians may wish for continuing investigation into the collective affinities that worked alongside these divisive forces, which remain fugitive as long as we have little sense of the subjectivity of plebeian women and children. And feminist historians will debate once again the difficulty of escaping the theoretical nub of the "dual systems" of patriarchy and capitalism, as they try to figure out whether Clark's analysis rests primarily on this period of history or on some flaw inherent in relations between the sexes. On balance, this book is a stunning achievement. It deserves careful reading by scholars in many fields, for it promises to set the terms of debate over politics, class, and gender for many years to come.

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GAR ALPEROVITZ. *The Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb and the Architecture of an American Myth.* Assisted by SANHO TREE, EDWARD ROUSE WINSTEAD, KATHRYN C. MORRIS, DAVID J. WILLIAMS, LEO C. MALEY III, THAD WILLIAMSON, and MIRANDA GRIEDER. (A Borzoi Book.) New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1995. Pp. xiv, 847. $32.50.

One measure of the passage of historiographic time can be found in the reviews Gar Alperovitz's work on "atomic diplomacy" has received over the past thirty years. In 1965, the *New York Times* invited a former government official and current member of the Senate, Clinton P. Anderson, to review *Atomic Diplomacy: Hiroshima and Potsdam; The Use of the Atomic Bomb and the American Confrontation with Soviet Power.* Anderson, who had served in Harry Truman's administration from 1945 to 1948, was ready to concede that honorable men could differ on the justice of dropping the bomb. But to argue, as Alperovitz did, that the bomb was used for political rather than military reasons was entirely unacceptable. The decision to drop the bomb, Anderson pointed out, had been clearly explained by Secretary of War Henry Stimson in his 1947 *Harper's Magazine* essay: "I felt that to extract a genuine surrender from the Emperor and his military advisers, there must be administered a tremendous shock" (*New York Times*, July 18, 1965). What more was there to say?

Twenty years later, Gaddis Smith reviewed the updated and expanded edition of *Atomic Diplomacy* for the same newspaper. Smith pointed to a number of flaws in the book but concluded that, in the years since its original publication, "the preponderance of new evidence . . . tends to sustain the original argument" that the decision to use nuclear weapons was "centrally connected to Truman's confrontational approach to the Soviet Union." Alperovitz's message was no longer so shocking, for Vietnam had accustomed the country to the notion "that American foreign policy is not always faultless" (*New York Times*, August 18, 1985). In 1990, J. Samuel Walker, chief historian of the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission, pronounced the scholarly consensus: the bomb had been dropped for a mix of motives, prominent among which was its political usefulness as a warning to the Soviet Union. The bomb had not been necessary either to end the war quickly or to avoid an invasion of the Japanese home islands; moreover, "Truman and his advisers knew it" ("The Decision to Use the

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Bomb: A Historiographical Update," *Diplomatic History* 14 [Winter 1990]: 97–114).

This decisive shift was largely the result of Alperovitz's initial effort. But the scholarly consensus left many questions open: in Walker's mix of motives, which was decisive? Should we be satisfied with the conclusion that combat use of the bomb was overdetermined, the result of the momentum of total war, the policy of unconditional surrender, *and* the benefits to be reaped in dealing with the Russians in Asia and Europe? Alperovitz's answer is a resounding "no." In the first part of this massive new study of the five months that shook the world, Alperovitz analyzes all the available material he and his assistants have gathered in an effort to prove, beyond the shadow of reasonable doubt, that Truman knew there were alternatives to the use of nuclear weapons to achieve Japanese surrender short of an American invasion, and that he chose to bomb anyhow. He does more than just cite documents, however. With a rare consideration for the labor of future historians, he tells us when and how new documents were acquired; what still seems to be missing, censored, or deliberately distorted; how other scholars have handled the evidence; and where and why he disagrees. As a compendium and genealogy of documents pertaining to decisions taken between April and August 1945, this volume is invaluable.

The second half of the book explores the motives of those who wished to persuade the American people that the bomb had been used for purely military reasons and the process by which they achieved their ends. Alperovitz meticulously dissects the Stimson essay Clinton Anderson found so unproblematic. Its entirely political origins, Alperovitz shows, lay in James B. Conant's anxiety, in the light of a spate of articles questioning the military necessity of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, that "so-called intellectuals" might, in their "sentimentalism," influence the judgment of future generations and create a mood of dangerous disillusionment (pp. 445 ff.). The self-serving versions of events written by Truman, General Leslie Groves, and Secretary of State James Byrnes receive similar treatment.

Few historians I know have taken the central ethical and historical issues surrounding the first, and thus far only, use of nuclear bombs as seriously as Alperovitz. His goal is to confront Americans with the fact that their leaders consciously chose to wipe out two cities of a defeated nation on the verge of surrendering when alternatives were known to exist. Alperovitz believes the motives of the men who made these choices "were good; their intentions well-meaning" (p. 637). Yet they decided to commit an atrocity. Fifty years later, Americans must come to terms with Hiroshima, for "we, too, are complicit to the extent we do not confront our common history and then speak what we know. Not simply—or even—to criticize. There is no healing without forgiveness (including importantly, of ourselves,) and no new future" (p. 641).

We may reserve judgment on the well-meaning intentions of Truman, Byrnes, and the rest; we may even cavil at the notion that self-forgiveness should be at the top of the American agenda. Nevertheless and, I have come to think, because of the very single-mindedness of his search for what he explicitly terms "proof" that Truman consciously rejected alternatives to the bomb, Alperovitz forces the historian to shed comfortable mixes of motives, overdeterminations, passive voice causality. In or out, he challenges; yes or no: was there even a shred of military necessity for Hiroshima? (No serious analyst has a brief for the Nagasaki bomb.)

Barton J. Bernstein, with whom Alperovitz has conducted a long and—for the rest of us—fruitful argument, suggested another approach in his essay "Understanding the Atomic Bomb and the Japanese Surrender" (*Diplomatic History* 19 [Spring 1995]: 227–74). Perhaps, he argued, we should abandon the notion of a "decision" to use the bomb. "In 1945," he wrote, "American leaders were not seeking to avoid the use of the A-bomb. . . . Thus, they easily rejected or never considered most of the so-called alternatives to the bomb." The difference is subtle but crucial: in Bernstein's terms there was no decision to use the bomb; there was, rather, a failure to decide not to use it. Implicit in the decision to continue to work on the bomb after the defeat of Germany was an assumption of use—against the Japanese and/or, as the British physicist Joseph Rotblat reports a conversation he had with General Leslie Groves in March 1944, "to subdue the Russians." In December 1944, as soon as it was clear that the Germans had given up their work on the bomb, Rotblat resigned from the Manhattan Project. No one joined him. (See the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* [August 1985]: 16–19).

By the spring of 1945, what was necessary was a movement to reverse a decision already essentially taken. A case for such a reversal might have been made—some of the scientists did make it; John J. McCloy claims that he did, too. But the former were not influential enough, and McCloy, once overruled, held his peace. The failure to change a decision already taken operates at a different level from one taken *ab novo*. Bernstein's approach suggested a conclusion that is, if anything, even harsher than Alperovitz's. So overwhelming was the assumption of use, that use was inevitable. It was not, however, necessary.

Bernstein's argument has much to recommend it: it is modest about what is ultimately knowable and subtle about the working of consciousness. And yet, at a given moment, a decision was taken; however overdetermined, it remained also underdetermined until the instant it was taken. Alperovitz's thirty-year investigation of that instant is as noble as it may be epistemologically doomed.

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Reviews of Books

GENERAL

BRUCE MAZLISH and RALPH BUULTJENS, editors. *Conceptualizing Global History.* (Global History.) Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1993. Pp. viii, 253. Cloth $59.95, paper $15.95.

Not to be confused with "World" history, the concept that the authors in this volume advance is a new subfield of history, "global" history. Their aim is not a "summing up" of the world's past but the investigation of themes having global significance. In his introduction, Bruce Mazlish states that such history is necessary in a world that is becoming globalized and in which a global consciousness is materializing. Thus, global history, he and others propose, if not as grand in its designs as "World" history, at least is potentially more coherent.

The book is organized into parts dealing with theory and applications. Concerning theoretical considerations, Neva Goodwin, in her chapter on ecology and global history, sets out four conditions for defining a new historical specialty, arguing that environmental themes meet all of them. Furthermore, the value of such studies lies in their potential linkage to urgently needed policies. Wolf Schafer points out that the clearest distinction between "World" and "global" history is one of scale and perspective. Global history is told from a local point of view and, ideally, should be an interdisciplinary, cross-cultural, and multinational field of research. Ralph Buultjens specifically indicates the need for a greater role for Third World history, long neglected, to achieve truly multinational, cross-cultural efforts. Appreciating that a global system of values does not yet exist, Manfred Kossok believes that Western "bourgeois" historians, as products of their imperial past, might be incapable of writing global history, which accounts for Third World points of view. In his chapter, Mazlish discusses how global history borrows from both modernist and postmodernist scholarly traditions.

Four chapters provide tentative examples of subject matter that have applicability to global scholarship. In several respects, the contribution of Wang Gungwu is the least satisfactory. His discussion about distinctions between "universal" and global history is confusing. Although he clearly delineates the four conditions that, since World War II, have fostered migration, he fails to establish how and why migration is a suitable subject of historical inquiry. Richard Barnet and John Cavanaugh's chapter is a strong, well-written essay concerning the globalization of "the" economy, although it gets somewhat bogged down in comparisons between the United States and Japan. As with the economy, the post–World War II era has witnessed a dramatic increase of world consciousness involving human rights, according to Louis Menand. Unlike North America and Europe, however, most of the world lacks the necessary laws to make human rights declarations enforceable. A major ideological weakness in Menand's essay is that he limits his definition of human rights to Articles 2–21 of the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights, but he ignores the articles (22–29) concerning the social side of "human rights" (for example, employment, health care, and so on). John Joyce's essay on the globalization of music presents a convincing case, although it concentrates exclusively on Western varieties, including classical and popular forms.

In several important respects the clichéd assumptions often made about world "globalization" and the potential dangers of global history, which Raymond Grew moots in the concluding overview, can be applied to this volume. Greater global contact through improved technology, for example, does not imply a commonality of experience. And, despite the lip service paid to the dangers of teleology and the need for Third World perspectives, the essays contained herein mostly take the Western point of view. Also, if global history is meant to reflect global consciousness, it is not clear that such a consciousness yet exists, much less so for shaping public policies. Indeed, global history, or at least its subject matter, might very well exist only as a Western intellectual commodity. The editors and authors acknowledge that nationalism and regionalism remain problematic, yet they fail to account for resistance to global influences, much less for historical perspectives existing outside Western institutions. Although the editors and contributors make their case for global history, for the most part the tentative steps taken in this particular volume fall considerably short of standards

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established primarily in the essays by Mazlish, Goodwin, Schafer, and Grew.

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ROBIN A. BUTLIN. *Historical Geography: Through the Gates of Space and Time.* New York: Edward Arnold of Hodder and Stoughton; distributed by Routledge. 1993. Pp. xiii, 306. $25.00.

"Historical geography," writes Robin A. Butlin, "is the study of geographies of past times, involving the imaginative reconstruction of a wide range of phenomena and processes central to our geographical understanding of the dynamism of human affairs, such as change in the evaluation and uses of human and natural resources, in the form and functions of human settlements and built environments, in the advances in the amount and forms of geographical knowledge, and in the exercising of power and control over territories and people" (p. ix). Such sentences are typical of Butlin's prose and detract from his stated purpose: to provide a celebration, critique, and demonstration of historical geography. This book, while not without merit, makes a fascinating field seem dull.

The first three chapters consist of a history of the writing of historical geography, according to Butlin the first such survey ever attempted. He focuses on developments in Britain, France, Germany, and the United States, and touches briefly on Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and Japan. He also briefly treats a select few international congresses. The next two chapters describe sources and methods employed by historical geographers, giving rather short shrift to recent innovations based on computer technologies (GIS—geographic information systems—rates a single mention in passing). The following two chapters deal with the literature in historical landscape geography and the historical geography of power. Both are brief and confined almost entirely to the Western world. All seven of these chapters are essentially glorified bibliographical essays. They contain little in the way of ideas and do not go far toward contextualizing historical geographical thought. They do cover major approaches and directions taken, especially by those writing in English. As such, they ought to be of use to graduate students studying up on the subject for exams.

The remaining four chapters are more substantive and more satisfying. They constitute the demonstration rather than the critique or celebration. They take up the themes of rural change, urbanization, industrialization (on which Butlin has published widely), and transport. In most cases, the presentation includes the ancient Mediterranean, Western Europe, North America, and fragments of the European colonial world from around 1800 to about 1960. In every case Western Europe and especially Britain get the lion's share of coverage; references to India, China, Africa, and Latin America are rare and brief. In the chapter on industrialization this focus may possibly be justified; and a section here on Russia broadens the scope somewhat. The final chapter, on transport and communications, is in many ways the best and suffers least from conspicuous occicentrism.

Butlin's overall emphasis on the West, in my view unfortunate, does not translate into undue admiration for it. He is quite alive to wickedness in European history. Indeed, all his remarks on colonialism and imperialism, and most concerning exploitative uses of power, feature Western European cases.

This book gives a reliable idea of the varieties of historical geography as practiced over the last century and a half in the Western world. It has dozens of fine maps and illustrations and a bibliography with about 650 entries, many of which ought to interest geographically minded historians. Butlin's text, thin on ideas and long on reportage, has less to interest readers of this journal. It is written in such a way that few will manage to slog through it. I found myself reading it the way I was taught to read German: hunting for the verb as soon as I had found the subject and only then trying to gnaw my way through the pile of intervening clauses. As a critique and demonstration of historical geography this book has its uses. As a celebration it falls flat.

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THOMAS F. MATHEWS. *The Clash of Gods: A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1993. Pp. x, 223.

In this set of illustrated essays, Thomas F. Mathews offers a sweeping critique of earlier scholarship in the field of early Christian art and proposes a fresh look at old images. In particular, Mathews argues that early Christian art was not imperial in its inspiration. Rather, the author posits that early Christian art was produced by the Christian "grass-roots" (by whom he apparently means bishops and other members of the elite, as well as the "little man") as self-mirroring and fundamentally anti-emperor. The "aristocracy, rural landlords, and people tied to commerce" depicted Jesus as "one of their own" (pp. 35–36). I see two problems with his contention. The first is historical. By claiming exclusively non-imperial sources and readings for images as varied as the mosaics of Sta. Pudenziana in Rome and sarcophagi from Anatolia, Mathews presents an overly schematic model of artistic production and consumption, a model that denies the image its inevitable multivocality. The cultural flattening entailed in this account has already been treated in a characteristically sensitive review by Peter Brown (*Art Bulletin*, vol. 77 [1995]: 499–502).

My second complaint is historiographic. Mathews accuses those scholars whose ideas he seeks to displace as creatures of their political condition and therefore lacking in objectivity. He suggests that Ernst

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Kantorowicz, Andreas Alföldi, and André Grabar, among others, are crypto-fascist perpetrators of an authoritarian interpretive frame. Nostalgia for their own lost German, Austro-Hungarian, and Russian empires limited their vision of early Christian art. According to Mathews, this art was for them exclusively an expression of the "Kaiser-kult." (For a similarly contentious but more thoroughly documented historiographic analysis, see Norman F. Cantor, *Inventing the Middle Ages* [1991], esp. chap. 3.) In contrast to his scholarly predecessors, Mathews presents himself as an objective observer offering a corrected explanation of Christian image construction in late antiquity.

Of course Mathews is right in suggesting that the views of earlier scholars were limited by their social and political circumstances, although his characterization of their contributions may be ungenerous and oversimplified. He is, however, wrong in presenting his own perspective as uncharged by present cultural preoccupations. Dale Kinney has noticed the effect of Mathews's personal history on his work (*Studies in Iconography*, vol. 16 [1994]: 237–42). But the broad trends of late-twentieth-century culture also effectively fashion this book. Mathews maintains that images were the arbiters of authority. He explains the conflict between Christian and non-Christian in late antiquity as a battle of visual representations. "[T]he fourth century witnessed an unparalleled war of images and it was the strength and energy of the winning images that determined the outcome" (p. 4). The author thus reduces the material violence involved in the Christianization of the Mediterranean to competing simulacra. Such a claim is the product of a postliterate culture in which television and computer images, rather than words or actions, seem to be the most powerful purveyors of meaning. Mathews's rendering of Jesus as a common magician or ordinary philosopher/teacher, not as an elevated, untouchable ruler, is reassuringly familiar. Furthermore, Mathews presents Christian images as personal adornment and advertising. Arenas of the visual include not only "the personal sphere of clothing and cemeteries but the bill-board space of basilica vaults and walls" (p. 92). The erosion of the distinctions between elite and popular culture that marks the late twentieth century—museums buy Brillo boxes and academic presses publish serious scholarship on theme parks—is thus rediscovered in late antiquity. Also imported to the past is the sexual freedom and gender ambivalence of the present. Mathews reveals Jesus as androgynous. S/he has breasts and male genitalia in the Arian Baptistery. Jesus is not, however, alone in his/her polymorphism. In the Raising of Lazarus relief on the *Traditio Legis* sarcophagus in the Museo Archeologico in Ravenna, "a luxuriant olive tree stands behind Christ with a womb-like opening below and breast-like protrusions above" (p. 136).

Of all contemporary cultural developments, perhaps most serious for the readers of this journal is the threatened elimination of history. Some poststructural theorists, certain members of the U.S. Congress, and Disney Enterprises all seem bent on eradicating history. This book participates fully in our loss of historical specificity. Mathews's almost exclusive reference to secondary works suggests that serious scholarly engagement with the nitty-gritty of the past is uninteresting. Throughout the text, history is collapsed and location is lost through comparisons of works from widely separated times and sites. Photographs of an anonymous fourth-century sculpture and a Donatello relief of ca. 1450 are compared on the same page (p. 49). Frescoes from mid-third-century Syria and mosaics from sixth-century Italy appear in the same paragraph (p. 167). Both are presented as transparent evidence of the continuity of Christian difference.

A number of the claims made in this work are suggestive as postmodernist gestures, performed to stimulate discussion. It is interesting and useful to rethink God as poor and polymorphous. But the book lacks the consistently revisionist stance that would make it polemically compelling. There is, for example, the continued presence of long-outmoded historical tropes. The Great Man explanation of history makes its appearance, as does the assumed organic cycle for society of youth, maturity, decay, and rebirth. "Constantine is one of a handful of figures who for better or worse have unalterably affected the course of human history. Few rulers have had a parallel opportunity: the chance to see new possibilities in an aging, corrupt empire and make way for the emergence of a radically new social order" (p. 23). Most fundamentally, it is Mathews's assumption of his own objectivity that undermines the contribution of his book. Had he acknowledged his assertions as personal and present, rather than submitting them as true, we might read this set of essays with greater pleasure and profit.

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Ralf Konersmann. *Der Schleier des Timanthes: Perspektiven der historischen Semantik.* (Fischer Wissenschaft.) Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer Taschenbuch. 1994. Pp. 328. DM 29.90.

The ancient Greek painter Timanthes of Kythnos, representing the sacrifice of Iphigenia, chose to hide the face of her father Agamemnon behind a veil. This is the veil referred to in the title of Ralf Konersmann's *Habilitationsschrift*, which collects his recent work on historical semantics. His problem here is how to show the unshowable, which is increasingly associated with the sublime. In exploring this subject, Konersmann addresses several of the characteristic topics of current discourse about history, in particular what the limits of historical representation are and whether a visual or verbal model best describes the essential process of historical representation.

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Konersmann is a philosophical cultural historian of a sort that has been rare in the second half of this century. He attacks his canvas with very broad strokes, aiming for a kaleidoscopic shifting of perspectives through bold analogy rather than detailed exposition or close reasoning. In line with a powerful thread of postmodernist discourse, Konersmann imagines and explores the implications of visuality in its innumerable cultural forms. Like other cultural theorists, he implies that modernity is the world in which somebody sees something, bringing into discourse three basic questions: who is that someone (subjectivity); what is that something (being); and how does one see (method)? This great era for the visualization of the human world is conventionally called the Enlightenment, and to the Enlightenment and its ends Konersmann devotes much of his attention.

The longest section of the book is called *Welttheater als Daseinsmetapher* ("World Theater as Metaphor for Human Being"), and in it Konersmann weaves a subtle image of the conflict of the scientific concept with the metaphoric world view. This metaphor of world as theater is a sort of metaphor of metaphor; actors, he quotes René Magritte as saying, reassume their roles as actors the moment they leave the theater. There is thus no human being outside theatricality. Masks, roles, and spectatorship serve as the *topoi* of Konersmann's discussion of subjectivity, which owes as much to Francis Bacon, Michel de Montaigne, Denis Diderot, and J. W. von Goethe as to the great rehabilitator of masks, Friedrich Nietzsche.

Despite this work's unmistakably postmodernist themes, it does not focus on postmodern discourse. Martin Heidegger is never mentioned, nor is Jean-François Lyotard's discussion of theater metaphors. The visible influences on Konersmann are Hans Blumenberg and Reinhart Koselleck, who offer him the metaphorology and conception of historical semantics that inform his work. *Bedeutung*, or significance, is the key word here, as opposed to *Begriff*, or concept. Significance is the semantic expression of the judgment of the spectator. The veil of Timanthes hid Agamemnon's face precisely because the artist had no way of presenting the concept he wished to express. (Again Lyotard's discussions of the sublime resonate in my ears.)

To reinterpret the invisible and translate the unavailable into the culturally available involves the elevation of rhetoric, which is surely the postmodernist discourse *par excellence*. A lengthy chapter deals with the "Rhetoric of the Heroic," in essence an Enlightenment anti-rhetoric aimed at the role-playing view of man promoted by the classical *paideia*. Jean-Jacques Rousseau wished to tear away the veil, unmasking both subject and object, and establishing the beautiful soul as transparent, not an actor. In contrast, Goethe, a student of optics and nature, noted that the visible is also a veil (p. 227). Goethe viewed the revolutions of his time without high expectations, as uncertain in result.

A final chapter of the book is devoted to Magritte, the painter-philosopher whose comment, "we are surrounded by curtains," makes him a modern Timanthes. Magritte's call for a reflective seeing and an art that offers questions without answers affords Konersmann an analogy for a history that reflects on the means and possibilities of the illusionism of ordinary perception. Magritte paints curtains, Konersmann implies, to force us to think about our place in the theater of representation.

Konersmann may be compared to the notable writers of a half century ago, Theodor Lessing and Egon Friedel, as a cultural historian of taste and imagination. He is beholden to little of the current discourse, although he addresses a current problematic. When he writes that a "hermeneutically reflective history of meaning understands itself from the outset as contributive and rhapsodic, and not as a final decree" (p. 19), he describes his own enterprise.

As one who sees art rather than literature as the most effective current model for historical thought, Konersmann joins another historical semanticist, F. R. Ankersmit, in theorizing the discourse of history after the moment of narratology has lost its intensity. For the study of historical language, working at the level of narrative grammar and syntax, has failed to account for the significance of historical reflection at its highest and broadest level. At this semantic plateau, things are more pictured than written. Konersmann offers an original, provocative discussion of this picturing of what is hidden behind the veil.

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STEPHEN DANIELS. *Fields of Vision: Landscape Imagery and National Identity in England and the United States.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1993. Pp. x, 257. $45.00.

The politics of place is the subject of Stephen Daniels's new book on landscape painting, a book of admirable scope and clarity. Seven essays, each devoted to a different artist's treatment of landscape, describe how images of natural scenery have performed the cultural work of fabricating national identities. The historical period Daniels treats is from the late eighteenth century to the present, a time bracketed by the formation of the democratic nation-state in Britain and the United States and the current postnational crisis. As Daniels shows, landscape painting's relation to nationalism has been its imaging of imagined homogeneous communities. In doing so it mutes class and racial diversity while embracing industrial capitalism and imperialism. Supported by assumptions of Enlightenment universalism, nationalism becomes wholly naturalized when reinscribed into landscape imagery.

This said, it should be noted that what Daniels actually shows (which is why these essays have such

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interest) is that the process of picturing the nation is by no means monolithic. There is no center from which a national vision emerges, nor do images have stable meanings. Cultural icons like the dome of St. Paul's or John Constable's *Hay-wain* are the discursive sites of ongoing ideological struggles, and their power stems from their ability to accommodate different visions of nationhood as well as other forms of identity (local, regional, religious, or social). The examples he chooses suggest ways in which landscape imagery intersects with historical narratives that not only create but also question national identity.

Individual chapters on British artists Joseph Wright of Derby, Humphry Repton, J. M. W. Turner, and John Constable and on two American artists trained in England, Thomas Cole and Frances Palmer, are richly worked studies of the major examples, themes, and preoccupations of their work. In addition, Daniels treats us to an extensive history of the artists' reputations as they have been configured in the popular media and in art-historical narratives. Thus, in addition to learning of Wright's transformation by the historian Francis Klingender (in *Art and the Industrial Revolution* [1947]) from a provincial eighteenth-century artist to one whose industrial subjects were part of a broader international movement, we also see Wright's rising reputation silhouetted against the socialist documentaries of industrialism of the 1940s, the museumification of Coalbrookdale in the 1960s, and the multinational travesties of English industrial history of the 1980s. To what extent these reconfigurations of Wright and his landscapes are modern vulgarizations, however, is open to question. When one examines Wright in the context of the nascent consumer culture of the later eighteenth century, it becomes clear that his art embraced an image of nature and nationhood that was already highly commercial.

Such readings continually remind us of landscape's instrumentality, of the ways it operates in the larger cultural sphere. The chapter that is perhaps most impressive in this regard is the one on Constable and the creation of Constable country. This process cannot be separated from the continual making and remaking of Englishness. As Daniels shows, this small stretch of riverside between Dedham and Essex is the yardstick by which England's self-image as a "green and pleasant land" and its inhabitants as quaint cottagers has been, since the mid-nineteenth-century, measured. Clearly, had Constable not lived it would have been necessary to invent him.

This book presents a stimulating account of landscape imagery as a powerful idiom through which communal and national identities find expression. This is in the end a mapping of desire for an imagined wholeness and connection that can be both productive and destructive to social harmony; it must, in any case, always remain unfulfilled. It is perhaps the impossibility of ever fulfilling that desire that accounts for landscape's persistent power.

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JULIE K. BROWN. *Contesting Images: Photography and the World's Columbian Exposition.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 1994. Pp. xvi, 185. Cloth $60.00, paper $27.50.

World's fairs have given rise in recent years to a scholarly cottage industry, but it is an enterprise whose products range from the thoroughly theorized to the coffee-table display. In a sense this seems appropriate, for the world's fairs of the late-nineteenth and early twentieth-century transatlantic world themselves contained both serious purposes—economic promotion and ideological reassurance, among them—and carnivalesque ephemera, as fleeting as Chicago's White City itself. Deeply contested and highly visible cultural productions, these prominent industrial fairs offered unstable and equivocal meanings to observers at the time and students of cultural history ever since. In this book, Julie K. Brown employs the lenses of photography—as business, as art, as amateur and professional practice—to contribute valuable insights into both the world of the 1893 Chicago World's Fair and the early history of photography.

Brown views photography at the Columbian Exposition from three perspectives: exhibits about photography as a rapidly developing technology and business enterprise; exhibits (nearly all, it seems) that employed photographs to attract attention or to display their features, from the state and national pavilions to government bureaus and private firms; and "photographic practices" at the fair, which Brown essentially divides between official photography sponsored by the exposition and the amateur efforts of the visitors. There is much new and valuable information—and a fine choice of photographs from the Chicago exhibits—in the first two discussions. But in treating photographic practices Brown presents her more analytical and suggestive reflections. Drawing on Alan Trachtenberg's argument of a Gilded Age culture of "incorporation," she intelligently interprets the efforts of the fair's managers to monopolize photographic imaging of the Columbian Exposition and to present a celebratory and monumental representation for public consumption. The dramatic center of Brown's narrative is the failure of these efforts at control in the face of persistent public pressure: for various reasons the people—professionals and amateurs alike—insisted on access to create their own representations of this public and private experience.

The result of the contest was a wide range of "alternative images" (p. 93), and Brown has shown particular ingenuity in recognizing and retrieving these snapshot memories. Moreover, she has demon-

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strated that, at least in such public arenas, the experience of photography in its early years as a middle-class fad was a matter of negotiation—that is, power relations—between camera-wielders and potential subjects. In the case of the world's fairs, these subjects were very often "exotic" peoples (many of them on display); thus, the portable camera functioned as a ground-level mediator of disturbing human confrontations—as it still does in the staged (and occasionally unstaged) world of global tourism. In viewing such candid images, one cannot help sensing that as the exposition's incorporative powers faltered in their efforts to guide visual discourse about "their" fair, the spontaneity of the "Kodak fiends" broke through, creating a symbolically congested domain. Thus, the multiple contests over photography at the World's Columbian Exposition pitted incorporated power against individual desires to document experience, and ultimately to create and possess memory. If, as seems likely, the scrapbook and photo album (and video-cassette library) are the private museums of our modern lives, then this book provides a guide to a significant moment in the making of these cultural forms.

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JENNIFER TOLBERT ROBERTS. *Athens on Trial: The Antidemocratic Tradition in Western Thought.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. xviii, 405. $29.95.

In this book Jennifer Tolbert Roberts offers a spacious survey of the judgments, favorable and adverse, made since antiquity concerning the democracy of classical Athens. It will prove enlightening to many that Athenian democracy, featuring direct popular government with strict accountability of magistrates, has not always been regarded as a model or even desirable form of government. Indeed, as quickly becomes clear, condemnation was long the norm; Athens was more often an example of what not to do until its mid-nineteenth-century vindication by George Grote, whose spirit hovers throughout.

In chapter 1 Roberts summarizes the whole story. We are introduced to the entrenched litany of complaints against Athenian democracy: that only persons of property make good citizens; that the ignorant masses are unstable in forming policy and fickle toward leaders; that the moral tone of a democracy must tend toward degeneracy. Beyond internal matters, democracy was also blamed for such military failures as the defeat of Athens in the Peloponnesian War and Greece's subjugation to the Macedonian and Hellenistic monarchies. With an emphatic critique of the hostile tradition, Roberts makes plain her own standpoint: she takes issue with earlier detractors, but she grants the justice of more recent objections that, behind a façade of inclusiveness, the economy of Athens was based on slavery and its political identity was conditioned by the disfranchisement of women.

Chapters 2 through 4 present an informative, favorable description of the classical Athenian democracy, with much heartening praise from contemporary sources. Herodotus's debate on government (3.80.1–82.5), attributed to Persian grandees, proves prophetic. Roberts then documents the antidemocratic thought grounded in archaic poetry and articulated and codified by thinkers and writers of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. Homer, Theognis, the Old Oligarch, speeches in Thucydides, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle—these form a chorus that dominated the following millennia.

Chapters 5 through 10 take the argument from Roman times to the eighteenth century. Few appeared in defense of Athens: a glowing oration by Aelius Aristides (second century A.D.); glimmers of appreciation from Renaissance Italy or Enlightenment France and England. Otherwise, admiration went to Sparta and Rome. For Athens, condemnation prevailed, stemming partly from the authority of Cicero and Plutarch, partly from ingrained monarchism and a ferocious concern with stability. Neither American nor French revolutionaries saw the Athenian experience as worthy of emulation. Decisive change began only with the aesthetic philhellenism led by writers such as Johann Winckelmann in Germany.

Chapter 11 brings us to George Grote, whose eloquence and thorough scholarship gave rational authority to Romantic admiration of Athens. His *History of Greece* (1846–56) changed the Western idea of Athens from one of a cautionary folly to a model of liberal ideals. Henceforward our civilization agreed with Pericles's glorification of Athens as "the school of Hellas." Chapter 12 studies the most recent critiques of classical Athens, its image now mired in imperialism and patriarchy. The last chapter deals with our century's uses of Athenian history in scholarship, popular education, and propaganda.

One can well believe that this volume, solid in erudition, sound in judgment, and generous in exposition, was over twenty years in the making, as the preface indicates. It deserves a place in the library of every classicist and every historian. A definitive account of Athenian democracy's reception in the European heritage, it merits posterity: studies of the same problem in a multicultural context.

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RON CHERNOW. *The Warburgs: The Twentieth-Century Odyssey of a Remarkable Jewish Family.* New York: Random House. 1993. Pp. xvii, 820. $30.00.

In 1559, a money-changer and pawnbroker named Simon von Cassel moved to the Westphalian town of Warburg, invited by the Prince-Bishop of Paderborn to serve as a *Schutzjude*, a "protected Jew." Simon's

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descendants would carry the name of his new home into the palaces of Kaiser Wilhelm and Versailles and the corridors of Wall Street and Jerusalem. The rise of the Warburgs mirrored the rise not only of the international finance economy but also of the centralized state and the emancipationist ideal. Their travails reflected the totalitarian perversion of the state in Germany and the subversion of religious tradition in the modern world.

This is a beautifully crafted biography steeped in previously unavailable family papers and interviews. Ron Chernow focuses on the families of four of Simon von Cassel's descendants, the brothers Aby (1866–1929), Max (1867–1946), Paul (1868–1932), and Felix (1871–1937) Warburg. Although not intended to have the contextual and documentary depth of an exhaustive history, the book poignantly depicts a Jewish elite struggling with the peculiar consequences of its own success.

Chernow gives a superb rendering of Aby, who pioneered the semiotic approach to art history. Brilliant, mercurial, hysterically Germanophile, capable of mesmerizing visitors to his magnificent library for hours with his impassioned discourses on the symbolism of cultures, Aby was destined to make a "Dantesque journey" into madness between 1918 and 1924, from which he was "saved" by the Swiss psychiatrist Ludwig Binswanger, a friend of Sigmund Freud's. With the transfer in late 1933 of Aby's 20,000-volume library to the University of London, the Anglo-Saxon culture he despised became the savior of his intellectual endowment.

Max commandeered the bank in Hamburg, sat on the boards of the nation's most powerful corporations, lectured Kaiser Wilhelm, and represented Germany at Versailles. He was, in the sardonic characterization of Chaim Weizmann, "more German than the Germans" (p. 109). Max personally endured the theft of M. M. Warburg & Co. by Adolf Hitler's Aryanization campaign, which recompensed the Warburgs 155,000 marks, less than one-half percent of the estimated real value of the firm. One of his favorite charities, the Jewish Hospital of Hamburg, which was founded by Heinrich Heine's uncle, would be used by the Nazis to poison incoming Jewish patients with sleeping pills. Max ultimately faced the fact of exile in America. His son Eric would blossom as an ace for U.S. Army Air Force Intelligence, which allowed father and son the "exquisite irony" of Eric's assignment to interrogate Hermann Göring soon after his capture. Sharing his father's intense and confusing love of Germany, Eric would return to Hamburg and reestablish the Warburg presence there.

The American dimension of the Warburg story was established through Paul and Felix, who married into the banking house of Kuhn, Loeb, transforming their family into an international concern. Paul worked with Max to finance the rebuilding of the German merchant marine and the German economy after World War I. This transatlantic lifeline would later be targeted by Nazi propaganda as proof of the evil Warburgs' "alien" and "cosmopolitan" character.

Called by Woodrow Wilson "the best informed banker in the United States," Paul, evidence suggests, conceived the Federal Reserve System. His equally sharp but unfortunately volatile son Jimmy would serve as monetary advisor to Franklin Roosevelt at the London Economic Conference in 1933, only to end up as a nemesis whose 1935 best seller *Hell Bent for Election* became a bible for anti–New Dealers. During the Cold War Jimmy became a maverick liberal, advising and writing for Adlai Stevenson and winning the Gandhi Peace Prize in 1962.

Felix, in but not really of the banking world, presided with his wife Frieda, the daughter of Jacob Schiff, over a vast range of philanthropies. Ensconced in their palatial salon at 1109 Fifth Avenue, they became the "King and Queen of American Jewry." In this role they learned the impossibility of both emulating the American elite and transmitting Jewish values to their children. When one of the grandchildren, the daughter of son Gerald and Natica Nast, broke the pattern of the third generation by deciding to marry a Jew, Gerald was disappointed.

Chaim Weizmann wended in and out of the Warburg path. Considering their philanthropy the financial equivalent of the Balfour Declaration, he would hold the beneficent Felix and Max in contempt for their anti-Zionist attitudes while he carried on an adulterous affair with Max's daughter Lola. Lola's letters provide valuable documentation of the anxieties and depressions Weizmann hid in public. An ardent Zionist, Lola also invested herself completely in rescue work, setting up a Children's Transport that saved 10,000 children from Hitler.

After the war, Siegmund, an ingenious and disliked "upstart" from a less-prestigious branch of the family, emerged as the most renowned Warburg. A brooding, relentlessly driven, and unhappy man (whose 1930s affair with the ballerina Danilova was a well-kept secret for fifty-five years), Siegmund began anew in wartime London to create S. G. Warburg & Co., destined to become Britain's largest securities firm.

Modernity as well as Nazism took a heavy toll on the Warburgs, who had their share of troubled and drifting souls. Through weak marriages and intermarriages, status insecurities, and indifference, Judaism ceased to be a vital factor in most of their lives. In 1990, shortly after Eric succeeded in restoring the name of M. M. Warburg & Co. to the old bank in Hamburg, he died with the request that he be buried in a non-Jewish cemetery. The book ends with the question of whether anti-Semitism would again vex the Warburgs in Germany. It could just as well wonder whether modern life itself had been tenable for them without the spiritual foundation of their religion.

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RAPHAEL PATAI. *The Jewish Alchemists: A History and Source Book.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 617. $35.00.

Even experts in Jewish studies are likely to be surprised by the scope of Raphael Patai's study. This is a massive collection of material, much of it from manuscripts, documenting involvement by Jews in "the Great Art" in every age. After an introductory chapter on later sources that claimed that biblical figures were experts in alchemy, Patai organizes his material chronologically. He begins with the Hellenistic age, quickly surveys the early Islamic period and the High Middle Ages, and then proceeds century by century to the 1880s. Much of the material pertains to laboratory appliances and procedures, but Patai also attempts to show the relationship of the subject to such central Jewish cultural endeavors as biblical exegesis and mysticism (Kabbalah).

Some of the major figures will be unfamiliar to most readers: Maria the Jewess, whose teachings were quoted with respect over the centuries; Jacob, Avicenna's Jewish master in alchemy; Abraham, whose book was an inspiration for Nicholas Flamel; and Abraham Eleazar, author of what Patai describes as "the most Jewish alchemical book in existence" (p. 238). Other names are well known from different contexts. We encounter Leon Modena, rabbi in early seventeenth-century Venice, a sophisticated and shrewd polymath whose autobiography mentions his efforts at making silver out of lead and describes his son's death as a result of fumes in an alchemical lab. And Benedict Spinoza, whose letters reveal considerable interest in, and an open mind about, the possibility of transmuting silver into gold. Hayyim Vital of Safed is famous for his role in recording and disseminating Isaac Luria's esoteric Kabbalistic doctrines about mythical events in the Godhead before the creation of the world. Strikingly different is Vital's 160-folio manuscript devoted to magical techniques, medical remedies, scientific operations including alchemy, and guidance on "how to shave gold coins so that it should not be noticeable," and "how to make a coin you spend return to your pocket." This mystic turns out to be very much involved in affairs of this world.

Scholars have a natural tendency to overemphasize the importance of their material, and one may question Patai's claim that his evidence demonstrates that alchemy was "throughout the ages an important Jewish occupational specialization, comparable to Jewish work in medicine" (p. 523). As Patai points out, no Jews were known to have been alchemists "full-time" (p. 518); those who wrote about the subject were rabbis, physicians, or moneylenders. Much of the material in the book does not quite fit the title. Some of the works discussed at length are primarily medical rather than alchemical. Many of the individuals discussed are included because of brief passages in their writings in which they refer to alchemy, not always favorably. Patai's use of such material as evidence for "an alchemist society" (p. 299) is certainly exaggerated.

The longest chapter in the book, intriguing yet problematic, is entitled "Raymund de Tarrega: Marrano, Heretic, Alchemist." Records of the papal Inquisition state that this fourteenth-century figure converted from Judaism; Patai insists that "in secret he remained faithful to Judaism to the end of his life" (p. 185), hence his anachronistic use of "Marrano." But while Raymund was accused by the Inquisitor Nicolas Eymeric of heretical teachings, he was not accused of Judaizing, and Patai's attempt to show "Judaizing tendencies" in his doctrines is patently forced. It is not even certain that this Raymund is the same as the one who lived in England for a while and wrote alchemical books. The "heretic" may not have been an alchemist, and neither one has been shown to have been a Marrano.

As in his other compendious works, Patai's strength is in gathering and presenting primary sources. He is less interested in the work of contemporary scholars who have treated Jewish alchemy in the context of Jewish mysticism or the history of science. The larger questions he poses in the final chapter could certainly be probed further. For example, Jews were believed to know how to make gold and to guard the secret for themselves, yet when they taught the secret to gentiles the results must necessarily have been disappointing. One wonders about the implications for the development of the anti-Semitic stereotype of Jewish selfishness and greed. This question is not pursued.

Although the importance of alchemy in Jewish society and in Jewish-Christian relations still requires a nuanced evaluation, historians of both science and Jewish culture will find the source material presented by Patai useful and suggestive.

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EZRA MENDELSOHN. *On Modern Jewish Politics.* (Studies in Jewish History.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. ix, 168. Cloth $39.95, paper $14.95.

Despite the proliferation of histories of the Jewish communities of almost every modern country as well as histories of modern Jewish thought, Jewish literature in Hebrew, Yiddish, and other European languages, demography, migration patterns, economic transformations, and so forth, there is still a dearth of nuanced studies of the Jewish diaspora that are truly comparative and trustworthy. Ezra Mendelsohn's fine overview of Jewish politics, therefore, fills a conspicuous vacuum, often brilliantly. He analyzes the political ramifications of the major Jewish secular and religious ideologies and some of the minor ones, locating them against the conditions that Jews encountered in the last two centuries and asking provocative questions about the appeal, successes, and failures of these parties and organizations.

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Mendelsohn's previous books focused on the East European Jewish labor movement, Zionism in Poland, and the Jews in twentieth-century Eastern Europe. In this work he includes the rest of Europe, North America, and, briefly, South Africa. After proposing a typology of Jewish politics according to various ideological dimensions (including the conventional Left-Right-Center axis), he correlates the movements with the political geography of the diaspora. The regions most conducive to the flourishing of Jewish nationalism between the two world wars were the eastern borderlands of Poland, nearby Lithuania and southern Latvia, Bessarabia and Bulgaria, and South Africa. Whereas these environments did not offer Jews a meaningful way of identifying with the majority culture, the polar opposite, which Mendelsohn labels Jewish "integrationism," flourished in other parts of Europe and the United States that were more open to Jewish participation in national life. Poland and the United States become for Mendelsohn pertinent case studies for examining the changing balance of power between Jewish political tendencies during the interwar period: he chronicles the ebbs and flows of the appeal of centrist Zionism, the growing influence of the Orthodox Agudat Israel Party, and the ascendancy in Poland in the late 1930s of radicalized forms of Zionism and the Jewish Workers' Bund. In contrast, the organized Jewish Left in America during those years underwent a different evolution as anticommunist Social Democrats were brought into mainstream American politics and integrationists drew nearer to Zionism.

Mendelsohn has an especially stimulating assessment of the appeal of socialism to young European Jews, not only in general but also Jewish political movements on the Left in particular. Jewish socialism at once rejected and affirmed aspects of the Jewish religious-ethical tradition, offering the illusion that Jewish socialists, allied with the international working class, were no longer a despised minority but a majority of humankind (at least potentially). For another sector of those who perceived themselves as the victim of discrimination and humiliation, Jewish nationalism offered a similar gift of enhanced dignity and self-respect. Both socialist and nationalist movements envisioned a "new Jew" who would demolish the image of the physically weak and politically passive Jewish *luftmensh* of anti-Semitism and Jewish satire. Most of these movements (except for Zionism, which at the beginning of the century seemed unrealizable) failed to achieve what they promised but did enrich the lives of innumerable young Jews by offering them a way to cope internally with the increasingly grim realities of Jewish life in East Europe on the eve of the Holocaust. Mendelsohn notes the obvious parallels between modern Jewish political strategies and that of other European minority nationalisms, as well as more surprising parallels on the issues of the correct national language, the role of religion, the relation of one's people to other groups, and diaspora existence as such. Among other things, Mendelsohn discusses the Ukrainians in Poland, the *Volksdeutsche*, the Irish, the Greeks, and American ethnic groups whose passionate adoption of ethnic nationalism was "basically platonic in nature," part of a struggle for successful integration into their new home. His comparison of American Jewish political orientations with that of African Americans should be quite useful to American historians.

Mendelsohn's use in this book of novels and art on Jewish themes is particularly apt. All in all, this is an impartial, highly competent, and instructive book.

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STEVEN T. KATZ. *The Holocaust in Historical Context.* Volume 1, *The Holocaust and Mass Death before the Modern Age.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xv, 702. $49.95.

This volume is the first of three intended to demonstrate that the Holocaust is the only instance of true genocide. It promises to be an unusually massive work. This volume alone, dealing with major massacres from classical times to the St. Bartholemew's Day massacre of Huguenots, runs to 581 large pages of text, with many dense footnotes, frequently bibliographical in content, many of which run to a page or more of small print. Ninety-five more two-column pages are taken up by the bibliography.

Steven T. Katz argues that the Holocaust is unique because it is the only case of genocide in history. After a long discussion of other meanings that have been attributed to the term genocide, he defines it as "the actualization of the intent, however successfully carried out, to murder in its totality any national, ethnic, racial, religious, political, social, gender or economic group, as these groups are defined by the perpetrator, by whatever means" (p. 131). Because the Nazis intended as a matter of principle, and tried in practice, to annihilate physically every man, woman, and child they defined as Jews, the Holocaust is an instance of physical genocide. The remainder and bulk of this volume argues that no case of premodern mass slaughter was such an instance.

Katz summarizes at great length the scholarship on premodern persecutions of Jews, slaves, witches (and medieval misogyny), homosexuals, Albigensians, and Huguenots, and demonstrates that the value Christian doctrine placed on repentance and conversion set limits to their killing. When authorities—brutal though they often were—persecuted outgroups, and even when mobs massacred Jews during the Crusades, they never intended to kill all members of the condemned group. They were willing both in principle and often in practice to spare any homosexuals, heretics, Jews, or even witches who confessed and repented of their sins or were willing to convert to Christianity. Since none of these persecutions, includ-

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ing the persecution of Jews, were instances of genocide, they differed radically from the Holocaust.

This indisputable negative argument to demonstrate that the Holocaust was unique could have been argued much more briefly. Had Katz acknowledged that the campaign to eliminate all Jews depended on the belief that their allegedly evil characteristics were an inescapable consequence of unchangeable biological characteristics, he could have dismissed all the premodern persecutions summarily, since they were not based on racist beliefs. Alternatively, he could have limited his discussion to two or three instances that seemed most similar to the Nazi persecution. Indeed, in Katz's Leo Baeck Memorial Lecture, "The Holocaust and Comparative History" (1993), where he rapidly dismissed several other possibilities and concentrated on perhaps the closest parallel, the massacre of the Armenians, he did just that.

But as the title of the work indicates, Katz has another, broader purpose. Perhaps this book's greatest merit is that it provides an admirably broad historical perspective from which to view the Final Solution. This volume is one of the rare books on premodern hostility toward Jews that places it in a wider, comparative context by describing and examining at roughly equal length hostile attitudes and actions against other outgroups. Although Katz argues that neither the number of Jews killed nor the percentage of the total Jewish population killed makes the Holocaust unique, he nonetheless devotes many pages, packed with numbers and backed by extensive citations of the works of medieval and early modern historians, to determining the number and proportion of Jews, slaves, witches, homosexuals, Albigensians, and Huguenots killed and to discussions of why they were killed.

Katz acknowledges that his scholarly apparatus is unusually dense. He explains that he has provided it so that others can check his sources; so that future scholars will not make uninformed judgments; and so that the majority of his readers, whom he expects to be primarily interested in, and informed about, the Holocaust, will become more familiar "with the extensive, non-Jewish, historical record" (p. 12). Dense it is. Katz rubs the reader's nose in bibliography. To give but one example, a reference to Joseph Shatzmiller's *Shylock Reconsidered* (1990), with its extensive bibliography, would have been sufficient to support a sentence stating the well-known fact that Jewish economic isolation and occupational concentration in money lending worsened the image of the Jew. Instead, there are two highly detailed bibliographic footnotes, taking up nearly two pages, listing items that also appear in the bibliography. Between the extensive footnotes and the bibliography at the back, the volume is a treasure trove of bibliography on medieval and early modern persecutions, but I doubt readers primarily interested in the Holocaust will read many of these items.

Some of Katz's explanations are couched in rather broad and abstract terms, leaving something to be desired. The accusation that Jews committed ritual murder (pp. 271–73), for example, was not a consequence of their being identified with the devil. Moreover, Katz's grasp of the period as a whole is shaky in places. He pays little attention to social and economic developments, and his knowledge of major changes in medieval culture is somewhat weak, as his dating of the great turning point in the Middle Ages at 1200 rather than around 1000 indicates (pp. 313, 415, 512). He also tends to generalize loosely about Christian thoughts and actions, and occasionally some bias is apparent. He asserts, for example, that the Church Fathers, by situating the Jews mythically and taking them as "metaphysical markers," made them both other and unreal (pp. 255–63). He overlooks the fact that the Jews had much earlier situated themselves mythically, transformed themselves and their god into "metaphysical markers," come to view gentiles as others, and been viewed by Egyptians and Romans as intolerant and other.

These are, however, minor quibbles. Katz is generally highly objective, and his scholarship is impressive. For someone who is not a medievalist, he has acquired a remarkable grasp of the scholarly work on premodern persecutions, and he makes some astute criticisms of the ideas of historians who have studied them. An amazing amount of work has gone into this volume.

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PAUL CROOK. *Darwinism, War and History: The Debate over the Biology of War from the "Origin of Species" to the First World War.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 306.

In this valuable work, Paul Crook presents a comprehensive review of the debates over the biological causes and effects of war, stimulated by Darwinism, Mendelian genetics, and eugenics. His aim is to correct what he believes to be a number of misrepresentations in the historiography of the Social Darwinism of the period 1859 to 1919. For Crook, as for other revisionist historians, the commonly held view that Darwinism and genetics legitimized and even stimulated ruthless social competition, imperial conquest, race warfare, and brutal militarism, culminating in World War I, is a myth that exaggerates the degree of biology's impact on social thought and obscures the dominant direction of its influence. Yet because some revisionists (such as Robert Bannister and James R. Moore) may have gone too far in the opposite direction, denying biology's disturbing implications and brutal uses, Crook argues that a more balanced historical account is now in order.

Crook's account, based on a thorough reexamination of the views on the biology of war expressed by a remarkable number of British, American, German, and French writers, both famous and obscure, iden-

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tifies two broad schools of thought. One, which Crook terms "biological militarism," found in the Darwinian notion of a "struggle for existence" a natural basis for conflict among individuals, races, and/or nations and the principal engine of human progress. But alongside this widely recognized and much vilified interpretive tradition, Crook demonstrates the existence of a "very powerful tradition" of "peace biology" that has been "strangely neglected" in the historical literature (p. 2). Tracing its descent to Darwin's ecological approach and his "metaphorical" use of the term "struggle," Crook shows that peace biology emphasized the cooperative nature of the adaptive struggle that made human conflict and war appear "unnatural" and retrogressive, as Darwin himself argued.

Despite the growing nationalism and imperialism of the prewar years, which seemed to undermine liberal hopes, and the emergence of Weismannism and Mendelian genetics, which seemed to many (particularly in Germany) to argue in favor of extreme genetic determinism with "violent and authoritarian consequences" (p. 63), the tradition of peace biology endured, especially in the Anglo-American world. Even the brutal war itself, which could be seen as a confirmation of the militarist biological position, failed to weaken the vitality of peace biology. Through a variety of interpretive strategies, the antiwar tradition was preserved and even strengthened. Pacifists could treat violence and war as either evolutionary atavisms or the product of corrupt social forces. In either case, they were proclaimed to be dysgenic, destined to be overcome by evolving reason, social cooperation, self-control, and the continued development of human culture.

Yet, as Crook's fine-grained analysis makes clear, these traditions were hardly homogeneous. In each of these broad schools of thought, a multiplicity of philosophical and political viewpoints was represented. Reductionists and antireductionists, determinists and antideterminists, liberals and reactionaries could be found in both camps, legitimizing their views with appeals to pseudobiology and false analogies. Such diversity clearly discredits the widespread association of biological militarism, racism, and reductionism with the political Right and their opposites with the Left.

How then are we to make sense of the myriad uses and misuses to which biology and biological analogies were put in this period, and what was their cultural and political influence? Here Crook's account is somewhat disappointing. Although successfully demonstrating the fact that any and all social agendas could be—and were—either advocated or attacked on putatively biological grounds, he fails to ask why so many thinkers turned to biology, not to discover its implications, but simply as a means of buttressing preconceived theoretical positions that rested on extrascientific premises. Nor does he address the question of the actual influence of these debates (p. 4).

In spite of these limitations, this book remains a highly useful and informative work. It will make it increasingly difficult to continue speaking naively about Social Darwinism.

Howard L. Kaye
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Christopher Bassford. *Clausewitz in English: The Reception of Clausewitz in Britain and America 1815–1945*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 293. $45.00.

Christopher Bassford's new book, as the subtitle suggests, is about the intellectual reception in Great Britain and the United States of the work of the Prussian military theorist Carl von Clausewitz. At first glance one is struck by Bassford's insistent differentiation between Clausewitz's reception and his influence. One might readily assume the distinction is an attempt to downplay the intellectual substance of the Prussian's work in favor of its form. Such an assumption would force the reader to conclude that the reception of Clausewitz's *On War* (1833) is somehow like the reception of the New York City telephone directory: useful but devoid of intellectual significance. The assumption would, however, be wrong. Bassford, a careful reader of Peter Novick's *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (1988), recognizes the impossibility of demonstrating a law-like connection between the external ideas of Clausewitz and the internal thoughts of his readers. At best one can only infer some loose causal association between them.

Bassford makes three contributions as a consequence of this judicious approach to intellectual history. First, his book says as much about the readers of Clausewitz as it does about the great military theorist himself. The careful intellectual sketches of Clausewitz's readers are a special strength of the book. The most notable treatments are of John McCauley Palmer, B. H. Liddell Hart, Dwight D. Eisenhower, and J. F. C. Fuller. They typify two unique styles of reception and represent the second contribution of Bassford's book.

Bassford's discussion suggests a kind of duality in the reception of the ideas of others. Palmer, Liddell Hart, and the early Fuller represent what might be termed an analytic reception of Clausewitz: a search for specific answers about the nature of war. Readers such as Liddell Hart rejected the truth that Clausewitz seemed to offer or, like Palmer, recast the Prussian's message to fit their own institutional image. Eisenhower and the later Fuller typify the synthetic reception of Clausewitz: the movement beyond the immediately given fact toward a quest for enduring solutions to problems concerning war. For both the study of Clausewitz became a rite of passage that readers like Liddell Hart never completed.

The duality between analytic and synthetic forms of reception, not fully developed by Bassford as a unify-

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ing theme, emerges in greater relief when confronting his central question: does military theory have any real utility? This challenge has never been adequately addressed, especially among military and civilian academics for whom Clausewitz still exerts a major influence. The book generally seeks to answer this question by examining the reception of Clausewitz's theories among those readers who presumably would have found value and utility in military theory. The third contribution of this volume is to present a clear articulation of the question and suggest a possible solution.

Bassford himself is ambivalent and sometimes even skeptical about a resolution to the challenge. This is a natural consequence of the ambivalent and ambiguous character of Clausewitz's work itself. *On War* is an emerging synthesis frozen in the temporal ice of the written word. Subjecting it to the torch of analysis simply destroys its delicate and complex structure. The work is ineffable in the full sense of the word: unanalyzable. It is first and foremost a work of art, and as such it must be grasped and apprehended as a complete, organic whole. It is not possible, as one retired major general urged me to do, to "reduce *On War* to an equation." Nor is it possible, as J. F. C. Fuller understood, to find a complete statement about the nature of modern war; Clausewitz stands on the wrong side of the Industrial Revolution. Instead, the power of *On War* is that the work itself is an extended metaphor about war. To understand it in its fullness is to know war in its essence. The reader is thus brought into a dialogue with Clausewitz.

It is the ensuing dialogue that offers a possible solution to Bassford's question on the utility of military theory. One must, however, make a distinction between military theory as a written product and as a metaphorical process. This book reinforces the distinction. Some readers received Clausewitz's work as a product to be analyzed and scrutinized. Others came to view the Prussian's work as an unfinished puzzle that had to be completed. The latter reception demanded the kind of intellectual engagement and struggle that strengthened minds. The development of a special theoretical acuity made them military practitioners and theorists in their own right. Thus, military theory has value and utility only to the extent that it engages the mind in creating a new synthesis that is both personally and practically meaningful. Bassford recounts in his book the successes and failures of Clausewitz's readers to create just such a personal synthesis. He does so in a fashion that is at once judicious, prudent, and thoughtful.

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VERN L. BULLOUGH. *Science in the Bedroom: A History of Sex Research.* New York: Basic Books of HarperCollins. 1994. Pp. 376. $25.00.

The history of sexology is still not a very respectable subject, if only because it is particularly vulnerable to polemics from the Right and Left alike. Vern L. Bullough has thus performed a service by giving us a broad overview of the development of sexual science. After examining sexology's roots in the problematic of reproduction, which has bedeviled the human species from the beginning, he focuses on the development of a science of sex since the 1880s.

Beginning with early sexologists like Magnus Hirschfeld, Havelock Ellis, and Sigmund Freud, Bullough explains how Freud eventually eclipsed his rivals and came to dominate European sexology. With the rise of Nazism and its implicit hostility to what the Nazis deemed to be the Jewish science of sexology, the scene shifted to the United States, where Freudian influence waxed even as it waned in Europe. Although Freud had attempted to carve out a space between biology and sociology, the emergence of more information in those disciplines allowed psychoanalytic theory to be challenged by Alfred Kinsey. More recently, Kinsey's ideas have been attacked from a number of quarters, even if no one overarching paradigm has replaced his.

This book is less a specialized monograph than a general survey that will appeal to a wide audience. Bullough's approach is open-minded and eclectic, eschewing both the histrionic meanspiritedness of the Buchananist Right and the facile relativism of the Foucauldian Left. Still, Bullough has his own axe to grind. If he is hostile to both the Right and the Left, it is because both extremes tend to regard sexology as a pseudoscience, whereas he is convinced that it is a real discipline with much to offer our beleaguered species. Bullough's commitment to sex research makes his book seem less the work of a historian studying sex than one of a sexologist employing a historical approach.

Although Bullough does a superb job of organizing a vast amount of material into a highly readable, well-organized, and mercifully brief survey, the multiplicity of his sources and the breeziness of his style sometimes cause problems, some of which should have been resolved at the editorial level. For example, the book continues the maddening practice of relegating notes to the last pages, where they are difficult to match with the relevant parts of the text. More significant is the unfocused nature of Bullough's study. He notes that "Western concepts of sexuality up to the nineteenth century represented a hodgepodge of ideas and contributors" (p. 9), but his own approach suggests that not much has changed in the twentieth century. He thus neither demonstrates that sexology is an independent science nor even clearly defines it.

Indeed, the most valuable part of Bullough's book may be the concluding chapter, where he enumerates the forces that prevent sexology from coming together as an autonomous discipline. One obvious problem is that sex research remains both highly

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politicized and somewhat disreputable, thus inhibiting its development as an independent domain. Bullough rightly points out the almost complete absence of any graduate programs in sexology. Instead of getting a Ph.D. in sex research, "individuals . . . stumble into the field" from various disciplines (p. 276). Sexology continues to draw on "the expertise of anthropologists, historians, psychologists, sociologists, literary specialists, art historians, musicologists," as well as biologists (p. 273). Although the polyvocal character of sex research may justify Bullough's eclectic approach to the subject, it raises the question of whether it constitutes a science at all (at least in a Kuhnian sense).

Because this volume is clearly directed to a larger audience than that reached by the works of writers like Paul Robinson or Michel Foucault, it is perhaps unfair to judge it by the rigorous standards of academic discourse. Clearly Bullough's book is unlikely to energize the scholarly community in the same way that these other books have. Nevertheless, if giving good answers to ordinary questions is as valuable as giving poor answers to extraordinary ones, this work deserves a place in the library of anyone interested in the history of sexual theory.

LAWRENCE BIRKEN
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CHARLES E. CLARK. *The Public Prints: The Newspaper in Anglo-American Culture, 1665–1740.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 330. $49.95.

This book is a study of the evolution of English-language newspapers through the 1740s, and of the newspaper's influence on Anglo-American cultural development in the eighteenth century. Charles E. Clark first examines the background of the English newspaper, showing how a diversity of needs and interests produced—by the eighteenth century—newspapers that combined the functions, among others, of propagandist, advertiser, and literary journal. He explores the metropolitan context in which the English papers of the early eighteenth century flourished and shows how they influenced their rising American counterparts. He ends with a discussion of the newspapers in Bristol and Norwich, England, and in Boston, emphasizing common characteristics of newspaper publishing on both sides of the Atlantic.

Clark then outlines the development of American colonial newspapers from 1704 through the 1740s, noting two evolutionary processes. On the one hand, publishing itself changed as printers gained control of newspapers in pursuit of profits. On the other hand, the content of the papers changed over time. Attention to colonial events and issues gradually replaced the early preoccupation with printing European news, and the early dominance of "hard news" gave way to a mixture of news, essays, verse, opinion pieces, and, especially, advertising.

The third part of the study is more thematic. Clark explores the striking similarity in the values and biases newspapers communicated, and the cultural significance of the newspaper in the eighteenth-century colonies. He concludes with a discussion of an important transition. Responding to England's war with Spain and to the Great Awakening, in the 1740s American newspapers began "to focus their editorial content increasingly on news and opinion, much of it locally generated, concerning a few large and very pressing issues that had a direct impact on the provincial leadership" (p. 259).

Various themes emerge in the work. Colonial newspapers simultaneously underwent a process of "Americanization," as they increasingly published colonial news, and of "Anglicization," especially in the 1720s and 1730s, as they worked to emulate English literary culture. Commercialization played a key role as newspapers increasingly became tied to a desire for profits. On the whole, newspapers in England and in the colonies imparted a remarkably consistent set of values and assumptions relating to politics, religion, race, class, and gender: the "world view," as Clark succinctly puts it, "of the upper-class, cultivated, ethnocentric, and fiercely patriotic Protestant English male" (p. 11). Newspapers widely spread views otherwise prevalent only among elites, thus playing an important role in ideologically uniting disparate classes of English, in the home country and the colonies alike.

This is a very accessible and valuable work. Clark's discussion of English-language newspaper development on both sides of the Atlantic is lucid and fascinating. He assesses the broad similarities in these newspapers yet remains laudably sensitive to the nuances of distinction that remained. His examination of how the business of printing actually worked is wonderfully informative. Above all, Clark's exploration of the newspaper's role in the development of "colonial consciousness," and in the building of a widely shared set of basic values and prejudices, is a major contribution. One wishes he had also analyzed the German-language newspapers in Pennsylvania, comparing the "world view" they communicated to that of the English-language newspapers, and perhaps assessing how German colonists became part of the "colonial consciousness" he discusses. That quibble aside, this is a fine work, and well worth reading.

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JOYCE LEE MALCOLM. *To Keep and Bear Arms: The Origins of an Anglo-American Right.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 232. $29.95.

Alarmed by the ghastly carnage witnessed daily on America's streets, historians have sought with ever greater urgency to explain the original intent of the Second Amendment. Yet, according to a recent American Bar Association report, there is less understanding and more confusion regarding the right of citi-

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zens to bear arms than on any other controversial constitutional question (p. 135). Now Joyce Lee Malcolm, a specialist in English history, has journeyed across the water to explore the ancient origins of a right that English settlers carried with them to American shores. The result is a work of genuine excellence, as persuasive in its argument as it is unsettling in its implications.

Malcolm's story begins in the Middle Ages. Because of the impoverished and decentralized nature of government in medieval England, commoners and nobles alike were expected to guard their homes, neighbors, and city walls. Because of the general unhappiness with this often onerous duty, for nearly five hundred years the English stubbornly resisted transforming this responsibility into a traditional right. As England was an island nation, its monarchs were able to maintain this cheap citizen militia long after continental sovereigns turned to vast professional armies. Because gun ownership remained more a duty than a right, crown and Parliament were free to limit the ownership of certain kinds of weapons, such as the crossbow and handgun, which might be used in highway robberies. Oliver Cromwell's government restricted the ability of Catholics to carry weapons, and during the Restoration Parliament clamped down on the privilege of owning firearms to inhibit poaching and to prevent, as William Blackstone conceded, "popular insurrections and resistance to the government" (p. 12).

The number of guns had risen dramatically during the Civil War, as both sides manufactured weapons and civilians purchased guns to guard their lives and property. Disarming the population under the Game Acts of 1671 was thus easier said than done. Many soldiers had deserted with their weapons, and during the war armaments could easily be found littering battlefields. Local justices were reluctant to convict gun offenders whose imprisonment might leave their families without means of support, and thus a financial burden on the parish. James II was only partially successful in his political use of disarmament, but as his policy came at the expense of parliamentary powers, it was particularly galling. Having overthrown the Catholic Stuarts and resisted their attempts to create large standing armies, the Convention Parliament of 1689 hastily retreated from the traditional notion of militia duty and finally came down squarely "in favour of an individual right of arms for [personal and political] self-defence" (p. 120). It was this mixed heritage of duty and right that English settlers carried to the colonies and at length institutionalized in the American Constitution.

Malcolm wisely declines to carry her analysis to the present. Yet I, having been convinced that the authors of the Second Amendment meant to guarantee individual gun ownership as a right as well as a duty, would have welcomed at least a brief meditation on how this eighteenth-century idea translates into the modern context. Malcolm argues, for example, that as James Madison desired an all-inclusive citizen's militia, the theory that members of today's National Guard are the only persons entitled to bear arms has no historical foundation. But what does this ancient concept really mean in a modern society with a professional police force, a large standing army, and a democratically elected government with no despotic tendencies? But this is to quibble. Malcolm's prose is both vigorous and elegant, and occasionally even witty, a virtue rarely to be found in a constitutional treatise. This book should generate a healthy debate about the future of gun control in America.

DOUGLAS R. EGERTON
Le Moyne College

FRANK DOBBIN. *Forging Industrial Policy: The United States, Britain, and France in the Railway Age.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 262. $39.95.

Frank Dobbin claims that most policy analysts, economic theorists, and institutional analysts err when they limit their studies to groups that hold power or universal economic laws. These scholars, he believes, do not pay sufficient attention to the role of custom and tradition in shaping national policies. He bases his argument on "two simple empirical observations" (p. 2): first, in the nineteenth century there were parallels in the United States, France, and Great Britain between the institutions developed in each for organizing economic life and those for political life; and second, each nation's emerging "industrial strategies" tended to be designed in ways similar to those of other institutions. Focusing on national railway policies between 1825 and 1900, Dobbin contends that "the very core tenets of economic efficiency and rationality . . . are products of identifiable social and historical forces rather than of extra-societal economic precepts" (p. 27).

Dobbin presents his arguments in five tightly organized chapters. In the first he offers a justification for the volume and plots the route he will follow. In the concluding chapter he reiterates his contention that one must consider custom and tradition rather than "rationalized principles" to understand "industrial rationality" (p. 231). He does not hesitate to tell the reader where he stands; many sentences begin with "I argue," "I contend," or "My point is." I find his argument convincing, not only because of his attention to historical details but also because of his fairness in evaluating competing interpretations.

In the remaining chapters, each devoted to a country, Dobbin follows an identical pattern. He describes the planning of the nation's railway system, the financing, the technical and managerial arrangements, and, finally, pricing and competition. He provides throughout numerous relevant comparisons for the reader to consider.

Railroads in the United States were planned, financed, and operated by local individuals. It was

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expected that these entrepreneurs knew their community's best interests and, of course, their own. On occasion they sought and were given encouragement by local and state governments. When corruption and concentration became evident, the federal government intervened with legislation to promote competition and free markets. Local activism tempered by governmental participation was the American way.

France, with a long history of requiring its people and their wealth to serve those in power, utilized a different model. Regardless of which monarch held power, or what democratic experiment was underway, the civil bureaucracy remained the central player. Individual entrepreneurs proposed and operated the railways, but state technocrats exercised wide managerial and technical controls. Monopoly was accepted, efficiency was achieved, and a system of national routes centered on Paris resulted. This had been past practice and had served the nation well. When alterations were made, custom and tradition prevailed. This was the French way.

For Great Britain, nonintervention, or "unfettered individual initiative" (p. 158), prevailed. Individual independence was the foundation of British culture, and the role of government was minimal. Because railways were seen as a public utility, their promoters could appropriate land for their rights of way. Multiple regional service was accepted, for it was taken for granted that people would choose the most efficient line. Competition was essential and in everyone's best interest. Informed public opinion rather than legislation was seen as the best regulator. Only in concerns relating to third-class passengers—rates, facilities, and safety—did the government intervene to protect this class from exploitation. Even when changes were required in pricing and competition, individual rights remained paramount. This was the British way.

As sources Dobbin uses government reports, monographs, and journal articles; few references are made to letters or memoirs. He considers long-held interpretations of industrial policy not to discard any but to offer a useful alternative, custom and tradition, that has been neglected for too long.

Robert E. Carlson
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Thomas Welskopp. *Arbeit und Macht im Hüttenwerk: Arbeits- und industrielle Beziehungen in der deutschen und amerikanischen Eisen- und Stahlindustrie von den 1860er bis zu den 1930er Jahren.* (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Sozialgeschichte.) Bonn: J. H. W. Dietz. 1994. Pp. 799.

This book, an only slightly abbreviated version of Thomas Welskopp's dissertation, analyzes in detail how changes in the work process and in workplace power relations interacted with broader historical developments to produce the industrial-relations systems and class configuration specific to the iron and steel industry in Germany and the United States between the 1860s and the 1930s. Concentrating on the Ruhr district and the Pittsburgh/Chicago region, Welskopp identifies, and structures his analysis around, three major types of social interaction in the workplace that appeared in both countries: the "team" system, which prevailed from the 1860s to the 1880s (part 2), the "drive" system that coincided with the shift from iron to steel production in the last decades of the nineteenth and the early years of the twentieth century (part 3), and the "crew" system introduced around 1910 (part 4). In each case, he uses data derived from an impressive array of archival and secondary sources to describe the productive process, demonstrate how that process affected the way workers related to one another and to their superiors, and analyze how these relations in turn shaped the prospects for the emergence and success of worker organizations such as works councils, trade unions, and labor parties. Along the way, Welskopp tells us new and interesting things about a great variety of subjects, including changes in worker culture, the impact of ethnic diversity on labor-management relations, and the development of managerial ideologies.

The book's empirically based substantive sections are preceded by a lengthy theoretical introduction (part 1), in which Welskopp makes a case for a new labor history. He urges labor historians to focus their attention on the sphere of the production unit (*Betrieb*), which he defines as "an ever-changing system of work and power relations," the place where "economic, industrial and worker history intersect" (p. 25). His case study was designed to demonstrate the feasibility and fruitfulness of this approach, and in my view it succeeds. By starting with work itself, Welskopp has managed to integrate a mass of historical detail into a convincing synthesis that illuminates significant temporal, national, and sectoral aspects of industrial capitalism and helps us understand the development of modern industrial relations.

In the book's last section (part 5), Welskopp examines selected aspects of his theme from a comparative perspective and ventures a number of generalizations relevant to the wider sphere of labor and social history. Among other things, he discusses differences and similarities between Germany and America; compares the history of iron and steel production in these countries with developments elsewhere and in other branches of industry; analyzes the "dequalification" thesis associated with the labor historian Harry Braverman (*Labor and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century* [1974]); and explains the bearing of systems of workplace social relations on the development of trade-union organization, with special emphasis on the relationship between leaders and led.

Welskopp's controversial views about method, the novel way he marshals his evidence, and the wide range of topics covered mean that this case study will

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interest many scholars not particularly curious about the details of iron and steel production. For example, students of Weimar Germany will welcome Welskopp's careful analysis of the rationalization movement of the 1920s and the management ideologies then current (pp. 457–65, 725). Also noteworthy is his critique of Braverman's dequalification thesis, which maintains that the inability of modern industrial workers to resist management strategies designed to pacify and integrate them is entirely due to the degradation or deskilling of labor. Welskopp shows that this analysis does not apply at all to the iron and steel industry. More generally, he condemns Braverman's emphasis on qualification as simplistic because it fails to recognize two equally important determinants of workplace industrial relations: the power relations among elements in the hierarchy of work, and the degree of cooperation or solidarity present among workers (pp. 718ff.).

A comprehensive bibliography of primary sources and secondary works in German and English concludes Welskopp's admirable book. My only fear is that few non-Germans will read it to the end, for in his determination to do justice to his topic's complexities, Welskopp has overloaded the text with excessively long sentences that non-native speakers will find hard to decipher.

JOAN CAMPBELL
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BETH A. SIMMONS. *Who Adjusts? Domestic Sources of Foreign Economic Policy during the Interwar Years.* (Princeton Studies in International History and Politics.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 330. $39.50.

Beth A. Simmons analyzes interwar responses to balance of payments deficits. The book's title refers to the choice by individual states between internal adjustment (deflation) and externalization (through either devaluation or increased protectionism) to remedy a balance-of-payments deficit. The intended audience is primarily political scientists using game theory to analyze policy choices in international political economy. Simmons criticizes the assumptions on which game theory's application to political economy has been based and urges that greater attention be paid to the influence of domestic politics on international policy decisions. She employs quantitative analysis of time-series data, complemented by four case studies, to determine the factors that influenced the deterioration of the external balance and the choices between deflation, devaluation, and protectionism. Her arguments and results hold considerable interest for economists and historians, as well as political scientists.

Simmons finds externalization to have been "associated with specific political and institutional conditions" (p. 275) that were at least as important as, and at times more important than, the usual suspects used to explain the competitive devaluations and tariff increases of the 1930s: narrowly conceived national economic interest and beggar-thy-neighbor policies. Governments of the Left were particularly prone to devaluation in their desire to stimulate domestic production and employment; they also tended to seek freer trade. Governments of the Right preferred deflation and chose to increase tariffs when externalizing adjustment. Capital flight, current account deterioration, and devaluation were all more likely under circumstances of leftist government, cabinet instability, labor unrest, and a central bank under the influence of political authorities.

Simmons's explanations of her models tend to be laborious, but her analysis of the political considerations affecting government fidelity to the interwar gold standard is important. The political tolerance for domestic adjustment before 1914 was, she argues, based on a politics of exclusion. The extension of suffrage, the rise of working-class and social-democratic parties, and the increased militancy of organized labor made internal adjustment much more difficult to effect politically after 1918. Building on Barry Eichengreen's analysis of the interwar gold standard (*Golden Fetters* [1992]), Simmons stresses the importance of political factors in the credibility of government commitments to maintain their currencies on gold.

The case studies—of French currency stabilization in the mid–1920s (chap. 5) and of British, Belgian, and French responses to external imbalances in the 1930s (chap. 7)—do not explore the policy-making process as carefully as historians might wish. They rely largely on secondary literature, with some American and French archival material, and yield only sketchy accounts of the politics of policy determination. Use of recent studies by Philip Williamson, Diane Kunz, and Robert Boyce, as well as R. S. Sayers's history of the Bank of England (1976), could have corrected and lent nuance to her analysis of the British departure from gold in 1931. Her discussion of French deflation would have benefited from consideration of works by Julian Jackson and Michel Margairaz on French politics and policy in the Depression years. There are errors of detail: Alanson Houghton's embassy appointment (p. 161), the response from foreign central banks to Britain's requests for credits in 1931 (pp. 233, 282), Paul Reynaud's political affiliation (p. 266), the date of the French devaluation (p. 268). But the case studies "were chosen to corroborate some of the key quantitative findings" (p. 219), and in this they succeed.

KENNETH MOURÉ
University of California, Santa Barbara

RAYMOND RICHARDS. *Closing the Door to Destitution: The Shaping of the Social Security Acts of the United States and New Zealand.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1994. Pp. xxx, 178. $42.50.

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Raymond Richards seeks to contribute to the literature of comparative social security through an analysis of the formative legislation underlying the American and New Zealand welfare states. The comparison he offers is one of extremes. Richards sees the American Social Security Act of 1935 as an almost complete failure in terms of providing adequate welfare state provision, with incomplete coverage of individuals at risk, regressive financing, and no serious redistributive intent. The New Zealand Social Security Act of 1938 was different in every way. Richards presents the act as one that provided universal (if largely means-tested) coverage, at replacement levels adequate to meet need and with very clear redistributive intent, manifested through a combination of flat-rate benefits and funding through the General Exchequer.

Having established such a contrast, Richards seeks to account for it. His analysis proceeds through three stages. First, he examines the precursors of the two acts and tries to demonstrate that each was consistent with the history of welfare development in the respective nations. Reading back to the story of Civil War pensions in the United States and of the act establishing age pensions in New Zealand in 1898 reveals the same contrast between egalitarian comprehensiveness in the latter country and its opposite in the former. Second, Richards examines broad differences in the national contexts in which the two pieces of legislation were shaped and concludes that the impetus to a greater welfare adequacy in New Zealand was a higher degree of social cohesion, stemming from cultural homogeneity and leading to a greater sense of common interests than in the United States. As Richards properly notes, however, the direct mechanism shaping legislation is not cultural attitudes but political action. Hence, his third and final step is to argue that the American political process is one that allows diverse interests and elites to impede social change, while the parliamentary character of New Zealand democracy allows the expression of cultural solidarity to be translated into policy.

American commentators on this book have noted the originality of its treatment of the role of insurance companies as an important source of countervailing pressure against the inclusion of radical ideas in the Social Security Act of 1935. It seems rather doubtful if New Zealand reviewers will be as complimentary. That is because Richards's analysis of the New Zealand case is not so much about revealing the detailed working of the political system as it is about demonstrating the simple fact that on almost every count New Zealand is quite different from the United States. Arguably, this tendency to draw oversimplified contrasts stems from a problematic methodology. Attributing differences between two countries to other differences between them can never be properly conclusive because the number of differences is endless.

There are other problems, too. The one that really worries me is the resort to explanations in terms of undifferentiated attributions of national character, with differences between the countries asserted to be a function of "inveterate national characteristics" (p. 46). I dislike such attributions because they are the ultimate comparativist's cop-out: countries are different because countries are different. I also dislike them because they make it impossible to explain change. If New Zealanders built the world's finest (not actually stated, but strongly implied) welfare state in 1938 because of "inveterate national characteristics," it is difficult to understand why they let it decline over the three immediate postwar decades and why, since 1984, it has been reformed in directions that make it only somewhat more comprehensive and egalitarian than the American model. To understand that requires a focus on national differences in and the historical development of political ideas and their political mobilization, which is not to be found in this volume.

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CHARLES A. KUPCHAN. *The Vulnerability of Empire.* (Cornell Studies in Security Affairs.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 527. $35.00.

Charles A. Kupchan has undertaken a monumental task in this study, in which he attempts to explain why leaders in imperial nations regularly misperceive the achievability of their objectives. The author contends that a central aim of his book is to study the causes of self-defeating behavior by selecting cases "in which elites made policy choices that clearly jeopardized the state's primary security interests" (p. 8). He argues that elites "initially pursue extremist policies for sound, considered reasons; such policies lead to self-defeating outcomes only later when elites find themselves unable to reverse course" (p. 18). He also believes that elites in great power states at the top echelons of the international structure react to challenges to the status quo rather than initiating them except under extreme duress. In declining or vulnerable states, however, elites turn to aggressiveness in the empire to divert attention from the weakness in the home territory and possibly avert war there. Finally, his central argument is that the inability of leaders to adjust to changing circumstances that may make an initial policy less than desirable stems from having oversold the public and themselves on the viability of that policy even when there is evidence that it is either no longer needed or may be self-defeating. This failure he ascribes to "constraints placed on elites by strategic culture" (p. 21). In selecting Britain, Japan, Germany, and the United States and putting each in a restricted time frame he is able to identify a good deal of self-defeating behavior on the part of national leaders.

Possibly the weakest reed in Kupchan's argument is the United States. By focusing on 1949–50 and the importance of NSC 68 as a key to the overextension of commitment and perception of threats, he downplays

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the role of the Korean War in changing Harry Truman's mind about military expenditures. True, NSC 68 was basically adopted in principle before June 1950, but Truman was still hesitating on whether it was a wise decision to abandon the hope of budget reduction to strengthen the economy until he was persuaded that the Soviet Union was behind the attack in Korea and that prestige and security interests both demanded expanded military expenditure. Also, Kupchan is forced to modify his central thesis to fit the selection of the United States because he has to admit that the decision makers in Washington did not in fact jeopardize the state's primary security interests.

There are some questions concerning the author's models. First, why did he exclude the Soviet empire, where the leaders made policy decisions that indeed not only jeopardized the security interests but in the end destroyed the Soviet Union as a national and cultural entity? Kupchan also contends that in the 1930s "Britain chose to concentrate on the defense of its peripheral possessions while making manifestly inadequate efforts to prepare for the defense of its primary security interests in Europe" (p. 11). In fact, the British Cabinet decided in the late 1930s to make a show of defending its position in the Far East, but if it came to it in the case of war with Japan, the British intended to write off a good portion of the empire to be able to defend the home territory.

It is hard to find fault with the other choices of self-defeating behavior as the author very effectively proves his point about France doing a turnabout from defense of the core to overcommitment in the empire in the 1930s. Certainly Germany and Japan fit neatly into the framework established in this work. I would criticize two things about the book. First, whatever happened to the reliable terms "nation-state" and "imperial possessions"; why must they be replaced by metropole for the former and peripheries for the latter? These are merely two examples in which historians may find the terminology a bit strained as it employs political science jargon in place of traditional definitions and terminology. Second, the book is too long. There are several places where economy of space could have been utilized with nothing lost in the telling.

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GREGORY P. NOWELL. *Mercantile States and the World Oil Cartel, 1900–1939.* (Cornell Studies in Political Economy.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 326. $45.00.

Calouste S. Gulbenkian would insist, "Oilmen are like cats. One never knows when listening to them whether they are fighting or making love" (quoted in my book, *The Maturing of Multinational Enterprise* [1974], 87). Gregory P. Nowell would only partly agree, as he tries to explain the conflicts and reconciliations of these "nonstatal" actors.

Nowell, a political scientist, has written a challenging, ambitious, and fascinating archive-based historical study. The book seems to begin in the spirit of Richard Barnet and Ronald Muller's *Global Reach* (1974). Nowell criticizes the existing political science literature because it does not speak of how "corporations use states" (p. 2). Yet later Nowell recognizes that there is a long tradition for such an approach, at least on a national basis. But his argument is not national. He discusses what he calls "transnational structuring" that involves multinational corporations using governments for their own purposes in a wide variety of ways. Multinational enterprises have a political as well as an economic agenda. Unlike Barnet and Muller, Nowell argues that multinationals do not transcend or defy states, nor do they overwhelm states (sovereignty is not at bay); rather they penetrate and influence home and host governments by working within the system. Multinational corporations attempt to control political outcomes that may be, from the standpoint of social welfare, appropriate or inappropriate and may or may not meet the needs of states. The issue that intrigues Nowell is the relationship between the multinational enterprise and the state, which he insists must be seen not solely in national or bilateral terms but also in an international context.

The book opens with a theoretical introduction; Nowell presents his transnational structuring approach and shows where it fits into and differs from the theories of other political scientists. To support his theory, Nowell then offers evidence: a case study, covering 1900 to 1939, of the interactions of French government policy (with its strong statist tradition) and the international oil companies' "world political struggle to rationalize markets" (p. 37). The story of the international oil industry in these years is well known, yet Nowell adds much (mainly on the French aspects).

The book is stimulating. Historians will like its archive-based content. It is important especially for its emphasis on the role of multinational enterprise in world economic history. Yet although I share Nowell's views on the latter, I read much of his evidence differently. Surely he overemphasizes the political over the economic in his discussion of multinationals (the oil industry opens the way for such an emphasis far more than virtually any other industry would). I do not see the "big bang" of 1928 with its spreading impact (here Nowell takes his lead from the influential U.S. Federal Trade Commission Report); rather, I perceive a post–1928 cartel structure constantly in jeopardy, made much more tenuous by the East Texas oil discoveries (never mentioned by Nowell). As for Texas regulations, certainly they were pushed more by the overproduction than the transnational structuring behavior of multinationals.

Nowell's scenario on the "derailing of coal's pursuit of synthetic oil" is thoughtful; he is on target in

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associating the hydrocarbon agreements with the leading oil companies' "as is" policies (although it was not the patent agreements of 1928, but the November 9, 1929, accords between I. G. Farben and Standard Oil of New Jersey that were fundamental). While I liked the connections Nowell makes and his analysis, I remained unconvinced. Joseph Schumpeter's "circular flow" accompanied by a look at cost structures provide, in my view, a far superior explanation of the coal companies' lethargy than Nowell's cartelization argument.

My reservations on interpretations notwithstanding, I highly recommend this volume. It is a significant addition to the growing literature on the history of multinational enterprise. It will interest historians of the international oil industry. It makes a major contribution in its awareness of the limitations of national (and purely governmental) analyses of multinational phenomena. And it sets forth an excellent research agenda, asking whether generalizations, based on oil industry history, are broadly applicable.

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BÉATRICE VEYRASSAT. *Réseaux d'affaires internationaux, émigrations et exportations en Amérique latine au XIX^e^ siècle: Le commerce suisse aux Amériques/International Business Networks, Emigration and Exports to Latin America in the Nineteenth Century: Swiss Trade with the Americas.* (Publications du Centre d'Histoire Économique Internationale de l'Université de Genèvre, number 8.) Geneva, Switzerland: Librarie Droz. 1993. Pp. 532.

Béatrice Veyrassat explores in this work aspects of Swiss commercial involvement in nineteenth-century Latin America, focusing on the first half of the century and the countries Brazil and Mexico. The study is based on Swiss consular reports, commercial statistics, and accounts of individuals. Veyrassat strives to assess the meaning of the transoceanic economic involvement of a small and neutral European nation in an age of intensifying European economic hegemony over the Atlantic trading zone. She examines the issue in terms of three historiographical positions: "exchange of goods," "imperialism," and "dependency."

The study is divided into three parts. After a general introduction, Veyrassat explores in part 1 intensifying Swiss involvement in the Atlantic networks of trade in the context of British commercial dominance. In part 2 she sketches in five chapters the history of Swiss commerce with Brazil: the opportunities, the start of the trade after 1817, its intensification between 1831 and 1848, its volume, and its success; three further chapters similarly explore Swiss trade with Mexico. In part 3 she offers a statistical, interpretive, migratory, and cost-benefit balance sheet. Of the nine extensive appendixes, four offer statistical detail concerning the volume of trade; three give an extensive prosopography of Swiss traders active in Latin American, especially Brazilian, trade; one deals with monetary equivalents; and a lucid English summary, bibliography, and index conclude the text.

Veyrassat's findings stress the centrality of social networks that span migrations, business activities, financial alliances, and informational flows. The individuals whose mercantile activities are here reconstructed she finds to have been a diverse lot: economically unsuccessful or displaced business people at home, adventurers, employees of established firms, or artisans in search of opportunities abroad. She traces the growth of Swiss trade as it navigated between the rise and fall of European tariff barriers: expanding in Latin America in the first half of the century, then increasing in the United States, and after the 1880s intensifying again in Europe.

Interpretively Veyrassat rejects the applicability to Swiss trade of the "informal empire" view if it means trade agreements or treaties of friendship ensnaring the weaker partner in exploitative relationships: Switzerland concluded treaties with Latin American countries only late in the nineteenth century. Yet a private business imperialism, perhaps even a unique "Swiss-made" form, based on manipulatory control to the benefit of the foreigners' country of origin, may indeed have been at work. Swiss business migrations and their concomitant exchange of goods clearly furthered Switzerland's industrialization, Veyrassat observes, enabling its manufacturers to specialize in "food processing, engineering goods, machine tools and chemicals" (p. 462) and honing the skills of the Swiss in conducting international business in the context of the rivalry of big powers.

This work is not easily evaluated. Its proper assessment would require expertise in Swiss, Brazilian, Mexican, and North American economic and migration history. Yet the study is undoubtedly based on extensive research in Swiss and Brazilian archives (other aspects are more cursorily treated). Especially suggestive is the connection between personal dimensions and general economic forces not only in national but also Atlantic economic contexts, and the study is interpretively balanced and differentiated. The references to the eighteenth century, however, seem less convincing. In both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries violent conquest formed the basis of an expanding European economic drive and gave them a seamless unity.

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ROBERT FREEMAN SMITH. *The Caribbean World and the United States: Mixing Rum and Coca-Cola.* (Twayne's International History Series, number 11.) New York: Twayne of Macmillan. 1994. Pp. xv, 120. Cloth $26.95, paper $15.95.

This book is part of Twayne Publishers International History Series under the editorship of Akira Iriye. The

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series is intended for the general reader and focuses on "important [global] events and decisions since 1945" (p. xi). The authors in this series are scholars with expertise in a particular area and of proven reputation, but, as in the case of Robert Freeman Smith, they may not be predictable, which editor Iriye notes in his foreword: "Readers who have perused the author's earlier writings may be struck that he is less critical of U.S. policies and strategies in this volume than elsewhere" (p. xii).

Smith seems perfect for undertaking a work of this nature. His lengthy career, involving research and teaching about the Caribbean region, provides him with the insights and tools to synthesize a vast amount of material into a small volume. Moreover, Smith writes as he speaks; that is, clear, firm, and to the point, with no nonsense. But his directness carries a strong viewpoint as well. In relating the broad outline of U.S.-Caribbean affairs, Smith's interpretation of events challenges that of other academic writers, especially those whom he characterizes as "of the liberal-left persuasion" (p. xv). For example, he writes, "When Jimmy Carter became president in 1977 he made Washington more accessible to the left wing of the Democratic party" (p. 56). And, "The Carter administration essentially viewed any government to the left as 'good' and believed that the United States must support all groups claiming to be revolutionary" (p. 56).

One might hope that Smith was less partisan in his approach, but his experience and knowledge merit attention, and one welcomes the debate his book will engender. Smith vividly portrays Fidel Castro as a menace, relating that Castro was "furious" over the compromise reached by John Kennedy and Nikita Khrushchev ending the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962 and, in his anger, attempted to seize the missile sites from the Russians. "In all probability he would have attacked Washington, D.C., and New York City had he been successful" (p. 46). More concretely, he reports that by 1977 Soviet reconnaissance aircraft operating from Cuban bases "were patrolling very close to the coast of the United States and conducting surveillance missions over all fleet and space-program activities in the waters adjacent to the United States" (p. 55). Believing such eventualities manifest in the context of the Cold War, Smith defends U.S. interventions (covert and overt) in the Caribbean as necessary and reasonable, including Guatemala (1954), the Dominican Republic (1965), and Grenada (1983). In the same sense, he presents the Iran-Contra affair largely as a "workaround"; that is, a process by which executive branch covert operators finessed congressional "restrictions" (the Boland amendments). "The workaround was entrusted to Colonel [Oliver] North, who discharged his assignments with a passion that, for all its excesses and failures of judgment, was admirably dedicated and undoubtedly selfless" (p. 68).

Departing from the political arena, Smith concludes with a spirited chapter treating the influence that the Caribbean and the United States have had on each other in music, dress, and sport. He does not accept the idea of "Coca-Colonization," affirming that "most who claim to hate U.S. culture in reality hate *democracy and the common people*" (p. 85). Similarly, he extols the contributions to U.S. culture by Caribbean artists, athletes, entertainers, and immigrants. Recognizing the complexity of this issue, Smith expands on the metaphor of his subtitle and notes that certain varieties of rum mix better with Coca-Cola than others. Nonetheless, Smith agrees with Roger Fontaine, whom he quotes: "no small power ever had an easy time of living next to a powerful neighbor. No small power, however, has had an easier time of it than Cuba" (p. 93). And, in the course of his narrative, Smith extends this benign relationship to the Caribbean at large.

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JOHN H. COATSWORTH. *Central America and the United States: The Clients and the Colossus.* (Twayne's International History Series, number 12.) New York: Twayne of Macmillan. 1994. Pp. xii, 277. Cloth $28.95, paper $15.95.

Although Central America has disappeared from the print and television news headlines, the region continues on a troubled path. John H. Coatsworth's interpretation of U.S.–Central American relations should revive some interest in the region. He has aptly summarized the principal ideas of other scholars and offered his own perceptive analysis of the changing relationship since World War II. This fine book, more than most of those written on U.S. relations with Central American governments in the 1980s, describes the burden of the U.S.–Central American relationship on Central American societies.

Coatsworth rejects the allegations of many U.S. conservatives, politicians, and religious leaders that outside agitators have been the source of much of the discontent and trouble on the isthmus. Because domestic dissidents have repeatedly rebelled against imposed authority during the past four centuries, it is misleading to assign communism the central responsibility for local disturbances. And Coatsworth notes that U.S. involvement has never aimed to alter the tradition of imposed, elitist, and arbitrary governance that has marred the history of the isthmus because the U.S. government has never accepted limitations on U.S. objectives of open access to the isthmian political economy and control of its geographic and strategic value. Even when more democratic experimental factions have come to power, the U.S. government has not deviated for long periods from a course aimed at its objectives.

Instead, he argues that many problems in the relationship stem from the client-state system. This system has its origins in the ancient Chinese and Roman empires, which traded protection to weaker

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states in exchange for the authority to supervise their political economies and to use their territory for imperial military and security matters. For millennia, the client-state system has served as a common alternative to control through annexation or colonization. In the client-colossus relationship, paper sovereignty and legal responsibility remain with the client-state.

Coatsworth differentiates five common policy strategies that have influenced the U.S.–Central American (client-state) relationship in the past: client-states have striven to counterbalance U.S. pressure (common prior to the twentieth century) through appeals to other great powers or international organizations such as the League of Nations or the United Nations; client-state leaders have encouraged domestic unity by appealing to nationalism or anti-Americanism; these leaders have sought cooperation with other Latin American states (for example, in the Central American Common Market or the Pan-American movements of the 1820s or 1850s); some client-state leaders have attempted to influence the domestic U.S. political processes (examples are Manuel Estrada Cabrera, Luis Somoza, or the Contra leaders); and, at times, factions within the client-state have competed for influence with the U.S. government (in the past, often through unsubstantiated charges of communism, socialism, or anti-democratic behavior). Normally, the U.S. government has viewed those client-state leaders pursuing the first two options as posing the gravest threats to U.S. security and well-being.

Although Walter LaFeber and Thomas M. Leonard have published recent syntheses of U.S.–Central American relations, Coatsworth tells the story differently. LaFeber's masterful book, *Inevitable Revolutions: The United States in Central America* (2d ed., 1993), analyzed U.S. activity in Central America since the early nineteenth century, although his focus was on the post–World War II decades. Whereas LaFeber considered the burden of neodependency central to the relationship, Coatsworth finds the client-colossus interaction commonly detrimental to the clients. Coatsworth also devotes more attention to the activity of Central American leaders and to the impact of relations with the United States on the isthmian societies than either LaFeber or Leonard. His text relates the hopes, aspirations, and mistakes of Central Americans. Leonard's comprehensive study, *Central America and the United States: A Search for Stability* (1991), is balanced chronologically: about one half of its pages lie on each side of World War II. He saw security concerns about foreign influence in the Caribbean as the major motor driving U.S. policy in the region. In fact, special features mark each synthesis: LaFeber's focus was the impact of the United States on the Central American political economy; Leonard concentrated on U.S. concern with isthmian security matters; Coatsworth analyzes the effect of Central American and U.S. policies on the social and economic life of Central Americans.

This book will serve undergraduates (especially in upper-level classes) and graduate students well. In addition to endnotes, the book has a useful bibliographical essay, a nine-page chronology of key events, and a good index. It lacks a list or guide to the five informative tables hidden in the text.

With the Cold War at an end, it is useful to anticipate the variety of activities and policies from the past that are likely to resurface. The simple, unrealistic projects of the Cold War should not survive into the next decades. Coatsworth's book offers an intelligent, perceptive analysis that policy makers and opinion formers can use to prepare themselves and the nation for the future. And especially they need to avoid regression into the service of unprincipled, self-serving sectors of Central American society, a path that the U.S. government has frequently trodden.

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NANCY BERNKOPF TUCKER. *Taiwan, Hong Kong, and the United States, 1945–1992: Uncertain Friendships.* (Twayne's International History Series, number 14.) New York: Twayne of Macmillan. 1994. Pp. xvi, 337. Cloth $29.95, paper $17.95.

This book is a timely study of Taiwan and Hong Kong with an emphasis on the American role in their development since World War II. Nancy Bernkopf Tucker details the history of U.S.-Taiwan and U.S.-Hong Kong relations to explain the web of ties Washington now has with East Asia. She offers contemporary and future American policy makers tough questions that will arise from the profound change in the political status of Hong Kong and the continued economic growth of China and Taiwan. This study analyzes the significance Taiwan and Hong Kong hold for the future of the United States; the interdependence that has developed since World War II has made them impossible to ignore.

The book is divided into two parts, with the bulk of the text devoted to Taiwan. It proceeds chronologically with chapters subdivided into sections on society, the economy, military, and politics. Sometimes these areas overlap and there is occasional repetition. Tucker has used a variety of sources, including recently released documents from the Harry S. Truman, John F. Kennedy, and Lyndon B. Johnson presidential libraries. The chapters on the 1950s and 1960s are particularly rich in detail and new interpretations. Discussion of more recent topics necessarily has had to rely on secondary works and journalistic sources, but these have been supplemented with interviews with statesmen, diplomats, writers, and artists. The result is a solid work that thoroughly examines each time period despite the constraints on primary sources.

Tucker balances her focus on Taiwan and Hong Kong as issues for the United States by reminding the reader of historical events that influenced Washing-

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ton's decisions. Domestic political and economic problems and seemingly unrelated international issues many times had an impact on policies. She analyzes both well-known problems (the China Lobby's role during the 1950s, for example) and less well-understood episodes (such as Kennedy's difficult negotiations to prevent Taiwan from vetoing Mongolia's admission to the United Nations, the impact on relations with Taiwan of Jimmy Carter's preoccupation with Iran, and the significance of the October 1973 Arab-Israeli War for Taiwan's economy). Tucker also examines Washington's ironic tolerance of displays of anti-Americanism sanctioned by Taipei and the failure of every American president to deal effectively with human rights issues in both Taiwan and Hong Kong.

Commercial ties, of course, play a significant part in U.S.-East Asian relations. Tucker explains the "Taiwan Miracle," utilizing several recent studies undertaken in the United States and Taiwan. Perhaps more interesting to readers assessing the future of business interests in these areas are descriptions of the many clashes, both financial and cultural, that have occurred in the marketplace. Western businesses complain of Taipei's anemic effort to curb patent violations. Taiwanese businesses have purchased financially troubled American companies, including such symbols of Americana as the producers of Girl Scout Cookies, creating anxiety among some Americans. Taipei protested vehemently against a campaign in 1990 to force the purchase of American tobacco products. Taiwanese apparently have been loath to buy life insurance from American companies because to do so "would hasten one's death" (p. 285). Such problems help illuminate the "complicated reality" (p. 2) of a Westernization in politics, economics, and culture combined with Chinese tradition that is today's Taiwan and Hong Kong.

Although Tucker asserts that this study has been written for the general reader, the level of detail, the new interpretations of historical events, and the focus on economics make it more suitable for area specialists and students of international relations. Those who wish to ponder the future of the American role in East Asia should benefit by reading this book.

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ANCIENT

JOHN C. BARRETT. *Fragments from Antiquity: An Archaeology of Social Life in Britain, 2900–1200 BC.* (Social Archaeology.) Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell. 1994. Pp. viii, 190. Cloth $54.95, paper $19.95.

John C. Barrett suggests a way to use archaeological evidence to write social history. He argues that archaeology must examine the relationships between social behavior and the material evidence left by prehistoric peoples. He contrasts his approach with more typical archaeological concerns with broad, general processes of change. Barrett instead focuses on specific archaeological sites, such as Stonehenge, examining the character of people's lives as they built and used monuments and interred their dead.

Much of the book is theoretical and deals with issues of interpretation. Barrett writes: "Our knowledge is not grounded upon the material evidence itself, but arises from the interpretive strategies which we are prepared to bring to bear upon that evidence" (p. 71). He views archaeological evidence not just as a reflection of the people who left it, but rather as material culture that played an active role in the social lives of communities. Our challenge is to devise means to "read" the material evidence to learn how the constructed environment affected the ways people interacted with and viewed their world.

The book contains detailed discussion, with illustrations, of many important archaeological sites from the third and second millennia B.C. in southern Britain, and Barrett shows how we can interpret them in the context of his theoretical concerns. For the great complex of banks, ditches, and stone circles at Avebury, for example, Barrett suggests the social roles the monument must have played in the lives of the communities that built and used it. He argues that the complex can be understood in terms of two themes: enclosure (interior versus exterior space) and entrance (paths and openings into the inside). Excavations at many sites show that the surviving monuments are not representative of the long processes of construction and transformation that the sites underwent during the third millennium. Barrett argues that the process of construction was as important to the societies that built them as the final products.

Barrett suggests that the change from group burial in the megalithic tombs of the third millennium B.C. to individual graves in the second millennium was part of a profound shift in social behavior and world view. Whereas the former emphasized ritual locales, communion with ancestors, and passage to another world, the latter emphasized the individual household and its place in the intensifying economy. Barrett connects the ritual changes with changes in subsistence technology, involving the regular application of plows, field boundaries, and perhaps fallowing schedules in subsistence systems.

This book is an important contribution to a major new direction in archaeology that strives to understand how people used the material culture that we recover through archaeological investigation and how they were affected by the objects and structures that they created. Barrett does a fine job showing how his theoretical ideas can be applied in practice to the material evidence of prehistoric archaeology to construct a social and ritual history of an important region of Late Neolithic and Bronze Age Europe.

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KEVIN ROBB. *Literacy and Paideia in Ancient Greece.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 310. $45.00.

Kevin Robb was a friend and follower of the late Eric Havelock, and this book is fitting tribute to Havelock's lasting influence and the permanent changes he made in our thinking about the culture of ancient Greece. Robb might well have called his book *A New Preface to Plato,* for in many respects his argument explains, from a more modern stance than Havelock, just what Plato intended when he expelled poets from his ideal state. Modern aesthetes and litterateurs hate these remarks of Plato, which appear to place him with the Philistines, but they have misunderstood the unique nature of Greek poetry and the unique power it held over the Greek mind. The works of Havelock and Robb do much to dispel such misapprehension.

Robb's book falls into three parts: on the origins of Greek literacy, the alliance between literacy and law, and the alliance between literacy and *paideia* (Greek education). He accepts that the Greek alphabet was invented by a single man some time in the early eighth century B.C. in order to record hexametric verse, but he disagrees with my arguments (*Homer and the Origin of the Greek Alphabet* [1991]) in placing the invention on Cyprus (not Euboea) and attributing to the inventor the intention to inscribe hexametric dedications (not the literary texts of Homer). Robb also thinks that the alphabet was initially the possession of craftsmen, not aristocrats. The alphabet's power to record something close to the actual sound of the human voice eventually led to popular literacy and the formulation of genuine legal codes in Greece, but not before the fourth century B.C., Robb argues, far later than many others assume. Between 700 and 400 B.C. Greece remained an oral society, ever dependent on an oral *paideia*: the inculcation of cultural values as encoded in traditional epic presented and received orally (although surely often preserved in writing; Robb does not always distinguish between "old" literature orally performed from memorized written texts and new oral compositions, which must have continued to be produced until the fifth century B.C.). Here is the oral *paideia* Plato opposed in order to lay the groundwork for a new education truly based on written literary compositions. Still, not until Aristotle's Lyceum does "advanced, literacy-supported research" come into its own, the model familiar to us today.

In so short a review I cannot do justice to the richness and breadth of Robb's learning. He brings together the work of many scholars in disparate disciplines, from epigraphy to philosophy and oral studies, while contributing his own insights and syntheses. His views are always balanced and in my opinion usually right. I am not always confident that "orality" is a coherent concept, and I disagree with Robb on the Homeric question—he seems to be an analyst and compares, mistakenly I think, Homer's poems with the biblical texts—but in a work of this ambition there are bound to be points inviting refinement or refutation. The great strength of Robb's book is to tie the nature and forms of ancient Greek culture directly to the technology of writing that supported it. In Havelock's day such views were deemed wild, but today, as Robb emphasizes, they form an essential part of our understanding of ancient Greece and the origins of the West.

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S. D. LAMBERT. *The Phratries of Attica.* (Michigan Monographs in Classical Antiquity.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1993. Pp. xi, 424. $69.50.

The *Phratry* was an institution common to most Ionic-speaking states in ancient Greece, but best attested for Attica. It was a subgroup of the population of the Polis. Its name, brotherhood, might suggest that it was a kinship group, but this is not clear. How it related to other subgroups, such as *oikoi* (households), *gene* (clans), *demes* (village-communities), and *phylai* (tribes), is quite controversial. It was also very old, certainly in existence in Athens by the late seventh century, but exactly how old is disputed. In Athens in the archaic period—down to the reforms of Kleisthenes in 508/507—it is thought to have had considerable, if not exclusive, control over citizenship (however imprecisely that concept was defined) and to have been the medium of aristocratic domination. Conversely, it is believed that Kleisthenes's reorganization of the citizen-body and his definition of citizenship by residence in the *demes* (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 21.4; 42.1) must have removed this power from the *phratries,* yet Aristotle says that Kleisthenes left the privileges of the *phratries* intact (*Ath. Pol.* 21.6). These are only the most obvious problems that ancient historians have in defining the nature and function of this important element in Athenian society.

S. D. Lambert has provided a comprehensive treatment of this institution (the first in English) that addresses all these issues. Lambert sensibly begins his study where the evidence, albeit exiguous, is best: in the fifth and fourth centuries. In chapter 1 he argues quite convincingly that membership in a *phratry* was still a fundamental requirement for all Athenian citizens after Kleisthenes's reforms. Whereas registry in the *demes* established a man's eligibility for political activity, his *phratry* membership confirmed his rights by descent; this function was reinforced by Pericles's citizenship law of 451/450, not least because it was the *phratry,* not the *deme,* that recognized the legitimacy of women through the presentation of the *gamelia.*

Chapter 2 examines the relationship between the *phratry* and its subgroups, *gene* and *thiasoi.* Lambert acknowledges the clear implication of Philokhoros (fr. 35), that men already accepted in the *gene* or

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thiasoi (probably cult associations) were automatically members of the *phratries*, but he shows that not all *phrateres* belonged to these groups. He also argues effectively for the view that *phratries* were not kinship groups but rather "natural" communities, which, unlike their subgroups, were susceptible to change by "fusion and fission" in response to demographic or political forces.

Chapter 3 analyzes the best preserved *phratry* document we have, the so-called Law of the Demotionidai. Chapters 4–6 are concerned with the operations of the *phratries*, especially in controlling membership through the Apatouria. In the last chapter, Lambert examines what little we know of the *phratry* before Kleisthenes and supports the view that it was already in existence by the late Bronze Age, against those who believe it originated in the dark ages. But even before Kleisthenes, Lambert holds, the *phratry* was concerned with descent rather than politics, and related to the *trittyes*, *naukraries*, and *phylai* of those days in much the same way as it did to the later *demes* and new *phylai*.

There are five appendixes, the most important of which is the first, which is an edition, with translation and notes, of all twenty-two known *phratry* documents.

There is much in this book that is controversial, but it is a fundamental study that will be essential reading for all those interested in ancient society.

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VIRGINIA J. HUNTER. *Policing Athens: Social Control in the Attic Lawsuits, 420–320 B.C.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. xv, 303. $29.95.

As Virginia J. Hunter admits, the title of this book is not to be taken at face value, since the only police force Athens possessed was a cadre of 300 Scythian slaves who, if the plays of Aristophanes are anything to go by, could invariably be relied on to raise a facetious giggle whenever they appeared on stage. Social control, the key term in the book's more useful subtitle, Hunter defines as "a kind of continuum, extending from the self-regulation of kin and neighbors, or the community in general, to the punitive sanctions of the state" (p. 4). Under this capacious umbrella, she analyzes a wide variety of persuasive and coercive techniques, many of which depended for their effectiveness on the enterprise of, or even interference by, private individuals.

The first part of the book investigates the informal ways Athenian society kept its members in step; the latter part deals with the more straightforward aspects of law and order. Chapter 1 examines the limited mechanisms available to an Athenian wife to ensure that her wishes and welfare were not wholly overlooked in what Hunter identifies as "a setting of institutionalized male dominance" (p. 42). Chapter 2 emphasizes the importance attached to arbitration as a means of resolving disputes in preference to the courts. Chapter 3, the most tendentious, considers the consequences for Athenian society of the fact that slaves were often privy to their masters' most intimate secrets and thus were equipped with highly incriminating evidence. Chapter 4, perhaps the most original, investigates how gossip helped to instill an ideal standard of behavior. Chapter 5 evaluates the scope for private initiative in a legal system that lacked a public prosecutor and placed on the injured party the responsibility of investigating and apprehending the accused. Chapter 6 is devoted to corporal punishment, which was used to obtain testimony from slaves as well as for other reasons.

It is regrettable that Hunter does not take into account how official religion served as an agent of social control. Although the moral impact of religion was negligible, the social consequences of its condemnation of certain types of criminality and wrongdoing (abuse of parents is an obvious example) deserves full treatment. The degree to which state religion fostered conformity and solidarity could also be explored.

With its image of a society where slaves "played a role in the social control of their masters" (p. 89) and where Athenian citizens "were encouraged to pry and probe, to know what their neighbors were doing and had done" (pp. 116–17), this book makes somewhat chilly post–Cold War reading. In presenting this picture, Hunter occasionally overstates her case. Overall, however, this is a most readable and well-documented book that opens up an exciting new way of looking at Athenian society. Its value for the often incidental light that it sheds on a whole range of Athenian mores, largely overlooked until now, is also considerable. Where else might one go, for example, for an informed discussion about why Athenian mothers were the particular object of scurrilous attack (p. 112)? Finally, Hunter is to be congratulated for the thoroughness with which she handles some of the finer points of her inquiry, such as her learned discussion of the type of whip used in public beatings of slaves (p. 157).

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I. G. SPENCE. *The Cavalry of Classical Greece: A Social and Military History with Particular Reference to Athens.* New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xxxiv, 346. $60.00.

I. G. Spence's work is a detailed study of Greek cavalry and the role it played in the military affairs of the fifth and fourth centuries and includes an examination of the social circumstances and public perceptions of the "cavalry" class. His thesis, in my opinion convincingly demonstrated, is that the usefulness of the Greek horse has been dramatically underestimated and that its employment and development was hindered not so much by inadequate equipment and tactics as by social forces.

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The value of the relevant sources, especially vase paintings, is examined in an introduction, while the body of the book consists of four chapters: a general history of cavalry during the period; a consideration of the uses, potential, and limitations of cavalry; a close examination of the actual employment of the horse by the Greeks; and a review of the social environment of the *hippeis* and its impact on the role of cavalry. The appendixes supply a catalogue of equestrian vases and reliefs, examinations of the Parthenon frieze, the cost of cavalry service and the nature of the Hipparch *eis Lemnon*, and a prosopography of Athenian *hippeis* during the period. Sixteen plates provide illustrations of some of the more important evidence.

This is an excellent book, perhaps the best available all-around work on this subject. Spence's argumentation is extremely thorough and reasonable, exploring each point from every possible angle, and he does not shy away from providing possible arguments and interpretations that counter his own position. The second chapter is particularly good, providing an excellent understanding of how cavalry can and cannot be used and the relationship between equipment and tactics, the discussion enhanced by the examination of cavalry use in other ages and societies. Finally, he provides a thorough discussion of the Greek seat and lack of stirrups, and their impact on cavalry tactics.

It is difficult to find any flaws in this work. The plate of the World War I tank does not serve any real purpose, and Spence perhaps spends too many pages establishing the fairly obvious connection between horsemanship and wealth, but only the most petty would consider these defects. This book is must reading for anyone interested in Greek cavalry. My only wish is that Spence had offered some speculation on one of the great mysteries of the ancient world: why the Greeks, a very clever people, never came up with the stirrup.

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N. G. L. HAMMOND. *Philip of Macedon.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1994. Pp. xvii, 235. $45.00.

Throughout history Philip of Macedon has stood in the shadow of his son Alexander. With this magisterial book, N. G. L. Hammond does much to bring him, finally, into his own. Philip's achievements were monumental. Starting in 359 B.C., by saving Macedonia from imminent disintegration, he secured it against external aggression, developed mining, agriculture, urbanization, commerce, and Greek culture, and forged it into a powerful centralized monarchy and Europe's first nation-state. He achieved this through a career of expansion and conquest, making the Macedonian army the best in the world, doubling the size of Macedonian territory, and finally overpowering and uniting under his leadership the Greek city-states to the south. He then prepared to invade the Persian empire, but in 336 B.C., at age forty-six, he was assassinated.

What kind of man was Philip? Influenced by Greek politicians such as Demonsthenes, some historians have seen him as an unscrupulous aggressor above all seeking power and self-aggrandizement. Hammond sees him as a near-ideal *Landesvater* who served his multiethnic kingdom with wisdom and tolerance along liberal principles, and as a statesman who fulfilled Greek aspirations (Isocrates) for a unification of the *poleis*, to end their internecine warfare and benefit them by a crusade against the national enemy, Persia. Accordingly Hammond views the association of Greek states that Philip created after conquering them in 338 B.C. less as an instrument of domination than as a device to end Greek factionalism and to ensure peace, the rule of law, and collective security. Hammond calls it the "Greek Community," in analogy to the European Community, but "far in advance" of it (p. 163).

Hammond bases this interpretation on the evidence by tracing our late sources to their (now mostly lost) sources, and in assessing their merit he rejects (some) contemporary information that is unfavorable. Some will consider him too sanguine in identifying and evaluating these primary authorities (the ancients rarely named their sources) and inclined to prefer favorable to unfavorable information. The source problem will never be entirely settled, and we must rely largely on more subjective considerations such as the consistency of information, intrinsic plausibility, and our notions of what is realistic about human nature. But Hammond's knowledge of things Macedonian is unsurpassed, including the archaeological material with the recently discovered unrifled tomb of Philip, and, in light of his distinguished career with the Greek guerrillas in World War II, one would hesitate to fault him with naiveté about human nature, that is, Philip's character. The book will not convince everyone, but it will be reckoned with by all future students of Philip.

A word on Philip's final aims. In believing that he meant to conquer the Persian empire, as some evidence indicates, Hammond goes beyond the prevailing opinion that he aimed only at western Asia Minor or at most the eastern Mediterranean seaboard, and he may be right. But one may wonder whether such a grand ambition accords with Hammond's vision of Philip as the realistic, moderate, and judicious statesman. It was, after all, the sheer size of Alexander's empire—realizing (by Hammond's view) Philip's aim—that doomed it virtually from the beginning.

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C. R. WHITTAKER. *Frontiers of the Roman Empire: A Social and Economic Study.* (Ancient Society and Histo-

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ry.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1994. Pp. xvi, 341. $39.95.

Roman frontiers, although a coherent field of intensive study only in the relatively recent past, have been of essential importance in modern interpretations of the Roman empire, even though that importance has not often been acknowledged. That the common understanding of the Roman frontiers has mistaken their nature, role, and significance is one of the main themes of this important work.

The Romans, as C. R. Whittaker persuasively argues, did not have a well-developed notion of a frontier. The development of the idea of a line dividing civilization and savagery, sometimes taken as the Roman concept of the frontier, is derived from ideological reactions to crisis during the late-imperial period. The empire, as a militarily expansionist state, had always been held to have a destiny to expand. Any line created by a halt in expansion was only temporary. The frontier, or *limes*, then, according to Whittaker, was not a limit to expansion but a line of communication and supply that also served as a base and staging ground for troops. Fortified to protect the supply dumps and to house the troops, its relation to the area in advance was that of a jumping-off point for operations in the zone forward of the line. It was never intended to be a preclusive perimeter. This remained the case into the later imperial period. Although Whittaker denies that there was ever any centralized strategic planning or outlook for the empire as a whole, beyond the above-mentioned urge to expand, he does maintain quite effectively that imperial interest always extended to the zone beyond the *limes*. But, as a consequence of a late-imperial sense of crisis, from the later second century on, rhetors began to speak in very colorful terms of an empire encircled by military camps that separated civilization from the howling hordes of barbarians without.

According to Whittaker, it is this hyperbole of late-imperial rhetoric that modern scholarship has too often taken to heart in developing an idea of the nature and role of Roman frontiers. The problem that Whittaker identifies with the erroneous notion that a frontier is a line is that it promotes a tendency to see the line as necessarily dividing opposites. Whittaker does not seriously press the inference, yet it is clear that the concept of the line is directly linked to the erroneous and misleading notion that pre and non-Roman Europe was full of restless tribes constantly trying to go elsewhere, preferably at someone else's expense, and also, preferably, with as much violence as possible. Similarly, although his findings clearly suggest that the question ought to be raised, Whittaker ignores the corollary to this antique view, that the Romans were innocently engaged in merely defending themselves by trying to erect buffer zones along their periphery, meanwhile discharging a civilizing mission. As it has so often been formulated in the past, once the frontier was breached, civilization was on its way to being assassinated. If Whittaker's characterization of the Roman frontier is to be taken seriously, none of these Gibbonian distortions will stand—an aspect of his work he has not addressed. The second major theme addressed by Whittaker's work is the actual nature and role of the frontier, which he correctly identifies as a deep zone that included the *limes*, the supporting provinces, and the native population zones beyond. This position is one toward which Roman frontier studies have been tentatively groping, and the implications should be far-reaching. Unfortunately, Whittaker's statement of the theme is flawed by the fact that he insufficiently appreciates the extent and severity of the impact of the Roman intrusion on native societies.

There is a similar flaw associated with Whittaker's third major theme: the crisis of the third through fifth centuries viewed as a process by which the frontier zone widened to include much of the interior. It is correctly identified by Whittaker as a process during which the interior was being acculturated to a frontier culture–type of a generally military character with the end result that it was nearly impossible to distinguish a "barbarian" from a provincial. The case could be more strongly put, however, if the attendant phenomenon of systemic collapse at the center were addressed. In addition, although Whittaker admits that there were not nearly as many "barbarians" as once assumed, he still seems to think in terms of fairly major resettlements in the provinces of the West as the factor that produced the great change. But, if there were enough outsiders to cause this phenomenon of the frontier turning itself inside-out, why did the eventual European linguistic frontier end up so close to the original military frontier? And why did a similar change take place along frontiers where no significant population shift can be identified?

In short, this is an important book with serious flaws. Nonetheless, Whittaker usefully summarizes some of the possibilities inherent in recent Roman frontier studies. The implications for reassessment of the old "decline and fall" issue are massive.

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L. DE LIGT. *Fairs and Markets in the Roman Empire: Economic and Social Aspects of Periodic Trade in a Pre-Industrial Society.* (Dutch Monographs on Ancient History and Archaeology, number 11.) Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben. 1993. Pp. x, 315. f. 140.00.

The strongest suit of L. De Ligt's carefully argued work is that it is the most thorough study to date on the topic, and it also goes a long way toward the formulation of a revised general economic model for the Roman world. Its weakness lies both in the omission of vital geographical areas of economic activity (Spain, Gaul, and Egypt, most obviously) and its failure to integrate archaeological evidence.

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De Ligt's approach utilizes wide-ranging examples of the phenomenon of periodic markets in preindustrial societies as a comparative basis for discovering what was and was not valid in the Roman sphere. In so doing, he successfully supports his tripartite thesis "that periodic markets of different types were very important elements of the commercial infrastructure of the Roman economy," "that urban 'market policy' never reflected the interests . . . of town-based merchants and craftsmen," or "played a central part in the strategies of elite dominance in the Roman world" (pp. 31–32).

Chapters 1 and 2 are largely definitional and exhibit a masterful command and considered analysis of the primary (literary and epigraphical only) sources and secondary works. By dividing periodic markets into those of high (held two or more times per month) and low (longer than a monthly cycle) frequency, he is able to discuss the "market words"—*panêgyris, agora, ateleia, panêgyriarchês, agoranomos, mercatus,* and *nundinae*—in the context of their frequency, and their function and their place (if any) in local, regional, and interregional fiscal policy and trade (chap. 3). He is careful to distinguish differences between ancient and medieval usages of key words and notes that when these distinctions have been overlooked by historians, it has led to erroneous conclusions. For some, this philological analysis will be the most useful aspect of the book, especially with the addition of two appendixes and an *Index Locorum,* which collectively cite and pinpoint all relevant primary source material pertaining to the subject. In addition, his bibliography is exhaustive and the general index is thorough.

De Ligt challenges the commonly held view that there were few, if any, low frequency fairs in the Roman sphere. By a deft reexamination of the evidence from Italy and primarily the eastern provinces, he clearly demonstrates that local and regional fairs were neither suppressed nor dominated by the central government, and that these periodic markets served necessary social and economic functions for traders, the urban elite, and peasants alike. He interprets the scanty evidence for interregional fairs as an indication that interregional trade in the Roman empire was by and large one way and seaborne, and therefore rendered interregional fairs (on the scale of the medieval Champagne fairs, for instance) unnecessary except at international caravan termini (such as northern Syria) or major port cities "where trade was conducted on a continuous rather than periodic basis" (p. 101).

Periodic markets are further studied (chap. 4) from the perspective of peasant households and their relationship to a "market economy." Here De Ligt suggests that many manufactured commodities actually were bought by peasants, and that until the third century A.D. most peasants paid their taxes with coin and even tried to keep monetary reserves against hard times, thereby requiring markets to "make money" on their produce and wares. That the central government recognized this need is shown by the bureaucratically assigned market schedules designed to prevent undue competition between these local and regional fairs. The schedules also applied to estate-based "domanial" markets (chap. 5), which served not so much as sources of revenue for the owners but rather provided an element of social control, while at the same time facilitating commercial exchange between the domanial peasants and the "outside world" traders who frequented them. An important exception are the slave-run estates, which neither had their own markets nor participated in the regional market economies.

In the final chapter, De Ligt contrasts the function of periodic markets for urban communities against a "solar marketing system" model, in which the urban elite controls the market exchange instead of the means of production, as did the Roman elite. Throughout the book, he also develops the relationship between the economic and sacred aspects of religious fairs, including the importance of the "prestige" element to the towns and cities that hosted these festivals.

Overall, this book is elegantly argued and lays a new methodological foundation for all future Roman economic studies. Yet by using comparative case studies from medieval and early modern northern Europe, but failing to establish a continuous relational pattern between these and the Roman economy, he leaves an obvious gap in the narrative. Likewise, a full view of the topic cannot be revealed without a comprehensive study of the archaeological evidence. In this vein, economic historians of the Greco-Roman world (and particularly the western provinces and Egypt) have their work cut out for them. Nonetheless, De Ligt has done us all a favor by providing solid and resourceful groundwork.

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MICHAEL P. SPEIDEL. *Riding for Caesar: The Roman Emperors' Horse Guards.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1994. Pp. 223. $27.95.

In the disguised military monarchy of Imperial Rome, the Praetorian Guard's ability to make or break emperors has obscured the emperor's other guard troop. This elegantly produced volume treats the emperor's horse guard, which, despite numerical inferiority to the Praetorians, checked their power. Initially a mercenary band of Batavi and Ubii from the lower Rhine, the horse guard did not originally belong to the army. Trajan revived the horse guard, disbanded in 68, as the *equites singulares,* making it into a regular army unit that included the best men of the frontier cavalry (*alae*). By the third century, horse-guard veterans like Maximinus Thrax could become provincial governors or even emperor.

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In this volume Michael P. Speidel brings his magisterial command of Roman epigraphy to a topic previously studied in his *Die Equites Singulares* (1965) and *The Provincial Guards of the Roman Armies* (1978); his forthcoming corpus of all inscriptions and monuments of the horse guards, *Die Denkmäler der Kaiserreiter*, will include 255 new inscriptions. The book under review, rehearsing some material from the earlier books, seems a semi-popular and affordable version of *Die Denkmäler*, the nonavailability of which has largely precluded checking Speidel's interpretations (numerous inscriptions are cited only by their number in *Die Denkmäler*).

Three initial chapters survey horse guards from the Gallic wars to the reign of Constantine. Their regimental history (despite changes of name and occasional disbandment) is traced from Caesar's alleged foundation of the troop through Augustus's *Germani corporis custodes*, Trajan's *equites singulares*, and Constantine's *scholae palatinae* to the medieval nobility of Western Europe. Subsequent chapters treat the guards' social and ethnic origins (chiefly Batavi and Ubii until *circa* 200, mainly Illyrians thereafter), careers, ceremonial and military functions, commanders, families, and life in Rome, including their two forts on the Caelian Hill and the guard's particular cults and elaborate gravestones. If extensive epigraphical records, along with literary sources, render the *singulares* the best-documented unit of the Roman army, pictorial evidence is also advantageously used: reliefs from gravestones and new interpretations of scenes from the Arch of Constantine and the Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius. A final chapter highlights the *singulares*' demise at the Milvian Bridge, Constantine's unwitting preservation of the guard's monuments under the St. John Lateran basilica, and his own mausoleum at their cemetery.

Speidel's exhaustive knowledge of the Roman army emerges on every page. The guards' ceremonial and political roles add significantly to our understanding of the Roman emperor. Furthermore, his examination of the system of promotions from frontier *alae* to the *singulares* and back to the frontier forces demonstrates how the *singulares* not only provided an officers' academy and uniformity in training and tactical doctrine but also linked communications between the central government and the frontier armies at levels below the top administrators.

Nevertheless, Speidel's enthusiasm and vivid imagination often exceed cautious assessment of the evidence. Literary references to "selected horsemen" and scenes of emperors with horsemen on monuments are regularly assumed to be the horse guard. The tactical and strategic roles of the *singulares* are exaggerated; it could be argued against Speidel that their extensive training aimed at public performances rather than battlefield efficiency. The empire did not survive solely because of the *singulares*. Use of gladiators to improve weapons training, already a Republican practice, need not have been limited to the *singulares*. Also, an ingenious argument that the *Germani custodes* influenced description of the German *comitatus* in Tacitus's *Germania* (pp. 39–40) does not escape circularity, as it is also said that the horse guards of Caesar and Trajan were adaptations of this German institution, from which the guard's intense personal loyalty derived. The *Germani* no longer existed in Tacitus's adult years at Rome. Similarly, original but questionable is Octavian's allegedly reluctant acceptance of the title Augustus: he wanted to be called Romulus, but this name combined with a horse guard would provoke comparison with tyrants (pp. 16–17).

Indeed, the unifying concept of "horse guards" for three distinct units (*Germani*, *singulares*, and *scholae*) is artificial. Other ancient monarchs maintained elite cavalry corps—for example, the Persian king's Immortals and Alexander the Great's Companions—but comparative elements receive only passing nods, without detailed analysis from a broader perspective. The nickname "Batavi," cited as the unifying diachronic element for a continuous regiment, never appears (despite some continuity in recruitment patterns) on gravestones at Rome and is first attested as a synonym for the *singulares* in a Hadrianic poem (*ILS* 2558; compare Dio 69.9.6). Disbandment of the *Germani* in 68 and Flavian use of praetorian cavalry as horse guards embarrass a thesis for regimental continuity. A short review forbids airing objections to claims that Julius Caesar was the horse guard's founder and to continuity of the *scholares* with the *singulares*. Medievalists will scoff at identification of the horse guards with knights, squires, and feudal nobility (pp. 10, 98–99, 102, 118, 158).

The work is neither misprint-free nor devoid of factual errors: Nero committed suicide, he was not killed by the Praetorians (p. 31); Caesar's cavalry swam a tributary of the Nile (*B. Alex.* 29), not the Nile (p. 13). The bibliography is incomplete, lacking, for example, a reference for Nesselhauf 1952 (n. 56). A popular narrative leads to repetitions generally omitted in tightly argued monographs: we are told, for instance, that guards received full Roman citizenship from Nero (pp. 25–28, 85–86), only to learn later that full citizenship is only attested under Hadrian (p. 87).

If this book—well researched, rich in new ideas, and attractively produced with excellent plates, figures, and maps—stimulates scholarly debate, its purpose will have been served. Individual objections should not deter readers from the book's valuable insights into the Roman army. Specialists, however, will view this book as a tasty hors d'oeuvre in anticipation of *Die Denkmäler*.

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Andrew Wallace-Hadrill. *Houses and Society in Pompeii and Herculaneum*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. xviii, 244. $49.50.

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This book is made up of four essays published between 1988 and 1991 with the addition of good illustrations interleaved with the text. Central to Andrew Wallace-Hadrill's social history of the Roman house is his acknowledgement that literary sources represent the elite and in so doing tend to erase the complex nuances of class, occupation, and social status that give the houses of Pompeii and Herculaneum their forms. He is much in debt to Paul Zanker, who in his 1979 essay proposed that the villas of the rich served as models for the overburdened display characterizing the urban "miniature villas" constructed by the freedman class in Pompeii after the earthquake of A.D. 62 ("Die Villa als Vorbild des späten pompejanischen Wohngeschmacks," *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 94 [1979]: 460–523). Wallace-Hadrill furthers Zanker's hypothesis in several ways. He analyzes the spaces within the houses not as "private" dwellings—a concept entirely alien to the ancient Roman—but in relation to their use for both business and the family. He surveys sample blocks of the ancient cities to chart the occurrence of wall paintings and mosaics as an index of luxury. And he revisits documents in light of the social mobility they reveal.

Wallace-Hadrill has added important dimensions to our understanding of social and cultural constructions in the first century A.D. His work with "luxury" reveals that what had been a luxury in the first century B.C. became easily attainable by the lower classes in the last thirty years before the destruction of Pompeii and Herculaneum by Vesuvius in 79 A.D. In their effort to belong, people appropriated lofty architectural forms like the colonnade, *aedicula* (temple front), and *pinacotheca* (picture-gallery) for their houses. Similarly, the painted decorative systems of the Four Styles took on the burden of encoding the functions of spaces: the more important the space the finer and more elaborate its painted decoration—and the greater its need to impress the visitor with the owner's culture and erudition.

Wallace-Hadrill's four essays cohere in book form not because he has bothered to rework them but because of his consistent, productive hermeneutic. He refuses to respond to two books published in 1991 that, he admits, "mesh" with what he has to say: *Roman Art in The Private Sphere: New Perspectives on the Architecture and Decor of the Domus, Villa, and Insula,* edited by Elaine K. Gazda, and my own *The Houses of Roman Italy, 100 B.C.–A.D. 250: Ritual, Space, and Decoration.* Without engaging these publications, Wallace-Hadrill removes himself from recent scholarly debate on the very issues of social and cultural construction that frame his research. Furthermore, several problems nag Wallace-Hadrill's surveys. For instance, reading the diffusion of luxury from the occurrence of wall painting and mosaics singles out a kind of luxury that is not portable; certainly poor people—who may not even have owned their houses—preferred portable luxury items such as jewelry, silver, and money. Nevertheless, this book has much to recommend it to historians, classicists, and archaeologists for its dynamic interpretation of the evidence for Roman life sealed under the ashes of Vesuvius.

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MEDIEVAL

LESTER K. LITTLE. *Benedictine Maledictions: Liturgical Cursing in Romanesque France.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1993. Pp. xx, 296. $31.50.

This book pursues a theme that Lester K. Little addressed previously in an article published in 1975. He here examines not only the liturgical curses used by monks and canons around the eleventh and twelfth centuries but also the historical context for this custom. The curses were uttered in the context of "clamors," special prayers inserted into the mass, in which tribulation was lamented and imprecations were called down on its perpetrators. Typically the reason for cursing was violation of property rights. One formula, from Fécamp, curses the malefactors "unless they change their ways and give back what they unjustly took away," and goes on to itemize the terms of the curse: "May their bodies be cursed. May they be cursed in the head and the brain. May they be cursed in their eyes and their foreheads . . . May they be cursed when sleeping and when awake, when going out and returning, when eating and drinking, when speaking and being silent." Both the texts used for such cursing and the narrative evidence of their use suggest that the custom was most prevalent in what is now northern France and Belgium. Little shows the close relationship between "clamors" and other ways of bringing pressure on adversaries, in particular excommunication and the humiliation of saints' relics, and even the peace assemblies of the eleventh century.

This custom is of interest, first of all, because it might seem unexpected in view of the clear biblical injunctions against cursing. But from the time of Gregory the Great onward, the curses of holy people were often justified as legitimate portents of what would happen unless the accursed reformed their conduct—as prophecies in effect and intent, if not in form; this interpretation retained its cogency until the "evangelical awakening" of the High Middle Ages, when a reformer such as Stephen of Muret opposed the monks' cursing as an affront to God. In other words, Little's study provides a fascinating example not only of liturgical practice but also of moral reasoning that was once prevalent but is now little recognized. Perhaps more importantly, Little examines the influence of Irish culture and the effect of the "collapse of public justice" as factors that led to the use of liturgical cursing.

The evidence for Irish influence is largely indirect.

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Hagiography abounds in cases of Irish saints much given to cursing, and Little quotes Gerald of Wales as observing that the saints of Ireland seemed to have "a vindictive cast of mind." Can it be coincidence that the parts of Europe where liturgical cursing was most prevalent are precisely those in which Irish missionaries were most active in founding and reforming monasteries? Little draws on a wealth of recent scholarship to trace the history of Irish Christianity and its influence on the Continent. Against this background, he sees the *mentalité* of the swaggering Irish holy men as leaving deep traces in their monastic communities. It is indeed tempting to recognize the cursing monks of the eleventh century as distant disciples of Columban, but this conclusion requires something of a speculative leap across a gap in evidence. Little himself acknowledges a basic difference between the spontaneous cursing of an individual charismatic figure and the ritual cursing of an aggrieved community. Neither is it clear why this Irish custom should have so little lingering effect in Ireland itself, nor why the degree of Irish in a particular monastery seems to have made so little difference, nor why a largely Irish innovation such as private confession had so much broader influence than this liturgical cursing, nor why later developments such as the arrival of the Normans failed to disrupt cultural patterns laid down as early as the seventh century. There may indeed be a connection between liturgical cursing and the kind of monastery cofounded by Irish missionaries and Frankish aristocrats, but the cursing of the saints—and of the druids before them, as Little suggests—takes us perhaps too far back into the Celtic twilight for our historical vision to be very clear.

More persuasive is the direct link between the failure of public justice and the rise of informal arbitration by seigneurs. Again in this context Little builds on and effectively summarizes recent work on the judicial structures of post-Carolingian France, as well as Barbara Rosenwein's work on the relations between donors and monasteries, and the complexity of property transfers. He succeeds in showing that the "clamor" and the curses it entailed were among the means for bringing pressure to bear in property disputes, and that this means became less necessary in the later twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when laws and charters made property transfer less ambiguous, and when there were more effective (and morally less problematic) means for dealing with the disputes that did occur.

These are only some of the dimensions, to my mind the most important, of this rich and rewarding study. Little begins with a custom that may seem quaint; he ends by leading the reader through a series of centrally important historical developments, and in most cases he succeeds in showing their relevance to this extraordinary custom of liturgical cursing.

RICHARD KIECKHEFER
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SANDRO CAROCCI. *Baroni di Roma: Dominazioni signorili e lignaggi aristocratici nel duecento e nel primo trecento.* (Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, Nuovi studi storici, number 23; Collection de l'École française de Rome, number 181.) Rome: École Française de Rome or Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo. 1993. Pp. 496.

Sandro Carocci's exhaustively researched book on the social and economic history of the medieval Roman aristocracy in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries is a valuable work of synthesis and original research. Two themes are prominent. First, the author argues that state institutions—particularly the papacy and the Angevin monarchy—played formative roles in the emergence of a new aristocracy in the thirteenth century (p. 8). Among these new and powerful lineages were the well-known and often notorious Orsini, Colonna, Caetani, and Annibaldi. Second, the economic base of this baronial elite was a multiplicity of rural territorial lordships organized around castles (*castelli*). Carocci argues that these lordships were generally more powerful than their counterparts elsewhere in central or north Italy (p. 272). Unchallenged by the encroaching jurisdictional power of urban communes, the Roman aristocracy was able to expand and consolidate its rural acquisitions at the expense of ecclesiastical institutions and free peasants. So extensive was noble control of the countryside by the early fourteenth century, the author suggests, that it created the social conditions that ensured that noble domination of rural areas lasted well into the modern era.

To buttress his arguments, Carocci draws on a variety of sources, including papal registers, communal archives, and community statutes (particularly *statuti di castello*). Some of the general outlines of the story told here are familiar, covered in one way or another by Daniel Waley, Peter Partner, and Robert Brentano (inexplicably, Brentano's *Rome before Avignon* [1974] is not mentioned in the book). Nevertheless, the work should interest a wide variety of historians for a number of reasons. First, the author explores several fascinating historiographical issues, including the process of state formation, the origins of modern agricultural relations in central Italy, and the uniqueness of the Roman elite relative to regional aristocracies elsewhere in Italy. Second, the author provides a definitive compilation of information on the genealogical, economic, and political histories of thirteen Roman aristocratic lineages. Accompanying this information are superb maps and genealogical tables. Third, in a major contribution to scholarship, Carocci has been able to detail the location, nature, and development of the rural economic holdings of these lineages in the countryside near Rome.

The author is far less convincing, however, when he argues that the economic and social pressures exerted by these lineages over their dependents were in fact harsher, more oppressive, and more severe than

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other lordships in central and northern Italy. In the absence of extensive notarial protocols, Carocci must depend heavily on statutes as evidence. These are very tricky sources with which to work. Rather than describe actual relations, they often simply embody normative ideals or political compromises. In the absence of other types of extensive evidence, Carocci's views on this matter are therefore more suggestive than conclusive. At another point, he incorrectly states that Florentine aristocratic lineages did not generally acquire territorial jurisdictional power until the fourteenth century (p. 189). Overall, however, historians of medieval Italy will find this to be a most valuable and important book.

GEORGE DAMERON
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DANIEL E. BORNSTEIN. *The Bianchi of 1399: Popular Devotion in Late Medieval Italy.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1993. Pp. x, 232. $32.50.

Scholars of medieval Italian social history will surely welcome this study of the Bianchi, the lay penitential religious movement that captivated contemporary imagination as its processions moved from city to city and throughout much of the north and central Italian countryside in the summer of 1399. Daniel E. Bornstein has written a richly documented work informed by the most important secondary historical literature. He makes a substantial contribution by meticulously scrutinizing what is supposedly one of the most familiar, but is actually among the least studied, expressions of popular religious enthusiasm in medieval Italy.

Bornstein's great strengths are his mastery of current scholarship in the field and his detailed chronicling of Bianchi activities. The introduction and first chapter give an overview of the religious culture of late-medieval Italy, including religious confraternities. Scholars already working in the field may find little new here, but graduate students will appreciate the synthesis. In successive chapters Bornstein chronicles the movements of the Bianchi processions and describes the content of the movement's spirituality. He goes into considerable detail when he quotes and discusses their devotional songs (*laude*) and miracles. Yet he neglects to root these lengthy discussions in an overall thesis. A long narrative of Bianchi physical movements might put off all but the most dedicated reader; it is not apparent what the narrative teaches us. Likewise, it is not clear what the discussion of Bianchi miracles actually tells us about the meaning of the devotional movement.

Yet there are provocative ideas in this book. In Chapter 2 we learn of a striking disparity between the origin-of-the-Bianchi legend (penitence) and their actual practice (peacemaking) that highlights their peacemaking goals and function. There is thus a neat fit between the wandering, self-flagellating, apparently politically disruptive Bianchi and the goals of their influential supporter, Archbishop Jacopo Fieschi of Genoa, who sought social and political stability. Here Bornstein helps us understand the malleability of religious movements as they operate in specific social and political environments.

Bornstein again discusses political reactions to religious movements in Chapter 5. The authorities did not fear that the Bianchi might subvert authority in the principal cities, but rather that they would catalyze disorder in the subject towns. If town populations left to join the Bianchi processions, for example, the towns could easily fall prey to passing mercenaries. Yet Bornstein does not push the issue as far as he might. He tells us that some Florentines who joined the movement paradoxically tried, in their capacities as city council members, to limit the activities of the Bianchi. But he stops short of exploring the meaning, impact, or textures of such ambivalence.

Bornstein could have been more daring and asked more questions of his material. Nonetheless, this is an intelligent and learned study, the fullest treatment to date of an important chapter in Italian religious and social history of the late Middle Ages. It is a work any student of the subject will need to read.

DANIEL R. LESNICK
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ANTHONY MOLHO. *Marriage Alliance in Late Medieval Florence.* (Harvard Historical Studies, number 114.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 458. $59.00.

This is a major study of elite marriage alliances in Renaissance Florence. The study is based on quantitative analysis of two massive sources in the state archives, a *catasto* or household tax survey of 1480, and the most bizarre and brilliant of Florentine financial innovations, the *Monte delle doti*, or public dowry fund. Anthony Molho uses these sources to argue that Florentine elites maintained their power and status by restricting the social range of their children's marriages to close social equals. The result was social equilibrium and the long survival of elite patrilines.

Molho is one of the most accomplished of archival scholars, and readers might do well to begin the book not with the historiographical introduction on the longevity of European elite families, but with the first appendix describing the source. This locates the author back in 1971–72 faced with 3,947 volumes of the *Monte comune antico*, "stacked, pell-mell," in a room in the old Florentine state archives in the Uffizi. It was Molho who ordered them and effectively discovered the dowry fund. He laboriously deciphered, inventoried, and analyzed them. Some research was done in collaboration with Julius Kirshner, who is writing a companion volume on dowries. The registers were quantified with the aid of a gifted team of young Italian scholars. Molho here reports his find-

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ings with admirable precision and meticulous attention to the nature and limits of his evidence.

Molho is a historian of public finance in the tradition of Elio Conti and Marvin Becker and begins this study with a lucid and invaluable account of the complex history of the fund. It was established in the 1420s to address Florence's depopulation and chronic fiscal shortages. Because Florentines often levied on themselves not taxes but forced loans that paid 3.75 percent in annual interest, the government was loaded with an ever-heavier debt, the *Monte comune*. The dowry fund, or *Monte delle doti*, was a scheme to attract cash deposits that could be used by the government to redeem debt shares. An investor paid in cash during a girl's childhood, and then after a seven-and-a-half or fourteen-year term and the consummation of her marriage she received a dowry. Originally, the effective interest rate on the deposit was about 11 to 13 percent, depending on the term. This was a straight gamble on girls' life expectancies, since if the girl failed to marry, only the deposit was returned. No provision was made for funds to pay the matured dowries, so the fund went through periodic crises of solvency. The Florentines tinkered with it in various ways, most significantly by requiring deposits not in cash but in debt shares. After 1478 the fund was made more socially exclusive and payment was restructured: 80 percent of each dowry was paid not in cash but in credits in a fund with a 7 percent return. It declined in popularity by the 1540s and gradually faded.

In the fifteenth century the fund was extremely popular: it evidently provided relief for patriarchs anxious to ensure respectable dowries for their daughters, who now could invest a modest sum and place their faith in the state. Molho has identified deposits for an astonishing 24,437 girls and 380 boys. Dowry fund investments were reported on tax returns, allowing Molho to establish a social breakdown of fund investments in 1480. Florentine wealth was heavily concentrated in the hands of a small number of elite households, and shares in the dowry fund were no exception. Overall, in 1480, 27 percent of unmarried nubile women had dowries in the fund. Virtually all of the wealthiest households invested in the fund, basing decisions to provide for healthy daughters essentially on their birth order. More modest households invested more rarely, depending on the chance availability of capital, and a small number of dowries were funded for the poor as acts of charity or patronage.

The heart of Molho's study is an analysis of elite marriage patterns by social class, based on a detailed reconstruction of the marriages of five generations of one branch of the Rinuccini lineage, then 19,000 marriages mentioned in the dowry fund records, including the marriages of the girls' parents. Dating these marriages is tricky, and Molho instead clusters them into two periods, before and after 1480. Drawing on the work of Lauro Martines, he defines the elite. Florentine classes, he argues, are best analyzed in four concentric circles, with status defined by household wealth, political involvement, or a surname shared with the rich and powerful. The inner circle or ruling class was very large, including, in 1480, 18 percent of the population, over 7,000 people in a town of about 41,000. He finds within this "high status" class a remarkable degree of homogamy: families married their sons and daughters not up or down but laterally, within a city-wide circle of social and political equals.

This is a convincing overall portrait, but it seems curiously static. Would analysis on a more modest scale, allowing more attention to change, status variation within lineages, and the ups and downs of household financial and political fortunes reveal more subtle social inequality in marriages? Furthermore, the ruling class based itself on social and political forms largely invented in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, including surnames and the urban patrilineage. Molho treats these forms as fixed and permanent, and not recent historical improvisations. The Bardi lineage, for example, were by no means "old feudal aristocracy" (p. 253): they were thirteenth-century upstarts.

Molho sees a process of aristocratization after 1480, the result of demographic growth and the political transition from republican to ducal rule. The fund itself, in its growing complexity and exclusivity, encouraged high dowries. Molho charts the rise in dowries, wisely using dowry figures mentioned in family memoirs rather than sources in which dowries might be underreported to dodge taxes. He leaves for another study the implications of inflation—itself a complex problem for this period—for analysis of a rise in dowry amounts. Significantly, he demonstrates that the entry of young women registered in the dowry fund into convents climbed in the sixteenth century, most dramatically after 1528.

Molho's findings raise crucial questions about the factors shaping the Florentine marriage market. One important result concerns the sex ratio. Molho finds a disproportionately male population in 1480, as David Herlihy and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber did in 1427 (*Tuscans and Their Families* [1985]): 117:100 overall, and as high as 127:100 among the elites at the heart of his study. It is unlikely, given Molho's results, that girls were underreported in both sets of documents, or misidentified as boys. Molho's argument that the placement of daughters in convents in large numbers to avoid high dowries occurs after 1480 is convincing. Why, then, the distorted sex ratio? One explanation, suggested by Klapisch-Zuber's research, is gender-based differences in child mortality.

Molho intends to continue research on the dowry fund and the Medici state. This will be of great interest to scholars interested in gender and early modern state-building. The dowry fund collapsed the distinction between public and private: it simultaneously guaranteed the solvency of the state and the

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survival and sexual honor of the patriline. Cash from the fund was used for many purposes, so that astonishingly enough the entire financial apparatus of the Florentine state for a time was concentrated around the dowry fund. Florentine elites were financing the state the same way they financed their households, through dowries. The *Monte delle doti* thus raises significant questions about the ways in which the association of wealth and nubile women with status and power shaped early modern politics. Molho has done European historians a great service in making this remarkable material available.

CAROL LANSING
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JOHN TOLAN. *Petrus Alfonsi and His Medieval Readers.* Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1993. Pp. xv, 288. Cloth $34.95, paper $16.95.

Born ca. 1062, Moses the Jew of Huesca became court physician to King Alfonso I soon after his Andalusian town fell to the armies of the Aragonese *Reconquista* in 1096; on the festival of Saints Peter and Paul in 1106, Moses converted to Christianity, appropriating the names of the former saint and of his royal patron for his own. Petrus Alfonsi proceeded to distinguish himself as polemicist, apologist, Aristotelian rationalist, astronomer, and folklorist; by no means was he an intellectual giant, but nonetheless he was a truly colorful figure of the intellectual history of early twelfth-century Christendom.

Although a number of scholarly essays and doctoral theses have recently considered various aspects of Alfonsi's literary career, John Tolan's study is the first book-length study devoted to the subject. After briefly reviewing the historical context of Alfonsi's opus and the few details known about his life, Tolan treats his major literary contributions. In the *Dialogi contra Iudaeos*, Alfonsi condemned the Jews for rejecting and crucifying Jesus, for the irrational absurdities of their Talmudic lore (*Aggadah*), and for their belief in the resurrection of the dead; he attacked Islam as well, offering Western Christian readers the first well-informed account of Muslim beliefs; and he defended the fundamental precepts of Christian doctrine, particularly against Jewish objections. Alfonsi distinguished himself as a physical scientist, both in his Latin translation of al-Khwârizmî's astronomical tables, *Zîj al-Sindhind*, and in numerous scientific arguments throughout the *Dialogi*. And in the *Disciplina clericalis*, Alfonsi compiled and preserved for posterity a large collection of Mediterranean proverbs and exempla. Tolan then studies the transmission and influence of the *Dialogi contra Iudaeos* and the *Disciplina clericalis* in subsequent generations: the former as a source of information about Judaism and a polemical guide, the latter above all in collections of exempla for preachers.

Tolan has conscientiously read Alfonsi's books and examined the literature bearing on them. He has left few stones unturned in searching for secondary works that concern Petrus Alfonsi, and his monograph is well written, carefully organized, and enlightening. The first part of the study clearly elucidates the major themes of Alfonsi's opus. Although I suspect Tolan has exaggerated the novelty in Alfonsi's anti-Jewish polemic, he has provided an instructive picture of Alfonsi's books and their place in existing traditions of medieval religious apologetic, science, and literature. In the second part, however, Tolan makes his most extensive and original contribution. The textual histories of Alfonsi's *Dialogues* and *Disciplina clericalis* both fascinate and reveal considerable insight into late-medieval book and cultural history. They amply substantiate the author's thesis concerning Alfonsi's considerable popularity and influence. Four appendixes offer valuable evidence for this argument, and they, along with the bibliography, comprise useful tools in their own right.

Yet this study falls short of its mark in several respects. First, it provides no evidence of competence in Hebrew or Arabic, and, the question of Alfonsi's knowledge of these languages aside, his works cannot be analyzed satisfactorily without access to the rabbinic and Islamic traditions that underlie them. Bernard Septimus's article ("Petrus Alfonsi on the Cult at Mecca," *Speculum* [1981] 56: 517–33), a model of how such analysis can and should proceed, provides a basis for instructive comparison. Second, significant portions of Tolan's argument appear overly derivative, especially in his synthetic overview of Alfonsi's historical context. And third, apart from his argument concerning Alfonsi's posthumous influence, Tolan leaves his reader hungry for interpretation. How ought one to understand the mentality underlying Alfonsi's multifaceted career and his diverse writings? Here and there in part 1, one encounters initial efforts to reflect on isolated aspects of an ideology. But should not the first book devoted to "Petrus Alfonsi and His Medieval Readers" attempt a composite portrait of the man and his world view?

In short, this volume marks a welcome addition to scholarship on Moses/Peter of Huesca; yet no less strikingly does it signal that the need for meticulous, textually grounded analysis of Alfonsi's writings and ideas still remains.

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DAVID ABULAFIA. *A Mediterranean Emporium: The Catalan Kingdom of Majorca.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xxii, 292. $59.95.

David Abulafia uses his mastery of Mediterranean economic and political history to sketch an engaging portrait of the Balearic islands in the thirteenth and

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fourteenth centuries. He focuses on the period between 1276 and 1343, when a cadet branch of the Crown of Aragon ruled the Balearics, and the mainland territories of Roussillon, Cerdagne, and Montpellier, as a separate kingdom of Majorca. He contrasts the kingdom's impressive economic development with its political weakness, as its kings struggled vainly to maintain their independence from the kings of Aragon-Catalonia. The conquest of Majorca in 1343 by Pedro IV of Aragon did not, however, precipitate its economic decline; rather, as the author suggests, Majorcan trade probably benefited from integration into a larger Catalan commercial network.

Abulafia offers penetrating discussions of the kingdom's historiography and complex constitutional history, which will be especially useful for those unfamiliar with this often neglected region. Also, although commerce and politics are his main concerns, he gives Majorcan society some attention in a stimulating comparative treatment of the Muslim and Jewish populations. After King Jaime I conquered the island of Majorca in 1229, its Muslim inhabitants found the environment increasingly inhospitable and therefore emigrated or converted. But for the Jews it was more welcoming, at least until the later fourteenth century, because they did not present a threat to Majorca's security and still had useful commercial and family connections in North Africa.

It is unfortunate, yet understandable, given the book's emphasis, that Christian society and institutions receive less attention. A fuller understanding of the kingdom's political weakness might have been gained by a more detailed consideration of the institutional structures through which men and materials were mobilized, and of the degree to which its variegated Christian population identified with the interests of the ruling house. The treatment of Majorcans only as traders limits Abulafia's explanation of the kingdom's political fortunes.

Still, Abulafia has much of interest to say regarding Majorcan commerce and the kingdom's economy more generally. He shows that even before the Christian conquest Italian and Catalan merchants valued the Balearics as an important transit point between the Mediterranean's northern and southern shores, and that afterward it became and long remained a key Christian outpost for trade with the Muslim Maghrib. More original is Abulafia's discussion of Majorca's role in Atlantic trade. He presents convincing evidence of the important shipping and freighting services that Majorcans provided in the trade linking north Italian textile cities to England. His comments on the economy of the Balearics after 1343 are of considerable interest: not only did they retain their function as an emporium, they also developed their own successful textile industry and became important producers of wool. Abulafia skillfully integrates political developments into this wide-ranging treatment of economic affairs, assessing, for instance, the impact of the Sicilian Vespers on Majorcan commerce, or the efforts of Majorca's kings to integrate their territories economically.

It must be said, however, that this book is more suggestive than conclusive. It only skims the surface of the vast amount of archival documentation available in Barcelona, Palma de Majorca, and elsewhere. Much research remains to be done, and Abulafia has written the kind of stimulating work that, hopefully, will draw more students into the area.

MARK D. MEYERSON
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JOSÉ MANUEL NIETO SORIA. *Iglesia y génesis del estado moderno en Castilla (1369–1480).* (Colección historia.) Madrid: Complutense. 1993. Pp. 492.

If increased centralization and absolutism are the distinguishing features of the early modern state, is secularization an essential part of the process? Not necessarily, as this book convincingly argues. According to José Manuel Nieto Soria, the development of the early modern state in Castile can best be understood as a blurring of the lines between church and state, and as an intensification of the medieval symbiosis of the sacred and profane. In this meticulously documented survey, Nieto Soria outlines how the Trastámara dynasty laid the foundation for the indisputably "modern" Habsburg state by gaining an ever-increasing dominion over the Castilian church. But it was not only through control of appointments and finances, expansion of the crown's legal jurisdiction over the church, and a clarification of relations with the papacy that these late-medieval monarchs increased their own authority. The sacralization of the Castilian crown was also effected through ideology, myth, symbol, and ritual, and by the deliberate promotion of the monarchy as the principal protector of the Catholic faith. Nieto Soria contends that the Trastámaras succeeded despite numerous obstacles. Even as troubled a monarch as King Henry IV, "the impotent," who was ritually deposed at Avila in 1465 for his alleged incompetence and homosexuality, comes off looking like an effective and tenacious promoter of ecclesiastical micromanagement. The key to the Trastámaras's success was their ability to promote a sense of nationalism in church/state relations. Isabela came to be known as "The Catholic Queen" not only because she was devout and committed to a strident Catholic exclusivism but also because she jealously guarded the Spanish church as her own possession. The fact that she could stand up to the pope and successfully resist his nephew's appointment to the bishopric of Cuenca made her no less "Catholic," but, in fact, confirmed her role as supreme protector of the Spanish church. According to Nieto Soria, it was precisely this ability of the monarchs to enhance their rulership through the nationalization of Catholicism that helped to create a "modern" state in Castile.

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Although this book puts forward a weighty argument, the bulk of the text is devoted to the historical details that support the author's thesis. In his 1,907 footnotes, Nieto Soria anchors his analysis in an impressive array of primary texts and Spanish and Roman archival sources; and he also engages in a well-versed discussion with the relevant secondary literature. Although the study is focused on Castile, the author's range is anything but provincial. This is a major contribution not just to the study of late-medieval Castilian institutions but also to the study of Western European rulership in general. With this book, a rising star and prolific author continues to explore the world of church-state relations. As he has previously shown—most notably in *Fundamentos ideológicos del poder real en Castilla, siglos XIII al XVI* (1988), *Iglesia y poder real en Castilla: El episcopado, 1250–1350* (1988), and *Ceremonias de la realeza: Propaganda y legimitación en la Castilla Trastámara* (1993)—the study of Spanish institutions can indeed shed much light on the whole of Western European history. Among other things, this book confirms the fact that Spanish historiography has come a long way quickly after the demise of Francisco Franco's dictatorship.

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University of Virginia

JEAN W. SEDLAR. *East Central Europe in the Middle Ages, 1000–1500.* (History of East Central Europe, number 3.) Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 556. $50.00.

It certainly requires a great deal of courage and versatility to undertake the enormous task of compressing 500 years of eventful and turbulent history of East Central Europe into a single, 500-page volume. Jean W. Sedlar obviously has both, an observation made more evident from the fact that she also includes southeastern Europe, in Byzantine and early Ottoman times, in her survey. Sedlar's book is part of a ten-volume series on the history of East Central Europe. She chose to present the complex history of East Central Europe between the years 1000 and 1500 not as a chronological sequence of events—as is usually the case—but according to a number of topics that she considers important for the understanding of developments in that part of Europe. Such an approach allows the author to discuss in some depth various aspects of political, economic, social, and cultural life of East Central and southeastern Europe, which in many other histories have not attracted much attention. Sedlar's approach, however, also presents at least two problems: considerable repetition in the presentation of events and personalities seen from different angles, depending on whether they are considered in a political, economic, social, or cultural context; and, for nonspecialists and persons not particularly well acquainted with the history of the area, a need to look elsewhere for basic information.

The author evidently is aware of the latter problem, and thus provides an appendix (not as complete as one might expect), laying out a chronology of important events. In another appendix she gives a list of monarchs, based on a rather strange principle: it includes only the monarchs mentioned in the book. The result is that there are wide gaps in the lists of Byzantine, Bohemian, Croatian, Polish, Wallachian, and other monarchs, while Bosnia and the Latin empire are "represented" by one single ruler each. It would have been certainly more useful to have complete lists of rulers for the 500 years in question. Yet Sedlar has in many instances initiated her discussion of various topics from the very early Middle Ages. Although this helps obtain a more complete understanding of historical processes, one wonders whether it was necessary to go that far back—adding considerably to the bulk of the book—when another volume in this series will examine the period from A.D. 300 to 1000.

Of necessity in a work of this kind, the author had to be selective in the use of sources and examples. At times, however, the examples seem to have been quite arbitrarily selected, which leads to a number of big leaps and omissions. This is true of Sedlar's bibliographic essays as well: the choice of works included seems to have been rather haphazard, with some important books left out, and some minor articles included. Perhaps this is not surprising in view of the magnitude of the task with which the author was confronted, having to choose from a bibliography covering such a vast space and such a long period of time.

Sedlar's book represents an effort to introduce, within the constraints of one volume, new ideas and an innovative, nontraditional approach to 500 years of medieval history of East Central and southeastern Europe. As such it deserves our attention and will no doubt be helpful as an additional source of information for English-speaking readers. To benefit fully from it, however, readers will still have to peruse some of the existing and unsurpassed works on the history of the area. Sedlar has braved a very difficult and complex task; the field remains open for further efforts.

BARIŠA KREKIĆ
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JOHN L. BOOJAMRA. *The Church and Social Reform: The Policies of the Patriarch Athanasios of Constantinople.* New York: Fordham University Press. 1993. Pp. x, 181.

Athanasius, Patriarch of Constantinople from 1289 to 1293 and again from 1303 to 1309, lived in troubled times. Under the bumbling emperor Andronicus II (1282–1328), the Byzantine empire, having barely recovered Constantinople in 1261, lost almost all its land in Anatolia to the Turks and became a second-rate power. The Byzantine church, having recently repudiated its union of 1274 with the Western

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church, remained split by a schism over the deposition of the Patriarch Arsenius in 1265. An uncompromising monk, Athanasius himself made many enemies by his rigid enforcement of his ethical ideas and was forced to abdicate twice. John L. Boojamra nonetheless sees him as a reformer of both the church and society, a precursor of the later Palamist monastic movement, and one of the first Byzantines to sense that the Orthodox church could outlive the empire, as it eventually did.

This book is a companion volume to Boojamra's earlier *Church Reform in the Late Byzantine Empire* (1982), which dealt with Athanasius's church reforms. He repeats a good deal of his earlier work here, but supplies a plausible reason for doing so. "It would be a distortion of history to separate [Athanasius's] ecclesiastical from his social and political reforms, for they were rooted in the same series of imperatives and had the same objectives" (pp. 151–52).

Boojamra's scholarship is conscientious, and he includes the necessary social and historical background. He does make one significant error, however, misunderstanding *pronoiai* to be lands rather than rights to collect taxes, and thus wrongly concluding that Athanasius was ready to give up church land to support the army (pp. 49–50). He draws a sympathetic portrait of Athanasius without disguising the aspects of the patriarch's character that modern readers are unlikely to find attractive. Athanasius's efforts to curb corruption extended to letting his followers assault monks guilty of such derelictions as owning two tunics or consulting physicians (p. 74). His insistence on charity for refugees from Anatolia was accompanied by a firm belief that the empire was losing to the Turks because of the Byzantines' sins, the correction of which should take priority over military resistance. Boojamra admits that "one of his limitations, apart from his universally recognized harshness of personality, was the lack of a systematic approach in his teaching or a plan of action" (p. 68).

Boojamra concludes: "It is unfortunate that many historians dismiss Athanasios' reform efforts precisely because they were motivated by an ascetic-rigorist tradition of Byzantine monasticism and as such did not adequately take into account the facts of history. His reforms did not last" (p. 69). In modern terms, Athanasius was a failure, since his efforts had no enduring material results. But since he remained utterly true to his spiritual principles, in Byzantine terms he was a success, later venerated as a saint. The Byzantine terms were of course Athanasius's own, and Boojamra explains them faithfully.

Warren Treadgold
Florida International University

Peter A. Clarke. *The English Nobility under Edward the Confessor.* (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 386. $59.00.

Peter A. Clarke's volume is a study of the English thegnage on the eve of the Norman Conquest. Because a kingdom-wide inquest was undertaken twenty years after the Battle of Hastings, and because a text derived from that inquest has been preserved in the form of Domesday Book, a vast amount of detailed information is available on the composition, personnel, and wealth of the English landed classes in Edward the Confessor's reign. Not only is the subject well documented but it also is an important one. The author is the first to systematically present the names, estates, and relative wealth of this aristocracy. Because of this, the book is both interesting and useful. The study itself comprised 163 pages of text followed by over 200 pages of appendixes, which list the holdings and values of estates of individual Englishmen, both earls and thegns.

Unfortunately, the book is flawed in a number of critical ways. History is both an examination of the primary evidence left to us by chance as well as a conversation with other historians. Clarke's book is woefully inadequate in the latter. His third chapter, for example, on the wealthiest mid-eleventh-century thegns in England, includes only eight references to the secondary literature, despite the fact that historians have been working hard to identify and chart the contours of the pre-Conquest aristocracy for over a century. As a result, it is difficult to decide when Clarke is saying something original, when he is arguing with long-held opinions, and when he is relying on the scholarship of others. Similarly, his chapter comparing the Anglo-Saxon nobility with that found on the Continent includes not a single foreign-language reference.

Besides being strangely detached from the historiography, the book is also riddled with errors. For example, the common Anglo-Saxon name Alsige appears three different ways in the text—as "Aelfsi," "Ælfsi," and "Ælfsige" (pp. 108, 156, 379). Such mutations are especially confounding in a book that is about the identification of individuals. The land values for thegns' estates are equally problematic. At one point we are told that Ulf Fenisc "had a total estate worth £300" (p. 102), but in the appendix he is credited with £393 17s. (p. 353). Similarly, we are told in the text that Eadgifu held £216 worth of land in Cambridgeshire (p. 100). In the appendix, however, she holds £234 8s. in that shire (pp. 274–75). The appendixes themselves are full of inconsistencies. Clarke's own figures for the lands held by the men of Æthelnoth Cild should add up to £16, but his total says £20 (p. 238). Similarly, the land listed for Æthelric Mærgeatson's land should add up to £70 7s., but the total given is £67 17s. (p. 239); Æthelstan's add up to £43 15s., but the appendix's total is £44 15s (pp. 240–41). And these are only the names beginning with Æ. Such errors do not inspire confidence in the

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extraordinarily difficult game of Domesday identification and mathematics.

ROBIN FLEMING
Boston College

BARBARA A. HANAWALT. *Growing Up in Medieval London: The Experience of Childhood in History.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xvii, 300. $27.50.

Barbara A. Hanawalt fans will not be disappointed and many new readers will be drawn into the subject by her vivid portrayal of life in medieval London. Her earlier work contributed to the rebuttal of the theory of "non-childhood" in medieval Europe developed by Philippe Ariès. This book extends the boundaries of the known from birth to the beginning of adulthood. The imaginative re-creation of childhood is based on a vast array of primary sources in print and in the manuscripts of the Corporation of London, Guildhall Archives, and the Public Record Office. Hanawalt also cites a wide variety of scholarly authorities. The first chapter is historiographical. Eleven chapters follow: the material environment of London youth; birth and baptism; the fragile years of childhood, in which she discusses the survival rate during the first seven years; child rearing, education, and training; orphans; life on the threshold of adolescence; two chapters on apprenticeship; servants; and, finally, coming of age, in which young Londoners were "sadder and wiser."

The book is a mellow one in which the author explains her methodology, working, and social environment. She also incorporates an exercise in historical imagination in which, after stating what can be "documented" about each topic, there is a fictional sketch about some aspect of the story of London's youth; the titles are in quotation marks to remind the reader of how they differ from the rest of the monograph. The text is illustrated by drawings based on medieval originals. But the volume really needs a map: even old London hands could use a reminder of parish and ward boundaries, churches, and gates, to follow the characters around the compact area in which they came to adulthood.

A vast amount of evidence is offered to indicate the joys and perils of growing up in medieval London. Based on broad and sensitive reading, drawn with a sure hand in the bold strokes that characterize her work, the book is certain to focus scholarly opinion on aspects of life, work, law, spirituality, and the corporate ethos. Many of the subjects are of considerable interest in the late twentieth century. The abuse of apprentices and servants is explored together with the recognition of gender differences in complaints, and the advantages enjoyed by masters who "knew the system and had ready access to it" (p. 161). Although women were "not in the guilds" (p. 207), Hanawalt gives much evidence about the economic role of women in medieval London. While dowries as pious bequests are best known in Italian practice, this book discusses English usage. "So important was a dowry in forming an honorable marriage that some Londoners, such as the brewer John Piken, left bequests of money to be distributed to 'poor maidens of good name and to lame and blind persons toward their marriages' " (pp. 213–14). Many themes concerning London childhood and adolescence show the effective combination of a variety of specialist approaches. The author recognizes, for example, that the liturgy for the sacrament of baptism created a social as well as spiritual community to nurture the child. Hanawalt's scholarship is very much her own creation, but at various points the inspiration of her two very different mentors, Margaret Hastings and Sylvia Thrupp, seems recognizable. With her creative use of original sources and clarity of style, Hanawalt's study will appeal to scholars and students at every level. The paperback edition makes it a natural for classroom use.

SUE SHERIDAN WALKER
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MODERN EUROPE

AGNÈS FINE. *Parrains, marraines: La parenté spirituelle en Europe.* Paris: Fayard. 1994. Pp. 389. 135 fr.

Wherever Christians baptized infants, sponsors had to speak and act for them during the rituals. It was a Christian conviction that every baptism created a spiritual family, superior to the natural family because it was built on sacramental grace and altruistic behavior rather than on sexual union and material interests. The spiritual family best known to modern scholars is that from Latin America, where the *compadrazgo* has been intensively studied by anthropologists. The origins of the *compadrazgo* lie in Europe, but until now no scholar has attempted to deal in a broad way with the European spiritual family.

Agnès Fine has written a remarkable synthesis of the underlying thought patterns and varied manifestations of spiritual kinship in Europe, primarily since the fifteenth century. The abundance of sources on spiritual kinship is daunting. From Ukraine, the Christian Near East, and Greece to Spain, France, and Scandinavia, spiritual relatives appear in almost every kind of source, including folklore, proverbs, history, diaries, sermons, law codes, parish registers, personal letters, art, and surviving oral traditions. It was particularly in southern Europe and the Balkans that spiritual kinship proliferated in fascinating ways. This ambitious book attempts to explain how *la pensée sauvage chrétienne* drew so many distinct practices from the seemingly simple theological premise that sponsorship at baptism created a spiritual family.

Sponsors had a vertical bond as godfather/godmother to the baptized person and a horizontal bond as *compères/commères* to the baptized person's parents. As a consequence of the disappearance of that horizontal relationship in English-speaking Christianity, there is no "living" English word equivalent to *compère*

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or *commère*, although *gossip* ("kin in God") once designated it. For clarity I refer to such people as "coparents."

Parents could choose a sponsor to gain patrons for their child and allies for themselves. But Fine demonstrates that spiritual kinship was more than a utilitarian practice. If a spiritual family functioned as it should, the lives of spiritual relatives were intertwined. Godparents were idealized parents to their spiritual child: givers of gifts, trusted confidants, intercessors with God. They were owed respect and love in return. Ideally, the godparent helped the godchild through life's crises: birth, puberty, marriage, and even death. Coparents were idealized siblings, who avoided strife, insult, and incest and gave one another aid, cooperation, and respect. The spiritual family lasted a lifetime and indeed survived death. Spiritual kinsmen were prominent in the rituals of bereavement and burial. A deceased spiritual kinsman was thought to be a supernatural ally.

A strict sexual taboo was central to the social reality of the spiritual family. Godparents should not have marital or extramarital sexual relations with godchildren; in reality that was rarely an issue. Coparents should not have sexual relations with one another and that was a problem. The coparental relationship often brought men and women into close contact, which might lead to sexual lapses that were thought to have significant negative consequences in this world and the next.

Fine's historical ethnography is a significant contribution to European social history. Scholars who encounter references to spiritual kin will profit from this thoughtful and complex work. Because the book is Europe-wide in scope, some topics are treated cursorily. Its insights and lacunae may stimulate regional studies of the spiritual family, for example, in Spain, which should try to be as broadly based in sources as this one is.

JOSEPH H. LYNCH
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PAUL W. SCHROEDER. *The Transformation of European Politics, 1763–1848.* (Oxford History of Modern Europe.) New York. Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xxii, 894. $49.95.

The Oxford History of Modern Europe, with volumes by such scholars as A. J. P. Taylor, Hugh Seton-Watson, Theodore Zeldin, and Gordon A. Craig, has always produced books that have become classics because of their comprehensive and authoritative coverage of important historical issues. The latest addition to the series, by Paul W. Schroeder, a well-known expert on the history of early nineteenth-century European diplomacy, is a fitting addition. Not only does it offer the only modern study treating the entire range of European international politics from the end of the Seven Years' War to the revolutions of 1848 but it also provides an enticing reinterpretation of this period.

Schroeder's massive volume is a work that historians can turn to for an explanation of all the important diplomatic developments spanning eight decades of intense activity in international relations. Yet his book goes far beyond a simple recounting of the complicated record of European international politics. Schroeder's primary objective is to untangle the web of European diplomacy by integrating it into a theoretical structure that ties together and explains developments. His basic thesis is that the competitive balance-of-power system that had resulted in numerous wars in the mid and late eighteenth century gave way at the end of the Napoleonic Wars to a new spirit of equilibrium, concert, and compromise that preserved the peace for nearly half a century after the Vienna settlement of 1815.

Schroeder begins his analysis in the mid-eighteenth century, when balance-of-power strategies were at their apogee. The prevailing system, he argues, was really a "balance of conquests" (p. 33), a "vicious, self-destructive system" (p. 133) that saw smaller intermediary states engulfed by great powers, each of the latter determined to gain supremacy. Europe was thus moving inevitably toward war, not revolution, because the conflicts of the French revolutionary and Napoleonic eras sprang directly from the breakdown of the eighteenth-century international system. According to Schroeder, the real significance of the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars was not, as other historians have argued, that they resulted in an attempt to restrain or defeat France and return to the eighteenth-century balance of power, but that they constituted a learning process whereby Europe came to understand the necessity to "construct a peaceful Europe and a stable international system on a new basis" (p. 287). The Napoleonic Wars forced Britain and Russia to join together in defeating France and taught the allies that cooperation in achieving and maintaining peace was more constructive than balance-of-power politics.

The system that emerged after 1815 established a political equilibrium that ensured peace by persuading the smaller powers to recognize the hegemony of Britain and Russia. Meanwhile, these two powers exercised their ascendancy tolerably, through consensus, cooperation, and mutual recognition of rights. In this sense the Vienna settlement was a revolution rather than a restoration in international politics, for it introduced the idea that war was an unacceptable instrument of power, and it helped preserve the peace in Europe for some forty years.

Schroeder's reinterpretation is appealing, cogent, and undoubtedly largely correct. Indeed, it is difficult to criticize anything in this fine book. Schroeder and Clarendon Press should be congratulated for letting few typographical errors or factual oversights slip into this huge work, although it might be noted that François Guizot was never a duke. Somewhat more

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seriously, Schroeder, like most determined revisionists, does err at times in overextending his thesis or exaggerating his attacks on the conventional view. Many historians, for example, will find it difficult to accept his assertion that this revolution in international politics brought more change than the French or Industrial revolutions. Then, too, his argument that a totally new era in diplomacy emerged after 1815 is not always completely convincing. Finally, for a study that is, among other things, a reference work, it is regrettable that Schroeder provides so few chronological references; even the professional historian will wonder at times which year corresponds to the month mentioned in the text.

Still, these reservations detract little from Schroeder's achievement. He has produced a masterly work that will become required reading for all students of international politics for years to come.

LAWRENCE C. JENNINGS
University of Ottawa

BARBARA MARIA STAFFORD. *Artful Science: Enlightenment Entertainment and the Eclipse of Visual Education.* Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press. 1994. Pp. xxix, 350. $35.00.

This work should not be a book. If its medium matched its message, it would appear on an interactive screen; if its marketing reflected its themes, it would be available not just in educational catalogues but also in games arcades. The text that accompanies the sumptuous illustrations is a celebration of the role of visual play in learning. Barbara Maria Stafford sees the multiple, multiform images of the new computer era not as the end of rational thought but rather as the revival of a tradition that was repressed by the nineteenth-century victory of print culture. What excites her about the proliferation of the electronic media is their capacity to engage a range of senses in an integrated pursuit of knowledge and entertainment. What interests her about the Enlightenment, whose visual products form the main subject matter of this book, is the complex and contested crisis of authority in such an approach to enquiry and discovery. At one level it is a simple, clearly told story of loss and the possibility of recovery. At another level it is a learned and subtle reworking of the eighteenth century that forces a revaluation of an immense range of artifacts and intellectual activity.

The growing Enlightenment critique of the veracity of the non-textual image is seen here not only as a harbinger of the eventual triumph of the book but also as a reflection of the energy and variety of the forms of visual activity that were deeply characteristic of the age. The excitement generated by the apparently limitless possibilities of new knowledge, and the rapid expansion of popular demand for information and pleasure, enlarged and gave new purpose to the baroque traditions of witty, arcane, intellectual entertainment. The boundaries of art and technology, games and experiment, and producers and consumers were radically unstable. The hostility to the inherent deceptiveness of the visual could be traced back to Martin Luther, but the triumph of this view was delayed by the explosion of invention in both knowledge and in the means of communicating and enjoying it.

The essence of Stafford's argument is that the materials and arguments she has collected, mostly French but with a broad range of references to other European cultures, were inherently ambiguous. The passionate denunciation of the tricks of those who sought merely to amuse was a tribute to those tricks' contemporary power and vitality. Science was full of display, sensual experience was integral to invention, learning was most effective if it incorporated rather than rejected the skills of conjurers and mountebanks. As the leading minds of the age sought to construct maps of mental travel that would guide the inexperienced minds away from the rocks of superstition and error, they were forced to draw what can now been seen as contingent distinctions between the fabulous and the real, the authoritative and the deceptive. The issue of authority was finally resolved in favor of what was, in every sense, the narrow medium of the book, a victory that undercut the achievement of the Enlightenment, and limited access to it for the generations to come.

DAVID VINCENT
Keele University

JOB KOZHAMTHADAM. *The Discovery of Kepler's Laws: The Interaction of Science, Philosophy, and Religion.* Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 315. $39.95.

Despite the title, this book is not about the actual discovery of what we now call Kepler's laws. Such an account would require an investigation of Kepler's working papers, an investigation that Job Kozhamthadam has not undertaken. The book is not even about how Kepler described his discoveries, since in most instances Kozhamthadam's account is not based on Kepler's own writings. Much of the book was written before an English translation of the *Astronomia nova* was available, so Kozhamthadam relied on secondary accounts by Alexandre Koyré and Robert Small. This has led to significant errors that might have been avoided had Kozhamthadam been able to consult the original. Examples are Kozhamthadam's misunderstanding of the nature of Kepler's partial equivalence proof in chapter 32 of the *Astronomia nova* and his confusion of sums of lines with sums of areas in *Astronomia nova* chapter 40 (pp. 183–85, 195 of the present work).

The subtitle, in contrast, is a more accurate indicator of what the book is about. Kozhamthadam's aim is to show that at every step of Kepler's investigation of the orbit of Mars, he drew equally on scientific, philosophical, and religious ideas. To establish this,

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Kozhamthadam begins with a systematic account of these ideas, each minutely subdivided and resubdivided into precise categories. For example, under religion we find four main groups (idea of God, idea of humans, idea of nature, idea of rationality in religion). Under the first are God's unique place and God's nature. Under the subcategory of God's nature are God as creator, as trinity, as unity, as rationality, as geometer, and so on. Other groups are similarly distinguished and detailed.

In this classification lies the book's strength as well as its weakness. Although Kozhamthadam too frequently fails to document statements that seem questionable, he has searched through many of Kepler's letters and other writings to find clear evidence of his more private beliefs. The arrangement makes it easy to access this information, and thus contributes much to the book's usefulness. Yet the classification, like labels on a skeleton, cannot give any sense of how Kepler actually thought. Kozhamthadam's account gives the impression that Kepler had a fixed kit-bag of ideas from which he pulled out the concept appropriate to the situation. Worse, Kozhamthadam sometimes (as on p. 171) uses these ideas to put into Kepler's mouth an argument that Kepler himself never presented (presumably these arguments are to be considered as implicit in Kepler's actual words).

The classification has the further disadvantage of lacking a historical perspective on both Kepler's intellectual development and the context in which he worked. The former we have already seen in Kozhamthadam's static classifications; the latter is evident even in the title's reference to "Kepler's Laws," a term not used before 1738. We also find (p. 57) something called "Aristotelian physical science," as though Aristotle had been engaged in the same sort of enterprise as James Clerk Maxwell. Numerous passages show that Kozhamthadam is largely unfamiliar with writings of Kepler's contemporaries. For example, we are surprised to hear from Kozhamthadam that Galileo believed that nature does not obey its own laws precisely (p. 170).

In short, the book has some possibly useful information, presented in an accessible form, but it is surrounded by much material of questionable soundness.

WILLIAM H. DONAHUE
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EDUARD A. TROPP, VIKTOR YA. FRENKEL, and ARTHUR D. CHERNIN. *Alexander A. Friedmann: The Man Who Made the Universe Expand.* Translated by ALEXANDER DRON and MICHAEL BUROV. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. x, 267. $49.95.

The subtitle of this book may come as a surprise to many readers, such as myself, who had associated the names of Georges Lemaitre and Edwin Hubble with the concept of an expanding universe. The authors of this book have now succeeded in making known Alexander Friedmann's life and work and giving him the credit he deserves for being the first to introduce a model of the universe expanding with time in accord with the general theory of relativity.

This biography was published in Russia in 1988 as part of the centenary celebration of Friedmann's birth. This English translation now makes it available to a much wider readership. The three authors divided the writing of the twelve individual chapters among themselves. In each case the material has been meticulously researched in unusually rich archival sources. Written as a work of popular science, it has no extensive footnotes, but the bibliography lists the sources tapped in general and for each of the individual chapters.

Friedmann was a talented and hard-working mathematical scientist, skilled in theory and applications, who lived between 1888 and 1925, when he died after contracting typhoid fever.

The book's early chapters, readily accessible to the average reader, present the usual biographical details dealing with Friedmann's family background, education, and active participation in World War I as a pilot and instructor of pilots. It appears that the social and political upheaval associated with the Bolshevik Revolution did not affect Friedmann personally. We are given little detail, however, about his personal life beyond the information that he was twice married and fathered a single son, born after Friedmann's death.

The later chapters, focusing on Friedmann's work in relativistic cosmology, may prove difficult for the average reader but are informative for those of greater mathematical sophistication who are interested in the history of modern cosmology.

In 1920 Friedmann returned to St. Petersburg (Petrograd), where he lectured and conducted tutorials at the university, the Institute of Railway Engineering, the Polytechnic Institute, and the Naval Academy. He was also associated with the Main Physical Observatory and, at the time of his death, was director of the observatory.

In the period from 1920 to 1925, aside from his duties at these institutions, Friedmann studied relativity theory deeply, applying in particular Albert Einstein's general theory of relativity to cosmological considerations. He went beyond the results already published by Einstein and a Dutch astronomer W. de Sitter, both of whom had considered the universe to be closed and static, that is, bounded and not evolving in time. Friedmann's theoretical mathematical analysis, published in two papers in 1922 and 1923 in the prestigious *Zeitschrift für Physik,* showed that a valid application of relativity theory would be a universe that changed with time, expanding from a calculated original state some 10 billion years ago and unbounded. At first Einstein noted but was dismissive of Friedmann's results, but eventually he publicly acknowledged their validity, bringing Friedmann to international attention. Unfortunately, Friedmann

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did not live to witness the extension of his analysis by Lemaitre and the observational support for it by Hubble less than a decade later.

For some years, in the Soviet Union and elsewhere, however, the idea of a universe expanding from a possible origin in time was philosophically attractive. Initially, only one of Friedmann's last students, George Gamow, an émigré to the United States in 1934, advanced a "big bang" theory for the origin of the universe. By mid-century an alternative "steady state" theory, introduced by British astronomer-cosmologists Herman Bondi, Frederick Hoyle, and Thomas Gold came into favor. Since the 1960s, however, Friedmann's ideas have been generally accepted within the world-wide community of cosmologists, in part due to the discovery of the residual radiation by Arno Penzias and Robert Wilson.

Friedmann's name has been appearing more frequently in the literature, but this book is the first detailed biography of him to become available in English and thus is of particular value.

KATHERINE RUSSELL SOPKA
Four Corners Analytic Sciences

FREDERIC LAWRENCE HOLMES. *Hans Krebs.* Volume 1, *The Formation of a Scientific Life 1900–1933.* (Monographs on the History and Philosophy of Biology.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1991. Pp. xx, 491. $49.95.

FREDERIC LAWRENCE HOLMES. *Hans Krebs.* Volume 2, *Architect of Intermediary Metabolism 1933–1937.* (Monographs on the History and Philosophy of Biology.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xvi, 481. $49.95.

Most historians recognize the names of Charles Darwin and Gregor Mendel and are at least distantly aware of the transformations effected in the last century and a half in the life sciences by the increasing theoretical ascendancy of evolution and genetics. Many fewer will know of Hans Krebs, or will have gone far enough in biology or chemistry to have gained some grasp of the pattern of physiological events now known as the Krebs or citric acid cycle. Yet the citric acid cycle and its principal architect occupy a central position in a domain of knowledge that is fundamental to modern biology. This is the study of the chemical events involved in the breakdown of nutrients and the synthesis of substances essential to the structure and function of the living organism, a subject known since the early twentieth century as intermediary metabolism. The development of the problems making up this field of inquiry is coextensive in time with, and in part constitutive of, the rise of modern chemistry since the late eighteenth century. Historically it is one of the earliest and most consequential zones of contact between biology and chemistry.

No historian has done more to map and explore this large terrain than Frederic Lawrence Holmes. Beginning with his major study *Claude Bernard and Animal Chemistry* (1974), and extending through later work on such leading figures as Antoine Lavoisier, Justus Liebig, and Carl Voit, and on the emergence of intermediary metabolism as a distinct field, Holmes has applied formidable scholarship to his subjects while maintaining a lively dialogue with other historians of science on current issues of interpretation and method.

The present volumes continue and expand Holmes's long-term research enterprise, and in several respects they bear the hallmarks of his well-recognized approach to the history of science. His method of choice is the scientific biography of a single major figure, which nevertheless opens a window on a whole period through the subject's work and connections. It involves intensive use of unpublished sources that throw light on the creative process, often in a way that differs from the rational reconstructions of the protagonists or of historians overly reliant on published sources. It insists on close attention to the special problems, concepts, language, and research tools of the field in question. For Holmes these are never mere technical detail but rather the center of the scientific enterprise around which all else, including institutions, professional life, and literature, takes on meaning. Also characteristic of Holmes's approach is a close attention to other, related work prior to or contemporary with that of the subject. Holmes works outward from the individual into his contemporary scientific world and backward into its immediate antecedents.

These volumes offer a close, detailed study of Hans Krebs's life and career up to June 1937, when he submitted papers for publication outlining his discovery of the citric acid cycle. Volume 1 covers Krebs's early life and education, including the beginnings of his research career in Germany, up to June 1933, when he left Germany for England. Volume 2 covers the time from his arrival in England to publication of the paper on the citric acid cycle in 1937. The bulk of both volumes is taken up with Krebs's career from his medical studies in the early 1920s through 1937. The narrative is chronological and becomes increasingly dense with forward movement in time. We follow Krebs's activity year by year, month by month, and often day by day.

Born into an assimilated and non-observant Jewish family in the small German town of Hildesheim, the son of a doctor, Krebs attended a local Gymnasium, then pursued medical studies at Göttingen, Freiburg, Munich, and Berlin. Along the way he came in contact with several leading German representatives of scientific medicine, including the physiologist and physiological chemist Franz Knoop, and was increasingly drawn to research and to chemistry as the key to his future work in medicine. A crucial step in this direction was the time Krebs spent in the laboratory of the physiological chemist Otto Warburg at the

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Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Biology in Berlin-Dahlem. Here he learned some of Warburg's research techniques, notably the use of the manometer in the study of tissue respiration, and was deeply impressed with Warburg's intense research style and concise, forceful presentation of his results. After leaving Warburg's laboratory Krebs spent a short time as physician at a municipal hospital near Hamburg, then accepted a clinical position at Freiburg that allowed him time and facilities for research. Now free to determine his own research agenda, he chose to devote himself to intermediary carbohydrate metabolism largely using Warburg's techniques. At Freiburg Krebs made his first major discovery, a solution to the longstanding biochemical problem of urea synthesis. Scarcely had he established a scientific reputation and begun to attract students when the anti-Jewish measures of the new National Socialist regime led him to decide to leave Germany. Krebs's transition to England was greatly aided by Frederick Gowland Hopkins, who brought him into the lively biochemical community of Cambridge. After two years at Cambridge Krebs accepted a position at the University of Sheffield, and by the time of his discovery of the citric acid cycle in 1937 he had committed himself to his adopted country.

While presenting this story in exact detail, Holmes characteristically manages to engage a number of problems of general interest to historians of science, including continuity and discontinuity in scientific change, the nature of scientific creativity, the roles of mentor-student relationships, craft skills and craftsmanship in research, the uses and pitfalls of oral history, and the representations by scientists of their own work.

Holmes's attachment to chronological order is a considered choice and serves at least two functions for his study. One is the avoidance of teleology. There is little sense of directionality in the narrative except its forward movement in time. The reader is never told where things are going and, unless previously informed by other sources, moves into an unknown future with Krebs himself. The most striking consequence of this practice, joined to an insistence on contemporary documentation, is Holmes's conclusion that at least prior to June 1937, Krebs had no a priori view of the significance of cycles in biochemistry. It was discovery of two specific cycles—that of ornithine in urea synthesis and the citric acid cycle—Holmes argues, that prompted Krebs to reflect on the general significance of the pattern, and not the reverse. Here Holmes works against the grain of interpretations offered not only by most writers on the citric acid cycle discovery but also, retrospectively, by Krebs himself. Adherence to chronological rather than thematic order also enables Holmes to better display Krebs's scientific style, which was characterized by rapid movement between two or more lines of investigation, or what one observer called a "grasshopper" approach. Temporal juxtaposition of distinct research lines also frequently reveals parallels in methods even when the lines are not derived from one another.

Krebs's scientific style was in part a result of the nature of his theoretical commitments. On the one hand, Holmes adamantly—and, I believe, correctly—rejects the caricature of biochemistry as a plodding empirical field to be contrasted with the boldly theoretical domain of molecular biology. Krebs was heir to and exemplar of a tradition that aimed for a comprehensive picture of the chemical events of metabolism as these were integrated in the intact living organism. The breadth and theoretical importance of the problem were underlined by the conviction that understanding such processes would provide the key to understanding how the organism used the energy derived from them to produce heat and mechanical work. On the other hand, Holmes also shows that the means to this end often embodied groping and false starts, as investigators made their way through a myriad of possible chemical reactions and pathways. Often lacking the guidance of clear heuristic strategies, and limited in his knowledge of organic chemistry, Krebs proceeded by a trial-and-error search, scanning the immediate horizon of possibilities until he found promising leads.

To this search, Holmes shows, Krebs brought an array of strengths. These included mastery of Warburg's manometric techniques as they were applied to intermediary metabolism, and more generally a scientific craftsmanship embodied not in bench skills but in a sure sense of what his instruments could and could not do; an ability to assimilate others' ideas and at the same time exploit their flaws to define new research directions; an aptitude for seeing connections among phenomena previously treated separately; and the optimism, self-assurance, and work discipline to maintain his research through long dry spells.

In Holmes's view neither of Krebs's major discoveries was revolutionary in a Kuhnian sense. Krebs's findings on both the formation of urea and the citric acid cycle emerged gradually, piecemeal, without "Eureka" moments or sudden breaks. The citric acid cycle work in particular followed accepted methodological rules, made use of familiar substrates and general types of chemical reactions, and drew on cyclic features embodied in earlier well-known biochemical schemes. Krebs's achievement, Holmes argues, lay not in breaking with his field's past but in fulfilling its promise. The argument is convincing, but because Holmes does not follow the subsequent history of the citric acid cycle, the reader may be left with an incomplete sense of why the discovery, although not revolutionary, was so fundamental.

Just because Krebs worked in the mainstream of his field, these volumes have much to say about the evolution of early twentieth-century biochemistry, its problems, methods, and major protagonists. One example is the transition exemplified in Krebs's own

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work, from an older methodological dichotomy of test tube and whole organism techniques to a more continuous spectrum of approaches including use of cell suspensions, tissue slices, and perfused organs.

One of the most valuable features of this study is Holmes's exemplary handling of Krebs's representations of his own work, both in publications and in interviews conducted by Holmes while Krebs was still alive. Interspersed in the narrative are short segments in which Krebs's own evaluations are presented and analyzed. Holmes takes what Krebs has to say seriously but never simply at face value. He shows with subtlety and acuity that it is sometimes impossible to achieve certainty of interpretation even when in possession of a full documentary record and the testimony of a living scientist. He shows how important it is for the historian to assess even the most plausible and apparently unassailable retrospective accounts in the light of independent documentation and critical analysis, a point strikingly exemplified in Holmes's analysis of the role of general ideas about cycles in Krebs's discovery of the citric acid cycle.

Less fully explicated are Krebs's qualities as a person. For the most part Holmes displays but does not attempt to probe Krebs's traits of personality and character. One of these is his passivity in most domains outside his scientific work. In an early life that spanned World War I, the turmoil of postwar inflation and the Weimar period, and the rise of Adolf Hitler, Krebs remained largely an observer who reacted to events primarily as they affected his personal career decisions. Later, when the possibility arose of a research post in Palestine, it was still scientific and career considerations rather than the appeal or difficulties of Zionism that swayed his decision. Krebs comes across as relentlessly self-improving and self-disciplined, leading the reader to understand a remark made by his fiancée's father: "I don't know what you see in him. The chap seems to have no vices." Holmes reflects that Krebs's self-encapsulation in routine and intense devotion to work may have provided needed stability in an otherwise unsettled early life. This kind of insight might have provided a starting point for a fuller psychological exploration.

Holmes provides a running account of Krebs's relationships with family, friends, and colleagues, but with the exception of those pertaining to mentors and close research collaborators, these stories have little bearing on the main scientific one. They are juxtaposed but not integrated with the primary narrative, which is about Krebs's investigative pathway.

Given that his work on Krebs is Holmes's third detailed study of a major experimentalist (the others are on Claude Bernard and Antoine Lavoisier), and that these studies range over three different centuries, we might expect here some tentative generalizations on the nature of experimental science. Holmes demurs, however, citing overhasty claims by recent writers basing themselves on too little evidence. While sympathizing with Holmes's criticisms, admirers of his separate studies may still hope that he will find a forum in which to reflect in a comparative way on the subjects of his own research.

It must be admitted that the language of chemistry, esoteric and unfamiliar to many historians, will put off or discourage some readers of these books. Holmes makes little attempt to explain technical terms at first encounter, or to describe experimental investigations in language accessible to the nonexpert. Indeed, he presupposes a knowledge of basic biochemistry that even many historians of science lack. In doing so he protects the integrity of the science, but at a probable cost in restricted readership. This is an unfortunate result, for although it expresses a dilemma faced by many historians writing on science in this century, the loss to the nonspecialist reader will be especially great in this case. These volumes have much to say to specialist and nonspecialist alike about the craft of history and the nature of twentieth-century science.

JOHN E. LESCH
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SIMON THURLEY. *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England: Architecture and Court Life, 1460–1547.* New Haven: Yale University Press, for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art. 1993. Pp. ix, 283; 358 plates. $50.00.

In this handsomely produced and prodigiously illustrated book, Simon Thurley describes how the late-medieval English royal household functioned as an "architectural framework" for the "liturgy" of monarchy. Drawing on the relevant volumes of the *History of the King's Works* (6 vols., 1963–82), but updating it in several important ways, Thurley both identifies and accounts for a major change from the style of royal architecture prevalent in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and that which characterized the reign of England's greatest royal builder, Henry VIII.

In the first three chapters Thurley traces the development of the royal residence from the Norman Conquest to the Henrician age. The most significant trend during these years was a decrease in the number of royal houses and an increase in their size and amenities (which he ascribes to an increase in the size of the royal household). By the fifteenth century England's monarchs were beginning to erect barriers between their own accommodations and those of the court in a "quest for privacy," defined by Thurley as the "exclusion of those not needing to be present" (p. 36). This development (first evinced by the new construction at Sheen by Henry V) was continued and amplified by Yorkist and Tudor kings. Thus, the enhanced stature enjoyed by the Tudor dynasty, matched with the desire for privacy, ultimately led to the establishment of the Privy Chamber under Henry VII. This new household department constituted the "organizational expression" that corresponded to the

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architectural division witnessed in the royal residences of Nottingham and Greenwich.

Thurley is also at pains to locate the origin of the ideal of the Tudor court: magnificence, which was less an aesthetic ideal and more concerned with lavish display to impress or overawe the king's subjects. Here Thurley finds (as scholars have in so many other areas) the Tudors carrying on the achievements of Edward IV, who himself was influenced by the ducal court of Burgundy. The architectural and literary evidence he provides for the link with the Burgundian court, however, is one of the less-persuasive aspects of this carefully argued book.

The foregoing hardly does justice to this work. Whether descanting on the "fundamental conservatism" of the design at Richmond that led to its desuetude under the later Tudors, describing the sewers and garderobes in Henry VIII's palaces, or dilating on the furnishing and appurtenances of the royal barges, Thurley displays a sure instinct for the apt illustration. (The floor plans for the major Tudor palaces placed at the end of the text constitute the best example of this talent.) His erudition and experience (currently curator of the Historic Royal Palaces, he supervised the restoration of the King's Apartments at Hampton Court after the 1986 fire) help make this book a valuable contribution not just to the history of architecture but also to the growing literature on the iconography of kingship.

DOUGLAS R. BISSON
Belmont University

MARGARET ASTON. *The King's Bedpost: Reformation and Iconography in a Tudor Group Portrait.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 267. $59.95.

Margaret Aston makes a fascinating foray into both the iconoclasm and the iconography of the sixteenth-century reformation in England. In the context of international and domestic politics and the interchange between ideas and visual images, she probes the meaning and provenance of a well-known sixteenth-century painting, *Edward VI and the Pope,* now at the National Portrait Gallery in London. In nineteen well-illustrated chapters, she examines both the composition and the content of the painting and shows that it came from the reign of Elizabeth I, not that of her younger brother Edward. Exploring the symbolism of Protestant representations of the fall of the tower of Babel (and its associations with the fall of Babylon) and such Old Testament figures as King Josiah (celebrated for his destruction of pagan statues and shrines) and Hezekiah (another destroyer of images, including the brazen serpent raised by Moses during the Exodus), she notes the application of the latter two symbols to Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Elizabeth I.

Aston demonstrates that large elements of the composition of *Edward VI and the Pope,* as well as some of its details, derive from engravings and etchings made especially by Philip Galle after the drawings of Maarten van Heemskerck in the 1560s. This dates the painting to the reign of Queen Elizabeth, most probably to the crisis surrounding the entry of Mary Queen of Scots into England as a refugee, the Northern Rising of 1569, the excommunication of Elizabeth in 1570, and the projected marriage of Mary to Thomas Howard, the fourth duke of Norfolk, which led to his execution in 1572. The decoding of the visual image of the overthrow of the pope in the foreground of *Edward VI and the Pope*—which Aston accomplishes by relating it to other Tudor portrayals of the triumph of Henry VIII and Edward VI over the powers of the papacy—provides another example of how paintings can teach or preach.

Marshaling considerable evidence that points in two directions, Aston speculates that reformers commissioned the painting either to persuade Queen Elizabeth to remove the candlesticks and crucifix that graced the altar in her chapel (which they saw as dangerous relics of popery) or to dissuade the duke of Norfolk from the religious and personal dangers of his marriage plans. In order to show why the advocacy of religious reform should take the shape of a painting, she assembles a good deal of information about English and Netherlandish Protestant visual and verbal propaganda and the political culture of mid-sixteenth-century England. Images not only represented the actions and characters of rulers but they also incorporated virtues reformers wished to persuade (or push) rulers to follow. Hence visual representations of the religious reformation carried out under the young Edward VI, the English Josiah, might act as an inspiration to move his sister Elizabeth to emulate his actions.

Well written, well organized, and well illustrated, this book contains eight color plates, 128 illustrations, and 314 often discursive endnotes. It is learned, beautifully produced, and easy and fascinating to read.

PAUL CHRISTIANSON
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JON G. CRAWFORD. *Anglicizing the Government of Ireland: The Irish Privy Council and the Expansion of Tudor Rule, 1556–1578.* (Irish Legal History Society, number 3.) Dublin: Irish Academic Press; distributed by ISBN, Portland, Oreg. 1993. Pp. xiv, 508. $45.00.

Jon G. Crawford has written a remarkable book. It is far more than simply a study of the Irish privy council from 1556 to 1578. The concentration on the council, instead of, as in most previous studies, the chief governors, provides us with a fresh image of the first two decades of Elizabeth's Irish administration. As a result, many recent interpretations of Tudor policy in Ireland, particularly but not exclusively those of Brendan Bradshaw and Nicholas Canny, are challenged by

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means of painstaking reconstruction and massive documentation.

As he examines every aspect of the council, Crawford hammers home his theme: the policy of the Irish council was the expansion of common law throughout the realm, the maintenance of order, and the augmentation of the crown's revenue through fiscal reform. The policies of the government were pragmatic, not radical or progressive. There was no intention either to engage in a program of conquest and colonization or to use military rule for purposes of racial persecution. Nor, indeed, was there a proto-nationalist movement against the government until 1579. Historians who have found a polarity between the government and the governed before this date, he argues, have been working from a synthetic paradigm that fails to take into account the evidence of the day-to-day actions of the council.

Seen from this perspective, Sir Anthony St. Leger, Bradshaw's model governor, ended his Irish career in an atmosphere of duplicity, fraud, and fiscal irresponsibility. St. Leger's two principal successors, the earl of Sussex and Sir Henry Sidney (Canny's architect of Elizabethan conquest and colonization) reinforced the institutions of common law with the cooperation of the Anglo-Irish, who enjoyed substantial representation on the council and within the ranks of the officials who served it. Moreover, on occasion, brehon law traditions were permitted to influence the version of common law that was implemented. Thus, the Gaelic element of the population also received some recognition. To Crawford, therefore, the comments of men such as Edmund Tremayne and Edmund Walshe more accurately reflected the government's intentions than did Edmund Spencer's brutal rhetoric of the 1590s, by which time there was, indeed, a policy of conquest and colonization in place. Even the controversy between the council and the Pale at the end of the 1570s over the cess (a form of purveyance) is harnessed to stress the reformist nature of the regime. Here the council was vulnerable because the Anglo-Irish lawyers used the very same principles of common law that it was seeking to advance as they fought against taxation without parliamentary consent, a constitutional battle they largely won two generations before it became a major issue in England.

Yet the reformist policies failed and were followed by rebellion, military repression, and colonization. For this Crawford squarely blames Elizabeth. The council, he asserts, was caught in a vicious circle of her making. She demanded that it restore order through the extension of common law throughout the realm, but she denied the necessary resources to give effect to the policy. The council, therefore, sought extra-parliamentary means to make up for the deficiency, which, in turn, aroused resistance and the expense of its suppression. Only after rebellion had broken out was Elizabeth willing to loosen her purse strings. Similarly, it was Elizabeth who, in a mistaken effort to save money, resorted to the intrusive, ruthless, and unsuccessful colonial ventures of the early 1570s.

Perhaps it was not necessary to write 500 pages to advance this thesis; at times the detail is overwhelming. It must be admitted, however, that it is this same detail that supplies Crawford's case with its formidable credibility.

M. Perceval-Maxwell
McGill University

Norman Jones. *The Birth of the Elizabethan Age: England in the 1560s.* (A History of Early Modern England.) Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell. 1993. Pp. xii, 300. $59.95.

This is the first book in a new series, "A History of Early Modern England," published by Blackwell under the general editorship of John Morrill. Unlike those series that are designed to cover eras or problems or themes, this one aims to treat the history of particular decades "from the perspective of people alive at the time," to quote the publisher's dust-jacket blurb. The editorial assumption behind the first part of Jones's commission—that meaningful national histories divide naturally into decades—is patently absurd, as the author knows; consequently, he begins his "decade" with the accession of Elizabeth I in 1558 and runs it through the early 1570s, the point at which one can begin to speak of the consolidation of an Elizabethan polity. By stretching the 1560s in this way Jones creates the "birth" of a more recognizable "age," an approach that allows him to discuss some momentous acts of state, such as the official settlement in religion; the all-important dynastic issue, which hinged on the queen's attitude toward her own marriage; and at least two great political events of the 1560s, both of them related to the succession question: Mary of Scotland's arrival in England and the rebellion of the northern earls. Jones has thought through these topics anew and in each case has gone back to the original sources, often citing previously unexploited printed and manuscript material. Lecturers and students alike will find his coverage clear and usefully concise. Nowhere will one find a better short statement, for example, of the politics of religious belief in the early Elizabethan church.

The remainder of the book, roughly half the total, is given over to brief discussions of socioeconomic and cultural topics grouped under four chapter-headings. "Marriage" treats, among other subjects, gender roles and the courting of widows. "Family Values" comprehends birthing and baptism, education and morality, apprenticeships and beatings, and literacy and learning. "*Carpe Diem*" covers informers, surgeons, plagues, domestic violence, spas, conspicuous consumption, executions, and beer, which was, a contemporary averred, "healthy but sickening to taste. It is cloudy like horse's urine and has husks on the top" (p. 212). In "Making a Living" Jones surveys

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poverty and inflation, fishing, hat-making, and other occupations legal and illegal. Embedded within many of these topics are colorful anecdotal accounts of Elizabethans great and small, stories which render their anxieties, hopes, loves, and fears as understandable as their discipline, honor, grace, and faith. In this respect Jones well fulfills his self-stated aim of crossing "the history of events with the history of life cycles" (p. 3), but thematically, the organization of this "hybrid" creates difficulties. Some of the principals in Jones's cast of characters, like Thomas Whythorne, a thirty-something composer and wooer of widows, could have been better introduced. A sentence about the English plantation at Cork appears twice, in different contexts (pp. 80, 259); an observation about clerical marriage (p. 51) is recycled almost verbatim in another setting (p. 92). But such slips only superficially mar this conceptually bold, entertaining work.

DALE HOAK
College of William and Mary

B. H. G. WORMALD. *Francis Bacon: History, Politics, and Science, 1561–1626.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. 409. $69.95.

This book seeks to redress the traditional emphasis on Francis Bacon's natural philosophy by focusing on what B. H. G. Wormald labels Bacon's "know thyself" or civil philosophy, a program to which he claims Bacon himself gave priority and was much more fully elaborated than previously has been recognized.

Wormald has chosen not to engage recent Bacon scholarship but rather the views of T. B. Macaulay, S. R. Gardiner, and Leopold von Ranke. He has not considered whether Bacon's civil philosophy should be treated as part of the Machiavellian tradition explored by J. G. A. Pocock, or its place in developments in "politic history," the Tacitean movement, or seventeenth-century historiography. Nor does the author consider Bacon's civil philosophy in the context of modern scholarly work on the relationship between natural and civil history, the law reform movement, Bacon's positions on monarchical government and parliament, or the relationship between his natural philosophy and his legal thought. Although Bacon's emphasis on knowledge for action and the role of civil history as a basis for "policy" is consistent with much humanist effort, there is little mention of this tradition in which Bacon appears to have been a substantial contributor rather than a pioneer. Although Bacon's civil philosophy is discussed in relation to Machiavelli and Vico, and his natural philosophy in relationship to skepticism and Aristotle, the reader is presented with a Bacon largely devoid of predecessors or contemporaries.

Wormald provides important insights into Bacon's natural philosophy in the process of examining the similarities between his natural and civil philosophy programs. He emphasizes Bacon's use of history as the foundation for both philosophical endeavors and his concern in both for practical application. Bacon extended these approaches from traditional moral and political environments to the natural world. Utility thus became a characteristic feature of both of Bacon's philosophical enterprises. Many features of Bacon's better known natural philosophy, such as the central role of aphorisms and maxims based on particular experience, are shown to be inspired by Machiavelli's pragmatic, mid-level, political generalizations derived from particulars and experience. Although the conclusion is not drawn by Wormald, his analysis suggests that the connections between humanistic scholarly enterprises and Bacon's empirically grounded natural philosophy are closer than previously thought.

Wormald is thoroughly familiar with the published Baconian texts. Such familiarity is revealed in his sensitivity to changes in successive versions of the *Advancement of Learning* and enables him to point out many less obvious relationships among Bacon's various writings. He thus skillfully integrates material from the *Essays* and the *History of Henry VII* not only with the *Advancement of Learning* and the *Novum Organum* but also with Bacon's correspondence, parliamentary speeches, and memoranda. A mighty effort is made to find coherence and singleness of purpose throughout Bacon's entire written corpus. Viewing his thought as a seamless whole, however, reduces the reader's ability to place Bacon's discussions—such as that on the Scottish union and the jurisdiction of the courts—in either day-to-day contemporary politics or in longer traditions of legal thought, counseling monarchs, and humanist historiography.

This somewhat idiosyncratic study is at odds with much modern scholarship. It cares little for context and much for Bacon's own writing. This approach yields significant insight into Bacon's thought. It restore's Bacon's civil philosophy and historiographical concerns to their rightful place and enhances our understanding of the origins of his natural philosophy.

BARBARA SHAPIRO
University of California, Berkeley

DAVID ALLAN. *Virtue, Learning and the Scottish Enlightenment: Ideas of Scholarship in Early Modern History.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press; distributed by Columbia University Press, New York. 1993. Pp. viii, 276. Cloth $69.00, paper $25.00.

This is a dense and learned study, from which many readers should benefit, whether their interests lie in the nature of early modern humanist scholarship or in the writings of the more familiar names of the Scottish Enlightenment, such as Hume, Robertson, Kames, and Millar. David Allan's argument is that the Enlightenment in Scotland has been misinterpreted

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in many ways since Henry Buckle wrote of it in his *History of Civilization in England* (1857–61) as a sudden, revolutionary, and passing aberration in Scottish history. More recent explanations of the brilliance of that Enlightenment, which depend on the impact of European traditions of natural law and republicanism, or on the example of English polite culture, or on economic advances, have ultimately rested on such an assumption. If not constructed as aberration, the Enlightenment has been interpreted teleologically with a view to the emergence of the modern disciplines of political economy, social science, and anthropology. Allan argues forcefully that the history of the eighteenth-century Scottish Enlightenment should be set within the development from the sixteenth century onward of a vigorous and indigenous Scottish historical scholarship, inspired both by Calvinist and humanist ideals.

Allan writes of the practice of history in early modern Scotland as combative, polemical, and partisan, yet also as inspired by a sense of its missionary potential. As John Lesley, the Catholic bishop, wrote in 1578, paraphrasing Cicero, "Historie is the witnes of time; the licht of truth, the life of memorie, maistress of life, and messenger of antiquite [sic]" (p. 65). Allan explores, in parallel, the Ciceronian, humanist, and secular legacy of Buchanan, with its radical vision of the public good, and the Calvinist view of history as itself a "prophetic medium second in authority only to scripture" (p. 51). What Calvinist and humanist historians—and the frequent overlap of such loyalties is amply illustrated here—had in common was the belief that their task was an educative one, to offer to future leaders of Scottish society moral examples and the lessons of experience, for the better inculcation of virtue. A rational learning, to be identified with virtue, came to be represented as a necessary, if not the only, qualification for social leadership. Yet if the purpose of history was to instruct, historians also needed the conviction that virtuous human agency might have some effect, in countering both the vagaries of Fortuna, and the predestined paths of a Calvinist Providence; and by the late seventeenth century a providential and determinist view was the dominant trend.

Allan's view of the enlightened history of the eighteenth century stresses its continuities with the past. History was still conceived in humanist terms as educative and instructive, by minor as well as major writers. So Robert Heron wrote in 1794 of history as "the vehicle of a profusion of instructing, persuading, enlightening, elevating knowledge" (p. 171). Scottish historians maintained, too, their unfailing and partisan interest in political and religious history. And in the context of the eighteenth century the Scottish man of letters—and notably the historian—could not only educate future social leaders but also claim a new public status for the learned and active intellectual. Yet the dominance of the deterministic theory of "unintended consequences," owing much to the earlier strength of providentialism, could make meaningless any claim to social leadership.

Allan's authoritative and extensive survey of minor as well as major figures in Scottish historical writing from about 1500 to about 1800 is most impressive, and his case is powerfully constructed. There is much more here than a short review can do justice to, including his stress on the importance of rhetoric and oratory in both Calvinist and humanist historical traditions. Some questions, however, still remain. Although he is writing of a Latinate culture, his survey is conducted virtually without reference to any dialogue with European historical scholarship, Calvinist, humanist, or enlightened. Equally, his argument gives very little weight to the importance of historical writing in shaping and marking out national identities, both Scottish and British. Readers will need to supplement this work with Colin Kidd's fine study, *Subverting Scotland's Past* (1993), but, armed with both these satisfying works, they will find their understanding of the Scottish Enlightenment, as of early modern Scottish historiography, greatly enhanced.

JANE RENDALL
University of York

BONNELYN YOUNG KUNZE. *Margaret Fell and the Rise of Quakerism.* Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1994. Pp. xix, 327. $39.50.

One of the best known figures in early Quaker history, Margaret Fell has been revered by many commentators as the movement's "nursing mother." Since its publication in 1949, Isabel Ross's biography of Fell (*Margaret Fell: Mother of Quakerism*) has been the standard work. Bonnelyn Young Kunze's study—a series of thematic essays rather than a biography—will not supplant Ross, although it is essential reading for any student of the early Friends. Kunze organizes her essays around four themes: Fell's family life and religious "self-reflections"; her domestic and economic activities; her political involvement in the period 1659–61, her role in establishing women's meetings, and her relationship with William Penn; and Fell's views of her world, theology, and the Jews.

Kunze's nuanced depiction strips Fell of the traditional hagiographic overlay without denigrating her considerable talents and accomplishments. The result is a fully human Fell, sometimes petty and vindictive, sometimes gifted and inspiring, sometimes imperious. In a masterful analysis of the long, bitter dispute between Fell and Thomas Rawlinson over the latter's stewardship of Force Forge, the Fells' iron bloomery, Kunze raises serious questions about Fell's business ethics and documents her efforts to have Rawlinson ostracized from Quaker society. Fell's ability to persuade the Quakers to treat Rawlinson in this way has led Kunze to conclude that she "held a hegemonic power within the early Quaker meetings that was probably without parallel anywhere in the wider English or American Quaker community" (p. 125). Raw-

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linson finally acquired ownership of the forge in 1680, possibly, suggests Kunze, because of George Fox's intervention. About the time the dispute was settled, Fox left Swarthmoor Hall, never to return. He seldom saw his wife again, prompting Kunze to wonder if the dispute over the forge severely strained their relationship. She also hypothesizes that Fell's declining interest in the apocalyptic after 1668 may have resulted in a gradual parting of the ways between herself and Fox.

Influenced by recent gender studies, Kunze cogently argues that Fell was less a nurturing mother than a mother superior. Aggressive, domineering, argumentative, and sometimes aloof, she was a much stronger, more vigorous person than historians have hitherto indicated. Kunze accords Fell significant credit for the movement's survival, particularly her untiring efforts to promote Fox's primacy. Kunze is less convincing in arguing for Fell's influence on Fox in two crucial areas: the development of the peace testimony and the organization of women's meetings outside London. The peace testimony evolved over a period of years; for this there is much evidence, none of which Kunze analyzes. Although there can be no doubt that Fell contributed to its development, Kunze offers no substantive analysis of how Fell's views related to prior Quaker statements, nor does she adequately assess how much of the crucial June 1660 declaration, to which thirteen other Friends (including Fox) subscribed, can be attributed to Fell. Kunze suggests that Quaker historiography has downplayed Fell's role in establishing women's meetings; it was, Kunze postulates, "almost certainly" her idea to found them outside London as well as her decision to credit Fox with this development. This may have been the case, but the scanty evidence could just as readily support a contrary conclusion.

Kunze attributes considerable importance to Fell's class and wealth as factors that helped her become an influential Quaker leader, awing people in a manner Fox could not. That her wealth enabled her to play a dominant role among Quakers in the Swarthmoor area is undeniable; she had funds to provide employment, assist the indigent, and make loans. But where is the evidence for Kunze's claim that Fell's social rank gave her influence in high places? She had audiences with Stuart monarchs and magistrates, but so did Friends of humble origin. Neither can her acceptance among Friends when she traveled be attributed to her social rank, for numerous Quakers of lesser birth enjoyed similar welcomes. Fell's influence in Quaker circles was more likely the result of her organizational, personal, and writing skills.

This book should have received more polish before going to press. The northern rebellion occurred in October 1663, not August; the fall of James II took place in 1688, not 1689; James Nayler rode a horse into Bristol (p. 133), not a donkey (p. 215). Numerous bibliography entries are inaccurate (as in misspellings of Aylmer, Cressy, Galgano, and Sprunger) or incomplete. Nevertheless, this is a book rich in insights, provocative in interpretation, and a welcome addition to the corpus of Quaker studies.

RICHARD L. GREAVES
Florida State University

RICHARD GRASSBY. *The English Gentleman in Trade: The Life and Works of Sir Dudley North, 1641–1691.* New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xvi, 390. $69.00.

A quarter-century ago Richard Grassby and others attempted to reinvigorate the study of the English trading community. A dense empiricism and a reluctance to employ theoretical methods thwarted their efforts, however. Still insisting that business historians must not rely on quantitative and theoretical explanations, Grassby reenters the fray here with a biography of Sir Dudley North, a successful Restoration merchant, and promises a comprehensive study of the entire merchant community soon.

Launched modestly into trade in the 1660s, Dudley spent two decades in the Middle East constructing a complex import/export trade between the Mediterranean, Asia Minor, Europe, and the New World. By the 1680s his fortune encompassed trade, manufacturing, shipping, currency exchange, banking, and insurance. He then moved on to public office and real estate. Despite the enormous risks encountered in foreign trade, by his death in 1691 North had become wealthy and powerful.

Sheriff of London and member of Parliament in the reactionary 1680s, Dudley, a moderate Tory, earned a reputation for modesty and tact. As a commissioner of customs he was known as an impartial civil servant who attempted to improve, not exploit, the machinery of government.

A moderate Anglican who thought fanaticism absurd, Dudley had few intellectual interests, but his cosmopolitanism shielded him from a shallow materialism. Believing that marriage brought capital and status, Dudley discovered that the pursuit of profit did not preclude emotional satisfaction. Arguing similarly that the long-term interests of the family were more important than the wishes of its individual members, he belonged to a close and devoted family that remained a defensive shelter in a competitive, hostile, and mobile society.

Hailed as a prophet of the invisible hand, Dudley's writing on political economy suggested that markets operated most efficiently when individuals were free to compete. Drawing on the economic expansion of the 1660s and 1670s, London's phenomenal growth, and his own success, the early apostle of self-help believed that will-power, initiative, patience, thrift, resourcefulness, and industry were the driving forces behind personal success. Individual responsibility, common sense, and practicality were his religions. Dudley, a growth theorist who believed in a mixed economy, nevertheless demonstrates that it was pos-

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sible for a merchant to generalize rationally without sacrificing intellectual integrity to self-interest.

Reluctant to employ broad economic forces to account for Dudley's success, Grassby reduces mercantile success or failure to personal qualities and fate: luck, longevity, technical knowledge, sobriety, and persistence. This is, then, solid "Thatcherite" history.

Grassby's analyses of the Levant trade and Dudley's economic theories are superb. But his reluctance to employ economic theory, place Dudley's mercantile career in a comparative framework, or concede that larger economic forces could have contributed to his economic success makes this meticulously researched biography less useful than it could have been.

RONALD BERGER
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HAROLD J. COOK. *Trials of an Ordinary Doctor: Johannes Groenevelt in Seventeenth-Century London.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1994. Pp. xviii, 301. $45.00.

Harold J. Cook is well known to historians of medicine for his many studies of the organization of medicine in seventeenth-century London. His new book seems to signal a departure in theme, since it is billed as a "microhistory" by both the author and the publisher. There is, however, nothing "micro" about it except the microscopic detail with which the author describes the life of an "ordinary doctor" in late-seventeenth-century London. The purpose of "microhistory" is to take a single telling event as a point of entry into a worldview, to trace the ripples from a stone thrown into a pond. Cook instead takes a single event—an accusation of malpractice against a Dutch physician—and uses it as the basis for a detailed study of the physician's life. In other words, this is a biography, a genre apparently held in such disrepute that it must be disguised as something else.

As a biography, this book works reasonably well. Cook delved deeply into Dutch archives and brought his protagonist to life. Johannes Groenevelt (1648–1716) was born and educated in the Netherlands and migrated to London in the 1670s, where he practiced medicine for nearly two decades before being charged with malpractice by the Royal College of Physicians of London in 1694. Groenevelt was finally convicted three years later and thrown into Newgate prison; on his release, he vigorously defended himself against the College, but ultimately failed to regain his reputation.

Groenevelt's life makes a good story, and Cook tells it in elegant and engaging prose. But the book fails to convey its broader significance. Groenevelt himself is at times submerged in details about Dutch education, Dutch medicine, and Western Civ–style accounts of Dutch history. His birth, for example, is prefaced by a lengthy account of the history of his native town (all the way back to the Anglo-Saxons), and of the Netherlands as a whole, as if Groenevelt somehow embodied all this in himself.

And was Groenevelt's case so very significant? Amid the chaotic political and religious crises of the 1690s, the Royal College of Physicians of London was a very minor player. Cook argues forcibly both in this book and in an earlier work (*The Decline of the Old Medical Regime in Stuart London* [1986]) that the College of Physicians dominated medical practice in London. But thousands of practitioners, including Groenevelt himself, quite successfully ignored the College for most of their careers. That the College chose to make an example of Groenevelt does not help to illuminate the larger picture of medical practice in London, as Cook seems to believe he is doing. His emphasis on the legal technicalities of the case further obscures any broader significance it might have had.

I learned many interesting facts from this book and found it enjoyable and entertaining to read. Cook succeeds in telling us about the life of this ordinary doctor, but he does not succeed in making us care much about that life.

ANITA GUERRINI
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D. R. HAINSWORTH. *Stewards, Lords and People: The Estate Steward and His World in Later Stuart England.* (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. xix, 278. $59.95.

As its title indicates, D. R. Hainsworth's book is an examination of the later Stuart steward. Hainsworth argues that, although it has been assumed that the later Stuart steward was a mere collector of rents, in fact his role was as responsible and as multifaceted as that of his Hanoverian successor. Hainsworth introduces the steward as a "mediator," and this concept provides a framework suitable for description of the steward as an employee and of the diverse tasks on which he was employed.

Hainsworth describes the qualifications for employment as a steward. He traces stewards' activities in representing their lords to tenants, and tenants to their lords. He shows stewards forwarding their lords' political interest among voters, dispensing charity, vetting candidates for livings on their lords' estate, and upholding their lords' legal and seigniorial rights. And, finally, he shows stewards enhancing their lords' estate, discovering new and profitable ventures, and supervising the expenditure of profits in new mansions and exotic gardens.

Hainsworth could investigate this subject, even though he lives in Australia, because he focused his research on several series of voluminous correspondence between stewards and their lords, which he obtained on microfilm. As a result, the book has much to say about what lords expected of their

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stewards, and what stewards tried to do. But the book does not reveal how successful stewards were in their endeavors. How many of the voters whom a lord or steward considered to be in the lord's interest actually voted, and voted as directed? What proportion of leases contained what specific innovative provisions aimed at protecting the lord's revenues and soil? Hainsworth's sources cannot provide answers to such questions.

Hainsworth's sources do, however, enable him to present a fascinating description of the problems these stewards encountered as managers of the major business enterprises of an underdeveloped economy. Hainsworth devotes a chapter to analysis of the expedients stewards adopted when sending money from a country estate to the estate's lord, who was in London and so in need of funds. The chapter includes both a clear account of the rather unsatisfactory financial instruments available to the steward, and an equally interesting account of the stewards' ingenuity in finding other ways to send funds—by hiding specie in hampers of food sent to London by common carrier, for example, or by baking specie into a pie. Similarly, Hainsworth reveals the dilemmas that an underdeveloped economy presented to the manager of the only major business of a locality: how, for example, could a steward both get the best price when selling his lord's wood, and prevent transformation of the buyer into the monopsonist of the local market? Men who regularly overcame such impediments knew their worth. Indeed, it seems that later Stuart stewards took their rewards in ways that also reveal their era's underdeveloped concept of the professional business man. A steward's salary was about £40, but it was believed that these enterprising men usually discovered that their employment enabled them to do better. When one steward died possessed of over £30,000, his employer merely commented: "the man is dead, I shall make no inference" (p. 38).

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JACQUES CARRÉ. *Lord Burlington (1694–1753): Le connaisseur, le mécène, l'architecte.* Clermont-Ferrand: Editions Adosa. 1993. Pp. 599; 78 plates in separate volume.

No one would deny that Richard Boyle, third earl of Burlington, played a pivotal role in English artistic, and especially architectural, life in the first half of the eighteenth century. Fiske Kimball's groundbreaking articles of 1927, followed a generation later by Rudolf Wittkower's, set out the main principles of the architectural revolution that Burlington did not initiate but that he had the means, the energy, and especially the conviction to promote. What have been less well studied are Burlington's roles as aristocrat and patron, and the ways in which these intersected with his activities as an architect. Indeed, James Lees-Milne's chapter in *Earls of Creation* (1962), and a few older studies that also address themselves to aspects of the earl's social and political position, do not have nearly the profile today that the architectural studies, those mentioned above and a spate of other more recent ones, clearly have. Hence we approach Jacques Carré's book with much to learn about Burlington the man and, on the face of it, rather less when it comes to Burlington the architect. But, paradoxically, I shall conclude this review by saying that the author's most important contribution is actually in this latter domain.

Carré's study is a 511-page text, divided into three separate "books" whose headings reflect the categories of the subtitle. The text is then followed by six useful appendixes: on portraits of Burlington, the itinerary of his Grand Tour, the books dedicated to him and to which he subscribed, and so on; by a catalogue raisonné of his built work; and by an extensive bibliography (unfortunately broken down into sections and frustrating to use).

In "Le Connaisseur" and "Le Mécène," Carré gives us a vivid picture of Burlington as an "*être social*," a remarkably unambitious politician, and the animator of an artistic circle. His aristocratic status and the money that went with it—mainly from properties in Ireland that he never visited and from others in Yorkshire that he did—made all this possible; but Burlington's life did not conform to the norms of aristocratic life for very long. (Why does Carré persist, annoyingly, in calling him "l'aristocrate" throughout the book? "Le comte" would have done perfectly well.) Indeed, from being a fairly typical practitioner of "conspicuous consumption" (p. 15), illustrating "in an almost caricatural manner the attitudes of his social group toward culture," Burlington underwent a conversion to architecture. For him, the practice of architecture "becomes a way of *being* in society" (p. 16).

Carré places Burlington's "conversion" not only in the context of Shaftesbury's call for an artistic renaissance, as Christopher Hussey and Wittkower had done earlier; he also relates Burlington's attitudes to his interest in Newtonianism and, more especially, to his adherence to Freemasonry. This is convincing even though, as Carré himself admits, he cannot produce positive proof, since Burlington left no written record of his ideas. Where he goes too far, in my view, is in his attempt to place Burlington at the center of every intellectual position and every relationship current in his time.

The first such case is his discussion of Queen Caroline's Hermitage at Richmond, which, I am delighted to see, is for Carré a very important monument. We do not know whether Burlington had anything directly to do with William Kent's "physico-theological" garden temple, built in about 1731 for a woman who had her own intellectual interests. The verse Carré cites (p. 64) is hardly enough to go on, and neither is the fact that Burlington was associated

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in other contexts with the designer and sculptors involved. Yet Carré states several times that the queen "called on Burlington for help" (pp. 64, 66). Surely by 1731 Caroline (about whose involvement in Newtonian science and latitudinarian theology, incidentally, we know more than we do about Burlington's) did not need to turn to the earl for advice, although they may have shared some of the same interests.

The second instance in which Carré exaggerates Burlington's role, although in this case by failing to recognize that he shared the honors with another nobleman, is Alexander Pope's *Epistle to Burlington*, which, despite its title and the fact that there is also an epistle to Lord Cobham, celebrates the latter along with Burlington. To my mind, the famous lines (to which Carré does not refer) evoking Stowe, Cobham's more advanced landscape garden, constituted for Pope a sort of manifesto of the genre. For me, Cobham (named elsewhere in the poem) and Burlington are "brother peers," and Cobham is as much Pope's hero as Burlington. But it is Carré's unwillingness to look beyond Burlington, not my interpretation of the poem, that I wish to emphasize here.

Perhaps Carré is too close to his subject to fulfill his goal, stated early on in the book, of using Burlington as an example rather than an end in himself. His study, however, is a thoughtful and rich overview of the man and especially of his works. As suggested above, Carré's greatest contribution is in precisely the area that has been treated so many times before: his study of Burlington as an architect. Here he sheds much new light, for example about the public versus the private works, about the earl's participation in buildings he never even saw, and about the social role of "anglo-palladianism" in eighteenth-century England.

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R. O. BUCHOLZ. *The Augustan Court: Queen Anne and the Decline of Court Culture.* Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1993. Pp. xvi, 418. $45.00.

Courts were larger than any university college or noble household. Like them, the division of spoils was uneven. Top people in the court of Queen Anne were very well rewarded, those in the middle might make a living, those at the bottom were badly paid and sometimes cheated of their wages. Kitchen people, barge people, stables people, as well as ladies of the bedchamber tended to form closed groups or "societies" that had a tendency to perpetuate themselves by intermarriage. Rewards were considerably smaller in Anne's time than in previous courts. But the Churchill family, or the Hervey family, could do very well as a family during the eighteenth century even if the incomes of individuals went down. And people went to court, even when it did not pay, because what was the alternative? A man of ten or twenty thousand pounds a year, and there were a handful with thirty thousand, could not spend it in the country. Only at court did grand clothes and jewels make any sense. Court was better than Palm Beach or Newport in their best days.

Despite their size, courts did reflect the personality of the individual sovereign. Anne's eye problems made it impossible for her to take much interest in art or architecture. Her shyness made informal conversations agonizing for those near her; she had no small talk. From about 1703, her gout kept her from dancing or even walking the length of her drawing room, so that she sat in splendid isolation at the top of the room while her subjects stood at the bottom. The queen did not go to the theater, nor did she entertain all that often. R. O. Bucholz provides lists of her entertainments, trying to persuade us that Anne was a great hostess, but they prove the contrary.

Anne's court was a dull affair because Anne was a dull woman. She liked church music as well as the doctrines of the Church of England. She was an avid gambler. She liked hunting and could go sixty miles in a day in her two-wheeled cart when following a hunt. And that is about it. For the rest she was a statesman, doing her best to govern her country in wartime despite her ill-health and the brutal party struggles of the day. As a sovereign, she had none of the dazzle or charm of a Maria Theresa. But her reign was far more successful than that of the Empress Queen in less than one-third the time.

Bucholz has written a good book, which should be read together with Edward Gregg's biography (*Queen Anne* [1980]). He shows how well administrative history can be written. It might have been an even better book if the author had discussed the years 1695–1702, when Anne as princess acted as hostess for William III. It would have been a better book if he had discussed systematically the establishment of Prince George, surely a part of Anne's court; or the life at Windsor during the summers, when the queen visited but did not live in the castle. Did she, secretly, think of the queen of England as "she" rather than "I"? Certainly she believed that business was to be conducted by men, and not by any duchess of Marlborough or Somerset. But both as princess and as queen she did her duty and kept the revolution alive, leaving the country a peaceful Hanoverian succession at her death. As a hostess she may well have been dreadful; as queen, she deserves first-class honors.

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J. M. NEESON. *Commoners: Common Right, Enclosure and Social Change in England, 1700–1820.* (Past and Present Publications.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 382. $54.95.

The last two decades or so have seen a proliferation of impressive assaults on an orthodoxy that had slowly hardened around the vital question of English rural society's transition from the early modern to the

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modern eras of its development. This orthodoxy, in many ways a reaction to and rejection of the pioneering work of J. L. Hammond and Barbara Hammond at the beginning of this century, was often expressed in terms suggestive of a relatively smooth and advantageous transition. It may now be said that such terms are no longer tenable, at least as far as the experience of the ordinary rural folk was concerned. We have, in effect, returned to a position akin to the Hammonds' darker vision of things, only now armed with works of far greater precision and sophistication than anything available in their time. This is a testimony both to their remarkable perceptiveness and to recent advances made in understanding the full and nuanced meaning of changes in the English countryside in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

J. M. Neeson's study of the deleterious and highly disruptive impact of enclosure on common rights and common-field farming in this period fits easily into this mode of what might be termed neo-revisionism, and so in one sense her book may be seen simply as yet another well-delivered blow to an "optimistic" reading of the history of the enclosure movement. But beyond this, her central argument—that common rights were widely held and exercised, that they represented resources of considerable communal and economic value, and that their destruction at the hands of enclosers rendered unviable an ancient and deeply entrenched pattern of small landownership—constitutes a reading of eighteenth-century rural history that, if valid, would require of historians a major reconceptualization of the social structure and culture of much of fielden England. Through the lens of her study we see a resurrected world of "peasant" life and agriculture, a resurrection carried by her argument into the first decade of the nineteenth century so that parliamentary enclosure, a serious agent of change only after 1760, might play its historic role in destroying the last of the fabled English peasantry. This is an interpretation older even than the work of the Hammonds but one arrayed here in the garb of the most up-to-date scholarship.

A combination of ambitious conclusion and elusive evidential foundation prevents this study from achieving definitiveness in the most provocative and significant of its findings. Issues fundamental to an understanding of life in the common-field village, such as the extent and character of use rights derived from custom and practice, the economic and social value of cyclical and varied communal enterprises based on commons, wastes, and open fields, and the relationship of wage labor to petty landholding, are by nature fraught with difficulties of analysis and research. Knowing this full well, Neeson wisely opts to address these difficulties within the confined space of a single Midlands county, Northamptonshire, but then constructs a presentation that often seems intended to suggest a much wider applicability to her conclusions. If this is certain to give pause to the skeptical reader, so too will her characterizations of rural society in pre-enclosure England, which, despite her disclaimers and qualifications, come perilously close to being idealizations.

For all that, this is a book of authentic importance. It is at one level a veritable handbook on how the commons system qua system actually functioned, with its field orders, manorial juries, access qualifications, laws of turbary and estovers, commons stints, and the like. Yet the value of this information is as nothing beside that of the reflection and debate that the book's interpretive scheme and methodological framework are likely to provoke. There are bound be those who will find little or much to disagree with, but the core elements of Neeson's argument have the force and elaboration to convince even the skeptical reader that events both dramatic and pitiable overtook the commons system and the large numbers who relied on it once parliamentary enclosure began to transform the rural landscape. As she shows with insight and compassion, those events had more to do with the quality of social relations than the mere advent of fenced fields and woods. For most "commoners" the fences were but the visible features of a process that entailed a loss of personal and social worth, a decline in neighborly connection, a heightened sense of exploitation and expropriation, and a greater dependency on wage labor. Neeson's discussion of these and other social devastations is most compelling when focused on the details of Northamptonshire's experience. But when considered in conjunction with the work of J. M. Martin on Warwickshire and M. E. Turner on Buckinghamshire, her findings enable us to move substantially closer to a clear view of the social implications of parliamentary enclosure in Midlands England. It is starting to look to be something other than a pretty picture.

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J. M. HAAS. *A Management Odyssey: The Royal Dockyards, 1714–1914.* Lanham, Md.: University Press of America. 1994. Pp. vi, 243. $32.50.

The Royal Dockyards that supported the Royal Navy during the period of British naval supremacy were an essential element in that supremacy. For years, however, they escaped careful examination by historians, who preferred instead to focus on battles. For eighteenth-century historiography, this pattern changed with the substantial section on the dockyards in Daniel Baugh's *British Naval Administration in the Age of Walpole* (1965), R. J. B. Knight's University of London thesis (1972) and his subsequent volume of *Portsmouth Dockyard Papers, 1774–1783: The American War* (1987), Roger Morriss's *The Royal Dockyards during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars* (1983), and Jonathan Coad's study of architecture and engineering works, *The Royal Dockyards, 1690–1850* (1989).

Although a large number of military historians have begun to focus on the army's institutions and their

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interaction with social, political, and economic forces, naval historians have not generally followed their lead. Only those working on the eighteenth century have examined the dockyards in depth. Given this background, J. M. Haas's survey of two centuries of dockyard history takes on special significance.

Examining the dockyards in the Georgian period, Haas uses the earlier monographs but reaches a less-subtle conclusion about them, condemning them as totally lacking in sound management principles and inefficient, with high production costs, feeble planning, poor organization, and weak direction. Devoting less than a third of his book to the eighteenth century, Haas concentrates on the dockyards in the years from 1815 to 1914. Covering this period in 120 pages, divided into six periods, he presents a clearly written and entirely new narrative survey of dockyard developments, largely based on printed parliamentary reports and the correspondence in the Admiralty 1/ and 116/ series. In conclusion, he notes "the royal yards in 1914 were better managed than in 1885 and much better managed than in the eighteenth century" (p. 194).

Haas has made a valuable contribution in writing this survey. Remaining appreciative of his achievement, the reader is equally tantalized and frustrated in thinking about the further work that should develop beyond it. In a book with a title like Haas's, a reader might expect a case study linked to some concepts in industrial management theory. Haas does not attempt such a study, structuring his narrative instead around an undefined focus and a general description of the broad pattern of events in the dockyards. The author has limited his use of statistical information to a table of estimated wages for building HMS *Vernon* in 1832 and to another showing the number of naval constructors of various ranks in service in 1883. Relying entirely on chronological narrative, he eschews any complementary approach to demonstrate, either graphically or statistically, long-range trends and relationships. He makes occasional references to the larger related issues in British industrial, financial, and labor affairs, but readers are left to fill in those connections from their own knowledge.

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KENNETH MORGAN. *Bristol and the Atlantic Trade in the Eighteenth Century.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xvii, 281. $54.95.

Bristol in the eighteenth century was a thriving yet relatively declining center of the growing Atlantic trade, overtaken by the end of the century, and thereafter eclipsed, by Liverpool and Glasgow. The "metropolis of the west," first among English outports in 1700, had fallen to eighth place by 1800. The twin subjects of Kenneth Morgan's study, the port of Bristol and the Atlantic trade, have engaged the attention of other historians of the eighteenth century; Morgan, however, gives us a sharper picture by paying closer attention to shipping routes and commercial organization.

It was only in the last decade of the century that Liverpool surpassed Bristol in the sugar trade. In the case of the slave trade, however, Bristol had already been overtaken by Liverpool in the 1740s, and its participation by 1800 was negligible, while the larger possibilities of the tobacco trade were never realized. Morgan argues that the reasons for Bristol's relative decline were business conservatism, unresponsiveness to changing economic trends, and failure to expand areas of trade. Trade in slaves, tobacco, and sugar was concentrated, specialized, and by the 1770s dominated (as in Liverpool and Glasgow) by the few well-capitalized firms in a position to obtain the large credits that oiled long-distance seaborne trade. Morgan attributes declining participation in the slave trade to the disruptions of war, diffusion of investment in slave ships, competition on the African coast, and the failure of any one family to participate for more than a single generation.

Morgan emphasizes the high costs and risks of the trilateral Atlantic trade; instruction to ships' captains and overseas agents had to be flexible to respond to the complexities of the trade pattern. Bristoleans, Morgan notes, increasingly preferred the greater security of bilateral trade with the West Indies and North America, to which they exported industrial goods from all over southwest England. Bristol, however, did not have access to the new industrial districts of the Midlands, so important in the rise of rival Liverpool. Its merchants, unlike those of its competitors, shifted to the safer, more profitable pursuit of wartime privateering, and as a result they were unable to keep abreast of rapidly evolving commercial arrangements and surrendered trading ground abroad. Nor did they take advantage of the lucrative reexport trade in tobacco.

The merchants of Bristol put more and more of their eggs in a single basket, growing wealthy from their West Indian connections, while their business mentality became ever more conservative. By the end of the century the city was in the hands of a self-absorbed, civically irresponsible oligarchy unwilling to undertake the extensive port improvements without which the city was condemned to stagnate as a center of maritime trade.

Students of economic history will be grateful to Morgan for a work of impressive scholarship based on a mass of accessibly presented quantitative evidence and meticulous archival research not only in Great Britain but also in the United States, the West Indies, and Australia.

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DAVID R. COFFIN. *The English Garden: Meditation and Memorial.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 270. $35.00.

DOUGLAS D. C. CHAMBERS. *The Planters of the English Landscape Garden: Botany, Trees, and the* Georgics. New Haven: Yale University Press, for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art. 1993. Pp. 214; 130 plates. $45.00.

Lacking information about garden ornaments in Eden, Europeans sought models from classical Greece and Rome. In his book, David R. Coffin focuses sharply on emblematic garden decorations in England in the first half of the eighteenth century. Private gardens, he finds, became places to exercise English melancholia. In Catholic countries, gardens were festive and meditation occurred in churches; the English outfitted their gardens for contemplation. For meditation on death came sundials, Gothic ruins, grottoes, druidic monuments, hermitages, temples in honor of ancient and current leaders, memorial graves, and monuments.

Coffin organizes his study by type of memorial to transience rather than chronologically or by garden estate. Both Coffin and Douglas D. C. Chambers turn frequently to manor gardens familiar to tourists or from such essential studies as Christopher Hussey's *English Gardens and Landscapes 1700–1750* (1967): Stowe, Castle Howard, Stourhead in Wiltshire, Studley Royal in Yorkshire. Among estates less often covered, Hagley Park (in Worcestershire) and Shugborough (in Staffordshire, with its Shepherds' Monument recalling Poussin's *Et in Arcadia ego*), proved especially rich for Coffin in the reminders of death.

The book's final chapter rises from contemplative gloom in transition from obelisks to triumphal columns, including the Column of Victory at Blenheim and the column at Wrest Park honoring the landscape gardener Capability Brown. The conclusion looks forward to the "awesome picturesqueness" of a Romanticism bent on "escape through the imagination from the reality of the moment" (p. 221).

Although half of the eighty-seven illustrations are current or recent snapshots, Coffin expends his care on the past. He dedicates his book to the Marquand Library of Princeton University, where he searched books and periodicals of three centuries, works primarily but not altogether devoted to gardening. Sermons, poems, and anonymous hymns translate meditation into words for him more easily than masons translated remorse into stone.

Coffin's book shares notably with Chambers's in its attention to obelisks, pyramids, Alexander Pope's gardening and assessments of gardens, and the poet Shenstone's *ferme ornée*, Leasowes.

In a basically chronological account, Chambers begins with two developments that he treats as simultaneous events: the need to replace woodlands devastated during the Civil War, which led the Royal Society to commission John Evelyn's *Sylva, Or a Discourse of Forest-Trees* (1664), and the shift from attention to Virgil's *Eclogues*, which "had been trivialised and devalued by the artifice of royalist propaganda," toward attention to Virgil's *Georgics*, which encouraged planting for use as well as pleasure (pp. 6, 33). He speculates that landholders may have sought a myth of conservation as "a reaction against the new capitalism and its appropriation of the countryside" (p. 2). It may be that landholders sought the authority of Virgil in part to deny influence from the unadmired tree gardens of the French.

Chambers traces the changes from topiary to picturesque gardening as a unitary line bringing more and more of the rural landscape into the garden and its vistas. As an English professor, Chambers chooses to set aside deconstructionist views that the *Georgics* is an ironic work, with patently impossible instructions for grafting, speaking to the ironic mock-heroic spirit of Pope and his contemporaries. The implication of this study, however (and why not?), is that the extension of "wildernesses" within small and grand estates belongs to the neo-classicism of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Without denying the innovations of William Kent, Batty Langley, Capability Brown, and Humphry Repton, Chambers is able to show that each was anticipated by precursors.

Chambers's use of "Planters" in the title makes a two-sided reference to the innovative planting of trees and to the failure of most writers on landscape to ask who did the actual planting. The author has searched correspondence and other manuscripts in libraries and the records of societies to learn what he can about the gardeners, seedsmen, nurserymen, arborists, horticulturists, and amateur botanists necessary for the transformation he examines. His heroes, his own "worthy Patriots of Horticulture," are Evelyn, the gardeners behind the *Catalogus Plantarum* (1730), Stephen Switzer of *Ichnographia Rustica* and *Practical Husbandman*, the amateur Peter Collinson as chief undercover agent for the distribution of seeds, shrubs, and saplings, and Joseph Spence as percipient precursor to Chambers. The revolution required a tremendous increase in the repertoire of imported trees. Chambers asks what trees were planted, what was the country of origin, what nursery, arborist, or seedsman supplied them, and what gardener planted them. He provides some answers, but his study may stimulate research yet in its infancy.

Unprepared to describe Shenstone's *ferme ornée* as the Virgilian ideal, Chambers attends to Lord Petre as even more active than the third duke of Argyll in carrying out the arborial revolution, not only at his own Thorndon Hall in Essex but also in the extended gardens of kinsmen, the duke of Norfolk's Workshop in Nottinghamshire, and Philip Southcote's Wooburn Farm in Surrey. Like other students of gardens planned in the century following the Restoration, he ends with a shuddering glance toward the impending sublime, but innovatively he laments also

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the approaching introduction into English gardens, by learned botanists, of Linnean classification.

Chambers's volume is shaped like a coffee-table book, and the pages can be turned for the illustrations, which range from the historically informative to the stunningly aesthetic, but the text, with its closely studied and argued detail, will not encourage leisurely sampling.

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JEREMY BLACK. *British Foreign Policy in an Age of Revolutions, 1783–1793.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 559. Cloth $89.95, paper $34.95.

This lengthy volume by Jeremy Black is a densely packed history of the foreign relations of Britain, broadly defined, in the critical decade from the end of the war with the North American colonies to the outbreak of hostility with revolutionary France. The period begins with the accession of the younger William Pitt in December 1783, and concludes with the decision of the French Convention to declare war on Britain on February 1, 1793. During this decade, Britain moved from a position of weakness and uncertainty in the international arena to being positioned to play a major role in the arduous and unanticipated lengthy struggle against France that was to occupy British political and military leaders for the ensuing quarter-century.

The general international context in which the story of this transformation of British power is told is the domestic challenge to authority that energized not just European states but Asian and Middle Eastern societies as well. These challenges are juxtaposed to international developments in the relations between and among states. Refreshingly, territories such as India also receive considerable attention. How the twin themes of the conduct of British foreign policy and the rise of international revolution played out against each other in the confrontation of the powers over particular events is key to our understanding of the complexities of the decade.

Black, who has written extensively and imaginatively on other periods of British foreign policy in the eighteenth century, takes care to reiterate a theme he developed for the period prior to the accession of George III. It is that for Britain, at least, domestic politics cannot be ignored if we are fully to appreciate both the development and the implementation of national foreign policy. There is an especially interesting discussion that demonstrates the viability of this thesis, for example, in the Regency crisis of 1788 and its impact on the confidence of Britain's erstwhile allies as well as its influence on the conduct of official business in London. The penultimate chapter of the book, furthermore, deals explicitly with the issue of domestic politics as an integral component of foreign policy decision making.

Black's arguments on Britain's history are compelling. As he extends his view beyond Britain to incorporate the experiences of other powers with whom British political leaders were dealing, he might have ventured into uncharted water. Yet, because of his extensive use of manuscript sources and secondary works, many of them German and French as well as those of other states, the documentation cited in support of his conclusions on a wide range of issues is compelling. In fact, coverage of events such as the Nootka Sound Affair or the Ochakov conflict are the fullest currently available. The author brings to the study a vast understanding of the intricacies of foreign policy, which helps to place these and other events into the context of the complex web of eighteenth-century political history.

Contemporary and historiographical debates on the outbreak in war in 1793, of course, are the core issues Black must deal with if his overall thesis is to carry much weight. He subscribes to the notion that, although it may have been true that there were many possible causes of the war—a desire for war, ideological differences between Britain and France, miscalculation and misunderstanding on both sides, to list a few—in the end it was mutual distrust that mattered most. More interesting, Black argues compellingly that such distrust and suspicion were not new phenomena in the later eighteenth century. Earlier wars and other non-military conflicts likewise demonstrate this continuity.

What was new in 1793 was that the context for distrust had changed significantly because of what Black calls the perceived "challenge of revolution" (p. 467), especially to British society and institutions, most particularly the Anglican faith. This book, as with his others, contributes new views to our understanding of eighteenth-century diplomacy and politics by coming down on the side of a practical understanding of the issues faced by contemporaries as the simplest way for us to appreciate why things took place both as and when they did.

Perhaps most interesting is Black's discussion, frequently implicit but occasionally explicit, on the matter of periodization in British history between the Revolution of 1689 and that of 1789. Black argues that there was more continuity between the earlier part of this century and the later than some scholars have been inclined to acknowledge. He suggests that one cause for this misperception is the tradition of not studying the earlier part of the eighteenth century as thoroughly as we have worked over the later part. When one delves into the documents for the century as a whole, however, it is clear that late-eighteenth-century statesmen held more experiences and attitudes in common with their predecessors than sometimes has met the eye.

This book, or at least significant sections of it, will be mandatory reading for anyone seeking to understand the complex interplay of foreign policy and domestic politics in the eighteenth century generally

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and of Britain particularly. One might quibble with some of the particular interpretations of individuals and of government actions, but overall Black's conclusions are sound and well grounded in the sources.

CHARLES R. MIDDLETON
University of Colorado, Boulder

BRIAN HENRY. *Dublin Hanged: Crime, Law Enforcement and Punishment in Late Eighteenth-Century Dublin.* Dublin: Irish Academic Press; distributed by ISBS, Portland, Oreg. 1994. Pp. 222. $39.50.

This volume by Brian Henry consists of eight chapters, the first being a statistical survey, followed by four chapters on crime and the hanged (women, theft, murder, industrial violence) and three chapters on the police and the hangers (the watch, the police, and transportation). Hence, the structure of the book maintains the conventional, causal logic between crime and punishment.

The author studies the hangings of 232 men and 10 women, about twelve a year over the sixteen-year period between 1780 and 1795, in Dublin, whose population was 180,000. His principal source is the *Hibernian Journal.* The period is characterized by the expansion of the capital sanction by private and public statute. The law protected the propertied and hanged the propertyless. Henry takes no pleasure in acknowledging this fact, but he also does not shrink from it. Almost everyone was armed. Execution madness gripped the city; many innocent people were hanged.

The period begins with the aftermath of the Gordon Riots in London. In Ireland in 1780 three Combination Acts were passed outlawing journeyman organization in all industries. The legislation, the result of the agitation of merchants and manufacturers, added the death penalty for attacks on workshops, tools, and materials. The Dublin workers were thus forced into illegal forms of organization, such as secret oaths, anonymous letters, arson, swearing allegiance to non-union labor, tar and feathering, workshop confrontation, and the destruction of machines (spring looms and gigg mills). After 1781 women in Dublin, linked to unscrupulous shipmasters, began kidnaping children to sell as servants to the British colonies. Women ran the underground economy.

The Volunteers were formed at the time as a vigilante group of armed patriots of the radical bourgeoisie. They counterattacked the journeymen by raiding the tailors, sawyers, sugar-bakers, skinners, and carpenters in rough, raucous class war. The Volunteers, however, collapsed in 1784. Demobilization following the American victory in the War of Independence also resulted in an increase in crime in Dublin. Adding to the crisis, transportation to America came to an end. After some experimentation with transportation to Africa and illicit transportation to America, Australia was determined to be the best destination for condemned felons. At this historical conjuncture, the Police Act of 1786 was passed, creating the first centralized police force in Britain or Ireland. The Regius Professor of Laws at Trinity College told Parliament in 1788 that "the police were in general the aggressors of the law."

Public hangings took place at Stephen's Green, in front of Newgate prison in Green Street, on Gallows Hill opposite Kilmainham jail, and on Kilmainham Common. Two women were burned at the stake, an arsonist in 1783 and a murderess in 1784. Disruption of hangings was often threatened, either to prevent the hanging or to prevent the dissection of the bodies afterward. "Their bodies are themselves," observed a writer calling himself "magistrate," and dissection was an aggravation, while others suggested that the limbs of felons be amputated in order to be transplanted onto disabled soldiers and sailors. To reduce the danger of threats to hanging and escapes from prison the authorities in 1785 moved the gallows to inside the prison, and the crowds that formerly witnessed the executions were excluded.

When riots and mutinies took place against the military in 1793, and in the same year when food riots swept the Liberties of Dublin, hangings were organized to deter the disturbances, reminding us that the theme of criminalization was never far from political opposition. There are wonderful parts in this book, such as the story of the Liberty Light Horsemen, who led the journeyman tailors, and the "De Shuboys" address of 1792, which is an exuberant statement deserving widespread reprinting. It is such evidence that persuades us to assent to Henry's conclusion, namely that the journeymen committees outlasted the police, the Volunteers, and the Irish Parliament.

PETER LINEBAUGH
University of Toledo

NANCY J. CURTIN. *The United Irishmen: Popular Politics in Ulster and Dublin, 1791–1798.* New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. vi, 317. $52.00.

The 1790s ended in a bloody fashion in Ireland and produced a new relationship between Ireland and Westminster, the legislative union that created the United Kingdom. The challenge to British authority represented by the United Irishmen was the immediate cause of both the bloodshed and the union. An extensive narrative record exists for the 1790s, and Nancy J. Curtin has filled an important gap by supplementing that story with a study that closely examines United Irish efforts to mobilize the Irish in behalf of a republic. Her thematic and analytical approach focuses on the United Irish organizations based in Belfast and Dublin. The Wexford rising is not covered, but the reader is amply rewarded with much new material on the movement in the capital and in Belfast and environs. Curtin's book is testimony to diligent work in the massive government

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archives preserved in the Irish State Paper Office, now incorporated in the Irish National Archives. The magnitude of her research effort, particularly in Dublin and the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, is complemented by the critical judgment she brings to the interpretation of sources, which she recognizes contain the bias and apprehension of the official mind confronted by a militant challenge that had crossed religious and regional boundaries.

The study convincingly substantiates Curtin's premise that the purpose of the United Irishmen was to achieve a mass mobilization that would bring about a republic through politicization at the popular level. By 1797–98 the United Irishmen were a serious threat to British and Ascendancy rule in Ireland, and the intensity of the consequent repression was a tribute to their accomplishment. Building imaginatively on work by pathbreaking scholars such as Marianne Elliott, Curtin conducts a thorough analysis of all dimensions of the United Irish movement. She begins with an excellent discussion of the intellectual and political context that both motivated and defined this sophisticated movement, placing it squarely in the late-eighteenth-century democratic mainstream. She looks in detail at the distinctive ways in which the United Irish groups in Dublin and Belfast organized themselves and conducted their business, including their use of the press and public demonstrations.

The question of armed force was problematic throughout the 1790s, and Curtin describes how the shift in national leadership from the Belfast organization and the growth of a clandestine national system changed the posture of the movement, leading to fierce government pacification in Ulster. She explores recruiting methods, provides an original membership analysis of the 1,700 activists she has identified, and adds new insight into the degree to which the United Irishmen won active support among the Catholic peasantry through the elaborate Defender network. Her fresh account of the unsuccessful northern risings in 1798 is exciting and shows that, although Ulster was not able to assist the risings in the south of Ireland, the pacification of the 1796–98 period had not altogether neutralized northern militancy and active commitment.

At times, Curtin analyzes too thoroughly, which can make this well-written text repetitious. The editors have overlooked some awkward word choices and the fact that "data" are plural (p. 126). Otherwise her sympathetic analysis is clear-sighted, stimulating, and authoritative. This book is an excellent example of what revisionist Irish history, much debated in recent years, ought to be about. It is fundamentally about the search for evidence that extends our knowledge on issues about which much has been said and too often not enough is known. Writing based on new sources and information that reveals new depth and complexity may clash with prevailing but insufficiently proved received wisdom. But it also expands our appreciation and understanding of people and events. This makes the whole enterprise more interesting, exciting, and, indeed, challenging. Such is the contribution that Curtin makes with this volume.

W. J. Lowe
University of Detroit Mercy

Irene Collins. *Jane Austen and the Clergy.* Rio Grande, Ohio: Hambledon Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 242. $40.00.

Jane Austen spent the first twenty-five years of her life in a rural parsonage in Hampshire. Her father, two brothers, and four cousins were clergymen. In her study, Irene Collins draws on Austen's views of the clergy as revealed in her novels and letters to illuminate the world of the mainstream Anglican churchmen in the pre-Victorian establishment. In acknowledging that she values Austen's novels equally with her letters as historical sources, Collins concedes that she follows a historiographical tradition that is no longer fashionable, but her deft use of fiction as a source for social history is both justified and successful. Both Janeites and scholars will find much to admire in her work.

Collins assembles a wealth of detailed information about the day-to-day lives of the parsons of Jane Austen's England. She provides a cogent guide to the world of patronage, tithe, and glebe. The inadequacies of the system are clearly presented, particularly the refusal of the church to take any corporate responsibility for the salaries, housing, upkeep, or pensions of its clergy or to acknowledge the sufferings this refusal brought to clerical families.

In the world of rural parsons, Jane Austen is a reputable guide. Indeed, this was the only world in which she was thoroughly at home. Her novels are peopled by clergymen, most frequently as lovers, husbands, or neighbors. An intelligent and devout Christian, she was also accepting of many of the weaknesses of the church. She took patronage for granted; she expected that clergymen would be gentlemen, although she revealed in her writing only a casual understanding of the income that supported the gentlemanly clergy she admired. In her novels, most clergymen enjoy private incomes, usually from land: the memorable exception is the odious Mr. Collins of *Pride and Prejudice.* In common with many in her social class, she was suspicious of personal and informal religion. A regular churchgoer, "she liked to hear the same old truths firmly and decently delivered" (p. 97). Unlike her contemporary, William Wilberforce, Jane Austen was not offended by the leisured life styles of the country parsonage. She believed that clergymen were neither better nor worse than ordinary men, and thought it possible to function within a corrupt system without being corrupted.

Austen was unpersuaded by the evangelical view of the depravity of human nature. She agreed with Wilberforce that human conduct was often flawed, but her view of immorality was that it was the result of

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self-absorption, and the denial of duty owed to others. Her remedy was a greater degree of self-knowledge and a stronger sense of community. Ultimately, for Jane Austen, it was the community, or the neighborhood, rather than the nation, that shaped morals and values. The neighborhood—the social elite of rural England—was "the heartland of the established church" (p. 92), and it is this world that Collins reveals in this balanced and creative social history.

PATRICIA STALLINGS KRUPPA
University of Texas, Austin

RICHARD YEO. *Defining Science: William Whewell, Natural Knowledge, and Public Debate in Early Victorian Britain.* (Ideas in Context, number 27.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xiii, 280. $54.95.

William Whewell (1794–1866), philosopher, historian, mathematician, geologist, theologian, and educator, has been a difficult figure for historians to pin down. The polymathic Cambridge academic was too glibly labeled by Sydney Smith, who quipped that science was his forte but omniscience his foible. He is little remembered within the two disciplines in which he held chairs at Cambridge, mineralogy and moral philosophy. Instead, what current reputation he enjoys is based on his work as a historian and philosopher of science. Richard Yeo persuasively argues, however, that to classify him as a pioneer of disciplines that only emerged later is to fail to do justice to the range and overall intentions of his scholarly work.

In place of anachronistic readings, Yeo proposes a novel interpretation of the general direction of Whewell's intellectual labors. He portrays him as a "metascientist," an analyst of the philosophical underpinnings, and a defender of the moral implications, of science as a whole. Yeo shows how the young man from Lancashire carved out a role for himself in the review periodicals, using the springboard of a secure academic position to launch himself as a commentator in the public sphere. There he engaged in the enterprise of defining and defending the sciences that was later to bear fruit in his mature works on their history and philosophy.

This was an enterprise for which Whewell clearly felt a vocation, but it was one that led him into difficult and contentious areas of debate. Yeo rejects the view that science was already harmoniously integrated within the "common context" of early nineteenth-century British culture. On the contrary, Whewell is shown to have faced an uphill task. He found himself defending his vision of science on two fronts: against the Utilitarians, whose Enlightenment-inspired vision he feared was tainted by materialism, and against Romantic and High Church critics, who rejected science altogether because of these dangerous associations. Yeo argues plausibly that it was in the context of debate with these two opposing positions that Whewell's own epistemology of science was formulated.

In this way Yeo's study invites historians to reconsider the problematic role of science in early Victorian culture. As an Anglican clergyman and the master of a Cambridge college, Whewell could not share the philosophical radicals' vision of sweeping technological and scientific change. His own articulation of the harmony of science with natural theology was, however, called into question even by close colleagues. In addition, the development of specialized scientific disciplines began to make ambitions to omniscience look hopelessly outdated. Before the end of his life, Whewell was obliged to admit that specialization was a necessary factor in scientific progress, notwithstanding his personal "foible" for trying to know everything.

Yeo has written a significant book that synthesizes much recent work on Whewell and his context while also advancing its own original thesis. It will serve as a fine introduction to an extraordinary individual. It also raises new questions to be considered by all who are interested in the intellectual life of nineteenth-century Britain.

JAN GOLINSKI
University of New Hampshire

R. J. W. SELLECK. *James Kay-Shuttleworth: Journey of an Outsider.* Portland, Oreg.: Woburn; distributed by ISBS. 1994. Pp. xiv, 494. $25.00.

In this, the first modern biography of Sir James Phillips Kay-Shuttleworth (1804–77), one of the premier Victorian civil servants, R. J. W. Selleck skillfully blends the personal and public to produce a rounded portrait of the man. Selleck rightly observes that Kay-Shuttleworth's public interests, including health, medicine, literature, industrialization, education, poverty, administration, politics, and religion, make him a fascinating figure for social historians. But the biography also shows how the personal sometimes can be political. Born into the industrial, Dissenting, entrepreneurial classes, Kay-Shuttleworth worked among the urban, professional middle class and married into the landed gentry. He was idealistic and ambitious, supremely confident and deeply uncertain, an advocate of Victorian family values whose marriage collapsed, a Dissenter who conformed to the Church of England, a writer of statistical reports who wanted to write novels. Selleck depicts Kay-Shuttleworth as always the outsider, whether it be in his medical career, the civil service, the English gentry, or even his own family. His life mirrors the age.

Selleck devotes the first 100 pages of the book to fixing the Kay and Phillips families in the context of Lancashire entrepreneurial Nonconformity, establishing Kay-Shuttleworth's formative influences, and investigating his Edinburgh medical training and Manchester professional practice. The next 150 pages

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analyze Kay-Shuttleworth's bureaucratic career from 1835 to 1849, first as an assistant poor law commissioner and then at the Education Department (a career ended by a mysterious physical collapse), and his marriage to the heiress Janet Shuttleworth. The final 150 pages recount his life in retirement as educational elder statesman, would-be novelist, patron(izer) of Charlotte Brontë, organizer of aid during the Lancashire cotton famine, steward of the Shuttleworth family fortunes, and rejected husband.

The biography rests on thorough research. Selleck uses to good effect Kay-Shuttleworth's published works, family and estate papers at the John Rylands University Library of Manchester and the Lancashire Record Office in Preston, and other manuscript sources. In addition, Selleck received access to hitherto unknown collections held by the present Lord Shuttleworth, and to the diary of Kay-Shuttleworth's wife's stepfather. The author cites almost all of the relevant secondary accounts. (He omits Richard Johnson's articles on education in *Past and Present* and in A. P. Donajgrodzki's *Social Control in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, my article in *The Historian* on the limits of Kay-Shuttleworth's administrative powers, and Anthony Brundage's biography of Edwin Chadwick [*England's "Prussian Minister": Edwin Chadwick and the Politics of Government Growth, 1832–1854* (1988)].) The book is free from typographical errors, save that the historian Olive Brose becomes "Oliver." The illustrations are well chosen and clearly reproduced; the book is clearly printed on good paper.

Selleck treats subject and sources with integrity. He never goes beyond what the evidence can sustain as he reads Kay-Shuttleworth's literary efforts to assess the man's personality, diagnoses his medical condition (perhaps quaternary neurosyphilis), suggests how he may have contracted the disease (perhaps from a patient, perhaps from a prostitute), and analyzes his relationships with employers, parents, wife, and children. Selleck is sensitive to the dynamics of both the human psyche and interpersonal relationships without engaging in simplistic psychologizing, but also without relying on any theoretical psychological framework. He believes that Kay-Shuttleworth had a somewhat freer hand in formulating policy than I think the evidence supports.

I raised many of these issues and sketched an interpretation of how Kay-Shuttleworth's private and public lives intersected, in an article ("Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth: The Man Behind the Myth," *History of Education* 14 [1985], 185–98). Selleck, however, moves far beyond me to flesh out the man's life, deepen the analysis, and fix the interpretation in rich evidence. This is an excellent, sometimes movingly written book; it enriches our understanding of what it meant to be a middle-class professional in the nineteenth century.

D. G. Paz
Clemson University

Maurice W. Kirby. *The Origins of Railway Enterprise: The Stockton and Darlington Railway, 1821–1863.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xv, 223. $59.95.

As Maurice W. Kirby notes, the Stockton and Darlington Railway was not the first railway sanctioned by Parliament, the first public railway, nor the first railway to use a locomotive. Still, although horses competed with locomotives along its lines for years, it deserves recognition as the first modern railway. Yet all too often it is treated as a footnote in railway history, as if the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, by linking larger centers, was more deserving of scholarly acclaim, despite having been second by some five years.

Kirby points out, however, that there are many other reasons than its temporal priority for us to be interested in the Stockton and Darlington. It did much to establish the advantages of locomotives over horse traction (aided by falling coal prices and rising fodder prices). It highlighted the necessity for a very high standard of construction. Its surveying arm planned many other British railways. It provided the bulk of the finance for Robert Stephenson's locomotive factory; after years of costly experiment he was able to win the locomotive trials held by the Liverpool and Manchester. It opened up a huge area of Durham and Yorkshire; the potential of the Auckland coal fields and Cleveland iron ore deposits could not have been fully realized without the railway (by 1870 the district was the largest iron producer in the world).

Kirby brings a vast scholarly knowledge to bear on these events. In analyzing the finances of the railway (a public firm, it was dominated by the Quaker Pease family and relied predominantly on funds from other Quakers), he draws on the insights of Alfred Chandler, Ronald Coase, and Max Weber. These diverse theories are concisely stated and carefully applied. He concludes that the greatest advantage of the Quaker connection was the close personal ties that resulted from the regular meetings of the Society of Friends. These meetings served valuable non-religious roles in transmitting business information and establishing trust. Kirby concludes that students of organization should study such mechanisms by which transaction costs can be internalized outside the firm.

Kirby suggests that a regional approach can provide a better understanding of the Industrial Revolution; in particular it is clear that railway developments played a more dramatic role in south Durham than nationally. I would place caveats on both conclusions. A full understanding of Durham's growth can only come through recognizing the growth of markets for its coal and iron. Although railways had a less dramatic effect elsewhere, this was only because most of Britain was already well-served by road and water transport by the later eighteenth century; in all regions transport improvements were a key component of economic development. (Kirby does note that

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the first railway appeared in a region with abundant resources but poor transport.)

I can only highlight here a few of the points brought out by Kirby. I especially liked his discussion of the role of the northeastern coal fields in the early development of iron wagonways and the steam engine. Ironically, promoters only chose to build a railway rather than a canal due to a feeling that most transport would be downhill and that railways were best suited to this. George Stephenson had to overcome his personal ties to a local cast-iron producer to decide that (superior) wrought iron rails were to be used; if not for this Stephenson would not likely have felt the need to establish a locomotive manufacture in his son's name. The Pease family was occasionally farsighted and at other times made grave entrepreneurial errors.

In sum, this is a work of impressive scholarship that will be of interest to a wide audience.

RICK SZOSTAK
University of Alberta

RICHARD H. TRAINOR. *Black Country Élites: The Exercise of Authority in an Industrialised Area, 1830–1900.* New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xix, 437. $72.00.

The move away from reductionist class analysis has been much discussed in recent years and is perhaps best enshrined in F. M. L. Thompson, ed., *The Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750–1950* (3 vols., 1990). Richard H. Trainor's monograph—a feat of impressive scholarship, it should be said at the outset—comprises a welcome contribution to this historiographical trend. Although he talks about the traditional "upper class," "middle class," and "lower class," he proceeds to insist that there were significant subdivisions within these classes (like the upper middle, lower middle, and "middle middle" classes). He often refers to permeable class boundaries, notable exceptions, interclass harmony, and the like. More importantly, his investigation centers on a regional "elite," which he defines as consisting of "those individuals, from whatever class or stratum, who held leadership posts in the major institutions of the district or one of its towns" (p. 18). This elite was not, as it turns out, a homogeneous socioeconomic group since it contained the successive earls of Dartmouth, industrialists like the Kenricks, Chances, and Bagnalls, and even some clerks and workers. Thus, although Trainor uses "class" terminology and does not dispute Harold Perkin's notion of a "viable class society," his actual analysis does much to subvert those concepts.

Trainor takes as his focus the Black Country of south Staffordshire with particular reference to West Bromwich (the "Chicago of the Midlands"), Dudley, and Bilston. Based on his Oxford doctoral thesis of 1981, his book draws on virtually every relevant primary source and secondary work, including novels set in the region, painstakingly compiled statistical data, and many items published since the thesis was completed. He is thus able to make effective use of recent comparative perspectives, although the text can, at times, become overburdened with these parallel developments (nine localities outside the Black Country are mentioned in one paragraph on p. 241).

The major achievement of this work is to trace the lineaments of elite formation during a period of prodigious demographic and economic growth. Amid the coal mines, ironworks, and nailors' workshops of the Black Country, new political and voluntary institutions (and reformed older ones) needed to recruit throngs of new leaders. Late Victorian Bilston alone had over two hundred leadership positions. Trainor's main conclusions reflect a thorough understanding of the complexity of this process. He shows that controversies abounded, and many of them have a curiously contemporary ring. For example, large increases in the number of people receiving free medical care at the West Bromwich District Hospital caused alarm in the 1870s. One commentator from the middle classes responded by pointing out the evil of giving free care to those who could afford to pay: "after all the social disease created by helping those who are able to help themselves is worse than pure physical ailment" (p. 330). Alternately contentious and conciliatory, parsimonious and generous, the Black Country elite ultimately succeeded in engineering "the transition from tumult to tranquillity" (p. 6) that broadly characterized Victoria's reign. The depth of scholarship supporting this analysis does much to demolish the class-conflict model found in Trainor's most obvious *bête noire,* the work of George Barnsby (see above all Barnsby's *Working Class Movement in the Black Country 1750 to 1867* [1977]).

Trainor's book is not without its own weaknesses. First, gender analysis is almost wholly lacking. Given the author's boundless energy in ferreting out manuscript letters and tracing analogous urban, regional, and national trends, he surely could have incorporated at least some of the insights found in Patricia Hollis's *Ladies Elect: Women in English Local Government 1865–1914* (1987) or related works. Second, accounts of elite activities on town councils, hospital committees, and school boards too often grow into broad-based surveys of those institutions, surveys that threaten to become a general history of the Black Country. One account of education (pp. 274–76) includes material on student attendance, school fees, and teacher-student ratios, material that seems tangential to the process of elite formation. Third, despite the book's title, Trainor's main interest lies in the period after 1850. The Reform Crisis and Chartism get short shrift, and other wide-ranging critiques of power relationships (like Owenism) scarcely make an appearance. The early Victorian period thus becomes a rather one-dimensional age of dimly perceived tumults waiting for inspired elite leadership to emerge and impose tranquillity.

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Trainor's clear, vigorous prose, carefully framed arguments, and rich supporting documentation nevertheless help to make his general points compelling for the mid and late Victorian periods. His study of the rise of a confident, largely successful, and proudly heterogeneous Black Country elite can unquestionably take its place beside the major urban and regional studies of Victorian England.

ROBERT GLEN
University of New Haven

DAVID CESARANI. *The* Jewish Chronicle *and Anglo-Jewry, 1841–1991.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 329. $59.95.

In England in the years between the 1820s and 1840s the religious press flourished as it had not flourished before. Dissenters used the press of this period to advance their claims for civil or religious equality while the established church employed it to preserve the status quo. In 1840 the Roman Catholic *Tablet* made its first appearance. The *Nonconformist* was launched in 1841. In July 1842 Unitarians produced a periodical of their own, the *Inquirer.* These newspapers or periodicals were designed to reinforce the faith of their readers and to present their aspirations and demands to a more general public. At this time almost 40,000 Jews lived in England. They suffered under a variety of civil and religious disabilities but by 1830 some of their leaders had initiated a campaign to improve their situation. In 1841, in consequence of these developments, the *Jewish Chronicle* was launched in London. Newspapers like the *Chronicle* had already succeeded in Germany, France, and Russia. The objects of the paper's founders were to enable their fellow Jews to improve their community, to enlighten the larger society in which they lived, and to help the Jews of England "to flourish as patriotic Englishmen" (p. 7). The English Jews were people who often disagreed with each other. Serious religious and political differences divided them regularly and there were also generational and ideological conflicts at every turn. These disputes were now reflected in the pages of the *Jewish Chronicle* almost as a matter of course.

A major development for English Jews occurred in 1881 when the Russian tsar was assassinated. As a result of the persecutions that followed, large numbers of Jews began to flee Russia and other East European countries. Most Jews in England sympathized with these victims of oppression but many of them did not want the exiles of this era to come to England. Their distaste for the newcomers was sometimes reflected in the pages of the *Jewish Chronicle.* The paper spoke for those English Jews who believed themselves to be more civilized than the easterners, and who also feared that people in England might lump them together with the refugees and recoil in disgust from both groups. The *Jewish Chronicle* argued that the outcasts should go to the United States and, on occasion, it even urged that they should be sent back to their countries of origin.

By 1911 the *Jewish Chronicle* was so successful that branch offices were opened in Leeds and Manchester. It continued as a forum of ideas for the Jews of England and it defended them against the waves of anti-Semitism that occasionally broke out in the country. In 1941 a high point was reached when Prime Minister Winston Churchill wrote to the paper in the warmest terms to congratulate it on the occasion of its centenary. David Cesarani's book, by examining these matters, is a welcome addition to the history of the British press.

ALFRED GOLLIN
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MICHAEL MASON. *The Making of Victorian Sexuality.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. 338. $25.00.

I was more than halfway through chapter 1 of Michael Mason's study when I was overcome by the suspicion that I was going to be told very little about sexuality. The book comes with no acknowledgements, preface, or introduction, but my doubts were strengthened by a quick glance at the index and bibliography. Should not such a purported synthesis say something about Charles Darwin and Francis Galton, make more than one slighting reference to Thomas Laqueur, and at least note the works of Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, Lawrence Stone, Edward Shorter, Randolph Trumbach, and Wally Seccombe on changing family forms; those of Richard Soloway and myself on the history of birth control; of Lawrence Stone on divorce, Roy Porter on sex advice, and Jeffrey Weeks on homosexuality? Working backward through the text I was further puzzled to find lumped together in the appendixes discussions of nineteenth-century English class divisions, working-class housing, and spermatorrhoea, three topics that made most unlikely bedfellows. The book's illustrations were no more enlightening. Even my libidinous imagination could not detect any hint of sexuality in prints of carriages in Charing Cross, promenaders on Regent Street, and ships at quayside in Liverpool harbor.

My attempts to find an easy way into the book having failed, I reluctantly returned to the first chapter where, in due time, I unraveled the author's argument. Mason—who is pleased to regard himself as unfashionable, refuses to discuss homosexuality, and insists on referring to unmarried women as "girls"—asserts that unnamed liberal historians have presented the Victorians as sexually repressed. His goal is to show that much of what has been taken as signs of nineteenth-century sexual moralism, if viewed in its social context, is better interpreted as a rational and progressive code. All of chapter 1, and indeed most of the book, is accordingly concerned with examining not sexuality per se, but the wider topic of

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Victorian "respectability." Once the author admits that the book is about morals and manners rather than sex—marketing considerations no doubt prevented it bearing a more honest title—the reader begins to understand why long sections are devoted to the topics of genteelness, Malthusian economics, medical ethics, and the statistical movement.

Readers interested in those topics and undergraduates who need to have pointed out to them the absurdity of believing that every Victorian was wedded to prudery, hypocrisy, and the sexual double-standard, will find the book of some use. But those who want to know more about the history of sexuality will be disappointed to find that Mason, although boasting of his study's unusual "weight of evidence about behavior," has unearthed no new sources, as did Peter Gay and Françoise Barret-Ducrocq, who more successfully covered much the same ground. Indeed, the main problem with this volume is that evidence is constantly overwhelmed by speculation. Take, for example, Mason's discussion of the decline of fertility in nineteenth-century England. Mason embraces the discredited notion that fertility rates were "surely" brought down by recourse to manufactured contraceptives. He first modestly claims that such devices must have had "some" importance. But once that thin edge of the wedge is conceded he proceeds to claim that contraceptives had a wide impact. Why? Because it allows him to suggest that Victorian couples, happily handling all kinds of peculiar floppy rubber devices, could not have been as prudish as has been so often claimed. Unfortunately, the fragility of this logical house of cards is made immediately apparent by turning to any current account of the demographic transition. All the evidence indicates that in nineteenth-century England, as earlier in France and later in Eastern and Southern Europe, traditional means of restricting family size such as coitus interruptus and abortion were until well on into the twentieth century the main methods of limiting births.

Mason irritatingly refers repeatedly to the second volume of this study, which will simply deal with ideology. Since, as a lecturer in English, he appears to be better at argumentation than in the exploitation of new sources, one can hope that the second volume will be of more interest than the first.

Angus McLaren
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Stefan Petrow. *Policing Morals: The Metropolitan Police and the Home Office, 1870–1914.* New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 343. $52.00.

Investigating the poorer classes in late-nineteenth-century York, B. S. Rowntree was surprised to learn that his subjects' eager question of one another—"What did you do today?"—had nothing to do with the daily round, but everything to do with the day's racing selections. By then working-class gambling had been added to drunkenness, prostitution, and habitual crime as the chronic failings allegedly threatening industrial efficiency and racial survival. London, with its notorious residuum, was the prime focus of national anxieties, and a battery of reform associations set out to enlist a more interventionist state in proving that, contrary to received wisdom, it was indeed possible to make men moral by act of parliament. The front-line troops in this campaign were the Metropolitan Police whose masters at the Home Office nourished their own bureaucratic imperatives of professional specialization for the force. In this judicious, even courteous account, Stefan Petrow shows how the statutory and operational obligations of the Met rose exponentially in this period, subject to the counterweight of a strong libertarian lobby, the independence of magistrates, the resistance movement that was urban popular culture, and the considerable misgivings of the copper on the beat.

To this uneasy and contested terrain senior officers brought a further agenda, notably the introduction of more scientific systems of supervision, registration, and identification, in the fight against habitual criminals. With the formation of the Criminal Investigation Department (CID) in 1878, the emphasis switched from prevention to detection, necessitating more secretive operations that brought both glamour and scandal to the image of the police detective whose equivocal relationships with criminals and informants induced high levels of corruption. (Petrow's mastery of the "police procedural" mode is particularly absorbing here.) With greater powers of intervention into public house licensing and street prostitution, the policeman on the beat was also more likely to take payment for favors. Yet there were zealots too, a minority whose vigorous prosecution of new duties could provoke greater public outcry than the connivers; it was Metropolitan officers who implemented the Contagious Diseases Acts that outraged the anti-statists.

Cast as rogues or tyrants by their critics, the police appeared as little more than buffoons in their campaign against betting, an offense that for many came to supplant intemperance as the English vice. The least morally reprehensible of offenses to the average policeman, this was the object of the most discriminatory of class-based legislation, the bad blood it engendered relieved only by the rich spectacle of the class enemy perpetually outwitted by the bookie and his tout. Thus, although Petrow reinforces the image of Britain in this period as the "policeman-state" propounded by his mentor V. A. C. Gatrell, he demonstrates how its efficiency was vitiated at the street level, concluding that popular morality yielded little to the state's design. Petrow neglects homosexuality and pornography, as well as the social-welfare

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role of the police that further diluted the state's proscriptions, but this is a fine monograph.

PETER BAILEY
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ANGELA WOOLLACOTT. *On Her Their Lives Depend: Munitions Workers in the Great War.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 241. Cloth $38.00, paper $15.00.

This book assesses the experiences of approximately one million women munitions workers. Since middle-class and upper-class women comprised only a tiny fraction of the whole, Angela Woollacott chooses to neglect them "in order to reach a class specificity appropriate to the dominant portion of the group" (p. 2). One of her conclusions is that the interaction of women of different classes on the shop floor and in other venues failed to create cross-class gender bonding. Instead it exacerbated class tensions to a degree that seriously affected postwar reconstruction.

Unfortunately, Woollacott does not define the terms "working class" or "middle class." Was it language, culture, education, or income that defined class identity (pp. 180–87)? For some reason clerical work is considered middle-class labor, a view that some of the white-collar and clerical unions affiliated to the Trade Unions Congress would dispute. Woollacott also believes that the war in "gender specific" ways opened employment opportunities, provided higher wages, increased the chances to learn new skills, and bolstered women's self-esteem and assertiveness.

Although most of the subjects examined by Woollacott have been treated in other studies—such as Arthur Marwick's *The Deluge: British Society and the First World War* (1965), David Mitchell's *Women on the Warpath: The Story of the Women of the First World War* (1966), Gail Braybon's *Women Workers in the First World War* (1981) and Bernard Waites's *A Class Society at War: England 1914–18* (1987)—this book provides researchers an up-to-date bibliography of the historiographic controversy about the effects World War I had on women in Britain and the degree to which those changes continued beyond the end of the war. Marwick viewed the war as a turning point because women became more assertive and partially won the right to vote. Braybon, however, believed that the distinction between men's work and women's work hardened following the war, although she later emphasized the positive and liberating aspects of the war for women in her collaboration with Penny Summerfield, *Out of the Cage: Women's Experiences in the Two World Wars* (1987).

If there are any flaws in this book, they stem from Woollacott's comparison of wartime culture (a unique milieu) with postwar attitudes that are described only briefly and in general terms. Furthermore, her plea to "historians of women to reconstruct the experience of female actors in significant historical events rather than to see it through circumlocutions of other actors such as government officials or male unionists" (p. 215) is perfectly reasonable, but at times it results in the omission of events that are important in shaping her subject's experience. The two-mile-long procession staged by the Women's Social and Political Union on July 17, 1915, to launch the recruiting of women for factory work to overcome the munition shortage is an important event that puts the story of rank-and-file workers in perspective. Also, Christabel Pankhurst's views and campaigns among workers in Wales and Clydeside are omitted. Pankhurst was not working class, but neither were some of the other trade-union leaders Woollacott does include, most notably Mary Macarthur. A bottom-up approach can leave out important historical events if it does not sometimes include the other side of the story.

Woollacott has done a thorough job researching her sources. She has used material from the Ministry of Munitions at the Public Records Office, Kew, and the Women's Work Collection at the Imperial War Museum (including oral history recordings), and she draws as well on excellent unpublished theses by Antonia Inesom, Marion Kozek, and Deborah Thom. Most of Woollacott's assertions are sensible, but on occasion she oversteps her evidence. For instance, the implication that munitions making was for women just as much an experience of war as being in the armed forces was for men may be true to some degree, but factory work was not combat, and the casualty rates were not comparable. Also, the photograph of a group of young women posing close together for a picture on a flight of stairs hardly demonstrates, as Woollacott suggests, overcrowded working conditions. Her treatment of women as trade unionists and their strike activity is too brief and incomplete for the importance of the topic. Finally, her perspective on the "spontaneous" protest by women workers at the end of war would have been enhanced had she recalled the demonstrations of the match girls, pit-brow women, and Bermondsey workers before the war.

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SEÁN FARRELL MORAN. *Patrick Pearse and the Politics of Redemption: The Mind of the Easter Rising, 1916.* Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press. 1994. Pp. x, 233. $42.95.

The dust jacket of this book proclaims that Seán Farrell Moran's study represents a major evaluation of Patrick Pearse, the Easter Rising, and Irish republicanism. An author need not be held accountable for the claims that appear in a publisher's blurb, but this volume, in fact, falls short of making any such contribution to Irish historiography. Regarding the Easter Rising and Irish republicanism, there are few new insights, for Moran's story is based on published

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accounts, and then on only a selected number of them. He provides no more than a competent synthesis of the received wisdom on this momentous period of Irish nationalist history.

Moran's treatment of Pearse, however, is unusual, even fanciful. In a neo-Freudian analysis of the man, he seeks to explain what motivated Pearse to act as he did, while he simultaneously portrays the Irish leader's role at the time of the rising as indicative of the nihilistic spirit that pervaded European intellectual thought during the era of World War I.

Moran believes, for example, that it is psychologically significant that Pearse still retained vivid memories in adult life of childhood fantasies about his imagined participation in ancient Irish sagas. Expanding on the work of Brigid Brophy and hypothesizing about how the inner fears of Irish nationalists mirrored the fear of castration, at least insofar as some of them felt castrated by another country, the author considers how death can be eroticized into a desirable experience since weapons of death often are those that penetrate the body.

Earlier studies of Pearse have characterized him as emotional, eccentric, and somewhat ambivalent in his personal, if not sexual, demeanor. The author believes Pearse had repressed homosexual proclivities, certainly in terms of his strong attraction to young boys, that were directly attributable to his failure to develop an autonomous identity during adolescence. The developmental theories of Erik Erikson are examined, and Pearse is shown to have been disproportionately influenced by the female members of his family. These analyses are not entirely without merit, but they would be considerably more persuasive were it not for the encumbrance of jargon.

Moran offers a better informed perspective of Pearse when he compares the Irish leader with the English poet Rupert Brooke or the French poet Charles Péguy, all three of whom felt that their generation was the last and only hope and that they were obligated to protect the embodiment of all that their nation and culture represented. The author is also good in examining forces that did indeed influence Pearse's development as a revolutionary: the example of Robert Emmet, the ever greater contact with the Irish Republican Brotherhood after 1912, and the American tour in 1914. But he does not accept the explanation that Pearse embraced physical force in 1916 because he felt that England had betrayed constitutional nationalism by suspending the third Home Rule bill. He prefers to believe instead that "Pearse suffered severe psychological limitations that made the prospect of dying on Easter Monday 1916 seem attractive, even compelling" (p. 197). The exercise in psychohistory seeks all too often to substitute inference for evidence and counteracts the occasional solid strengths that this book exhibits.

THOMAS E. HACHEY
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G. R. RUBIN. *Private Property, Government Requisition and the Constitution, 1914–1927.* Rio Grande, Ohio: Hambledon Press. 1994. Pp. x, 263. $65.00.

The absence in English common law of the American concept of eminent domain provides G. R. Rubin with his approach to the Defence of the Realm Acts (DORA). Rubin begins by assessing the state's authority to expropriate property for the common good at the onset of World War I. The crown possessed prerogative powers and legislation such as the Defence Acts of 1842–73, and the Military Lands Act of 1892 allowed the compulsory confiscation of land for the defense of the realm. Unfortunately, the statute books said nothing about compensation. That property could be taken without payment was denied in court in 1893, however, and a search of documents in the Public Record Office in 1918 found not one prewar case of expropriation without compensation. Compensation was commonly regarded as a constitutional right unless legislation or emergency regulations specifically stated otherwise. DORA did not do so. Nevertheless, the government claimed it was under no legal obligation to pay for expropriations under DORA and that payments offered after March 1915 by the Defence of the Realm Losses Commission (DRLC) and its postwar successor, the War Compensation Court, were an "act of grace" by the crown.

Rubin calls DORA "the Lady of Doubtful Legality" (chap. 3). Used extensively to requisition land, factories, housing, shipping, and food supplies, and for other security measures, the imprecisely defined regulations were a constant headache for the crown's law officers. Most legal objections to DORA, however, involved compensation. The DRLC's notoriously low awards were based on actual losses derived from prices at time of takeover rather than potential losses in an inflationary market. Because De Keyser's Hotel was operating at a loss when it was requisitioned to house the headquarters of the Royal Flying Corps, the DRLC denied compensation. Analyses of lawsuits brought by the owners of De Keyser's Hotel and other disgruntled victims of confiscation orders form the body of Rubin's book. Separate chapters cover De Keyser's Hotel, a landmark case studied by students of constitutional law; the Shoreham Aerodrome; the Cannon Brewery; Newcastle Breweries Ltd.; the Beans, Peas and Pulse (Requisition) Order 1917; and regulation 39BBB affecting shipping. A variety of lesser cases are summarized in a subsequent chapter.

Indemnity legislation protecting government employees administering wartime regulations was common practice after a war, but the Indemnity Bill of 1920 came under attack on constitutional grounds because of DORA. A discussion of that bill essentially ends the monograph. Readers confused by undefined legal terms in the opening chapters might do well to read this material first since it helps clarify arguments in the cases presented.

Although Rubin's legalistic prose reduces its read-

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ability, this book is a welcome addition to the literature on government intervention in World War I. Based on extensive research in archives and law journals, it draws attention—like the author's previous work on industrial tribunals—to a neglected aspect of administrative action. It is not an exhaustive study, but as the first monograph on the subject it will surely inspire further research.

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Tim Rooth. *British Protectionism and the International Economy: Overseas Commercial Policy in the 1930s.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xv, 357. $59.95.

Britain's departure from the gold standard in September 1931 was but one aspect of the remarkable reorientation in its economic policy that occurred in 1931–32. Another was the move to full-blown protection. In this study, Tim Rooth first attempts to provide a comprehensive examination of the political economy of the initial decision. He then traces the way in which Britain used the increased leverage provided by this change in policy regime to effect concessions from suppliers of raw materials in subsequent negotiations. Most of the imperial side of this story has been examined before, notably in the work of Sir Keith Hancock and Ian Drummond, but Rooth tries to cast his net more widely into the non-imperial world so as to be able to reflect more generally on the experience. He also carries the story forward to the end of the decade to put the Anglo-German and Anglo-American negotiations in context.

Rooth's attempt at generalization and reorientation is quite successful. He succeeds in taking the decisions of 1931–32 out of the narrower confines of the Depression or the balance of payments and putting them back into the longer-term context of British economic decline. He also succeeds in showing how much the British were able to use the leverage of access to the British market for food and raw materials in their negotiations with primary producers both inside the empire and outside. He also makes clear, however, that the British protectionism was constrained, and constraining: with four generations of free trade behind them, official Whitehall was not well equipped for trade negotiations; what Britain could do for domestic agriculture after 1932 was hedged about by imperial and international agreements; and the approach of international conflict made appeasement of Germany and rapprochement with the United States look particularly attractive. Where the book is less effective is in its attempts to sort through the economic effects of everything that was going on. Rooth has obviously read the literature carefully, but in these portions of the book there is less evidence of a critical intelligence at work, carefully sorting though arguments and counter-arguments. This is a shame. Nonetheless, the study makes a substantial contribution to our understanding of the 1930s.

D. E. Moggridge
University of Toronto

Hugh Armstrong Clegg. *A History of British Trade Unions since 1889.* Volume 3, *1934–1951.* New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. viii, 458. $85.00.

This is the third and concluding volume of a massive survey of British trade unions. The first volume dealt with the years 1889–1910, the second covered the period 1911–33, and the third brings the story up to 1951, where Hugh Armstrong Clegg calls a halt because by that year "the greatest achievements of the British trade union movement" had been won (p. 427).

In fact, however, Clegg is hardly concerned with telling stories. He makes no concessions to readers interested in dramatic narrative or in the personalities of British trade-union leaders during the second quarter of the twentieth century, although such figures as Ernest Bevin and Arthur Deakin of the Transport and General Workers' Union, Charles Dukes of the National Union of General Workers, Jack Tanner of the Engineers, and Arthur Horner of the Miners, to name just a few, were colorful enough. Nor does Clegg often generalize or come to general conclusions, although readers may wish that he would. Rather, he presents the fruits of his enormous labor drily, indeed flatly, perhaps so readers may draw their own conclusions. His aim is to offer as complete an account of Britain's trade-union movement as possible. Taken on its own terms, this volume succeeds admirably.

It is impossible to summarize such a book, but one can indicate the scope and detail of its conception. In the first chapter, which deals with collective bargaining from 1934 to 1939, Clegg examines its operation in engineering, shipbuilding, steel, coal mining, textiles and clothing, paper and printing, the railways, other transport industries, various private industries, white-collar unions in private industry, local government services, gas, electricity, water supply, and the civil service. In the last chapter, which deals with British trade unions during the period of the postwar Labour governments (there is also a short concluding chapter), he considers again the operation of collective bargaining in equally exhaustive detail, but he also argues that because conditions had changed it was less successful than in the earlier period. Clegg also considers in this chapter the battle over the Labour government's attempt to establish a wages policy to combat inflation. (It did not work.)

Between these introductory and penultimate sections Clegg deals with trade-union influence on government during the half decade before World War II and during the war itself. Suffice it to say that the coverage is complete. For the prewar period Clegg

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methodically explains the structure of the Trade Union Congress, which usually represented the labor movement to government. He surveys the issues it took up: unemployment, the means test, the forty-hour week, paid holidays, rearmament, the Spanish Civil War, and the United and Popular Fronts. In his two chapters dealing with the war years, he explains the various advisory committees on which trade unions gained representation and the other concessions it wrested from the government. He charts the pay hikes gained by the various trades (and the tortuous negotiations they often engaged in before receiving them); the battles each union waged against dilution of skilled labor; the establishment, trade by trade, of joint production committees; and, again trade by trade, the strikes they waged from 1939 to 1945. He deals, too, with British labor's plans for the postwar world.

Despite the purposive flatness of tone, Clegg does occasionally betray his own opinions. This work is generally sympathetic to what might be termed mainstream British trade unionism and usually adopts without comment mainstream assumptions about Communist or even rank-and-file dissidents in the unions. In this regard it is striking that Clegg fails to cite Peter Weiler's *British Trade Unions and the Cold War* (1988).

Aside from this single caveat, however, Clegg has provided an authoritative account of British trade unionism during a crucial period. Students and scholars will mine it as a resource.

JONATHAN SCHNEER
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PETER STANSKY and WILLIAM ABRAHAMS. *London's Burning: Life, Death, and Art in the Second World War.* Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 201. $29.95.

No single monograph could live up to the promise of this book's subtitle. In this entertaining, incisive, and nicely illustrated study, Peter Stansky and William Abrahams do not attempt a comprehensive explanation of "Life, Death, and Art in the Second World War." Instead, they offer linked "biographies" of a very few specific works of art in order to explore the connection between culture and Culture and the interchange between a society at war and its artistic productions.

In the first and most successful section of the book, Stansky and Abrahams's examination of the war paintings of Paul Nash and Graham Sutherland serves as a backdrop to their fascinating study of Henry Moore. They argue that the war deepened and humanized Moore's art. Although clearly linked to his earlier abstract sculptures of reclining women, his drawings of the Underground bomb shelters (1941) show Moore moving beyond abstraction to create powerful images of enduring humanity, images that captured "the Wartime suffering of the ordinary person" (p. 51). Shown in traveling exhibitions throughout England in 1941 and at the National Gallery in 1942, the drawings drew huge and appreciative crowds. For both Londoners who endured the Blitz and ordinary men and women throughout England, Moore's shelter drawings helped articulate and lend meaning to their war.

In the second section of the book, Stansky and Abrahams focus on documentary film maker Humphrey Jennings and what they view as his best work, *Fires Were Started* (1942). Whereas the war clarified Moore's art, they assert that it created Jennings's. The Crown Film Unit of the wartime Ministry of Information provided him with institutional support and the opportunity to stretch his talents in a feature-length action film. More importantly, the Blitz supplied him with not only artistic inspiration but also the connection with "the people" that the "lower-upper-middle-class" left-wing Jennings desired. Like Mass Observation (a group with which he was affiliated) and other key players in Britain's interwar documentary film movement, Jennings sought to bridge the class gap; he had an "almost compulsive concern with the ordinary person" (p. 82). Commissioned to document the achievement of the Fire Brigade, Jennings created a film that celebrated the humane values for which ordinary British citizens were fighting and dying.

Fires Were Started and Moore's shelter drawings obviously belong in any discussion of war art; in part 3, Stansky and Abrahams tackle a more surprising selection, Benjamin Britten's opera *Peter Grimes.* A pacifist and homosexual, Britten explored in his opera the tensions between a misfit and a society that demanded conformity. Written during a war fought to defend democratic values, including the right of individual dissent, *Peter Grimes* challenged its audiences to confront the darker side of British society.

Despite some rather clumsy paragraphs and the lack of a much-needed conclusion, this book is a compelling read. By illuminating (no pun intended) the way the war heightened cultural and social conflicts, Stansky and Abrahams's study helps shatter the myth of a Britain rendered classless by the experience of total war. Their artistic case studies also show, however, that the war strengthened and universalized a sense of English identity that transcended the boundaries of class and culture.

MEREDITH VELDMAN
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SUSAN HOWSON. *British Monetary Policy, 1945–51.* New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xiii, 369. $59.00.

Building on her earlier well-received study of domestic monetary policy in interwar Britain, Susan Howson has produced an impressive account of the postwar Labour government's monetary policy. Although several excellent studies of British economic policy of

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the period have appeared, Howson's work is the first comprehensive account of how the Labour government's domestic financial policy was forged within the framework of international monetary policy and the balance-of-payments problems of the United Kingdom during these crucial years. Howson's book is especially welcome for it offers a sophisticated integration of economic theory, the history of economic thought, a detailed analysis of policy formulation, and a discussion of the actual economic situation. The volume is based on extensive archival research in Labour Party, government, and Bank of England sources as well as in the private papers of most of the major participants. In addition, Howson uses important statistical sources, such as monthly monetary figures produced by Forrest Capie and Alan Webber, to analyze the consequences of fiscal and monetary policy. The volume contains many tables and, as the author is a modern monetary economist, there are even a few equations.

Howson offers three major conclusions. First, she finds the continuation of the wartime policy of cheap money and direct controls, advocated by both Labour and others in the war coalition, to the postwar period understandable within the context of not wishing to repeat the unfortunate slump that followed a tight money policy after World War I. Second, she judges Hugh Dalton's even cheaper money policy as inappropriate because it unnecessarily lengthened the overhang of wartime monetary growth in the postwar period. Third, she argues that when it began to be apparent that Dalton's policy was inflationary, the Labour government was unable to use monetary policy effectively to repair the damage. This was primarily because of a fundamental dispute over the role of monetary policy in postwar Britain between the Treasury and the Bank of England. The result was that the Labour government robbed itself of the tool of monetary policy and was forced to rely on fiscal and incomes policy and devaluation to keep down inflation and to balance international payments. Howson's detailed account of Dalton's "cheaper" money experiment and the dispute between the Treasury and the Bank are two of the major contributions of this study.

What is remarkable about the main actors in Howson's story—Hugh Dalton, Sir Stafford Cripps, and Hugh Gaitskell—is how well versed these political figures were in quite technical aspects of economic and financial theory and practice, how earnest they were in creating socialism with a minimum of fuss, and how confidently they appeared to believe in the rationality of their world after the cataclysmic irrationality they had just witnessed. If, from a modern monetarist point of view, they sometimes got their policy wrong—as Dalton's effort to implement an even cheaper money policy while at the same time his fiscal policy sought to fight inflation—it was not because Dalton was being irrational, or politically opportunistic, but because he put too much faith in the monetary theories of J. M. Keynes and Joan Robinson. Although the study is clearly aimed at specialists, it is a model of sound organization and analytical consistency that will repay careful study by others who seek to understand the complex fiscal and monetary realities that confronted the makers of a socialist Britain.

GERARD M. KOOT
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DENIS CROUZET. *La nuit de la Saint-Barthélemy: Un rêve perdu de la Renaissance.* (Chroniques.) Paris: Fayard. 1994. Pp. 656. 180 fr.

Denis Crouzet's hefty volume on the Saint Bartholomew's Massacre of 1572 attempts to explain this rash of anti-Huguenot violence in terms of the broader cultural constructions of the era. Crouzet argues that Saint Bartholomew's Day is both "an event without history" and "history without an event." It is the former because traditional Catholic narratives of the massacre inevitably falsify the motives and actions of participants. It is the latter from the perspective of the Huguenots' teleological representation of the killing as merely one episode—albeit an important one—in the cosmic struggle between God's truth and human corruption. Crouzet thus abandons a positivist critique of his sources in favor of an attempt to recover the particular cultural environment that gave birth to these events.

Central to his argument is the notion that the later Valois monarchy cultivated a neoplatonic dream of harmony. Catherine de Medici, imbued with the neoplatonism fashionable in the Florence of her birth, conceived of her sons' reigns in terms of an idealized golden age of concord presided over by philosopher-kings. The ultimate impossibility of achieving this dream was paradoxically responsible for both the descent into violence of the massacre and the later obfuscation of actions and motives. There is a tendency here to equate self-representation with political philosophy, but Crouzet makes a strong case that even in terms of practical politics Catherine's aim was a reign of peace. This was, he argues, the only practical way to protect monarchical authority from threats posed by both Huguenots and ultra-Catholics, whose determination to root out heresy threatened the very foundations of the state.

Crouzet is not entirely convincing when he argues that the apparent conflict of opinion in 1571–72 between Catherine and her son Charles IX over the desirability of war in the Netherlands was a deliberate ploy to maintain the veil of ambiguity necessary to keep factional strife at bay while working for the union of Catholic and Protestant (symbolized in the marriage of Marguerite of Valois and Henri of Navarre) that was to usher in the golden age. I would, however, agree that, when an unanticipated (and still unexplained) attempt on the life of Huguenot leader Gaspard de Coligny threatened to destroy the har-

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mony Catherine had worked so hard to promote, the decision to assassinate the Huguenot military leaders was intended as a surgical strike, although I see it more as an attempt to foreshorten a now inevitable civil war than, as Crouzet suggests, a "humanist crime" motivated by a final grasp at peace. In either case, it is necessary to distinguish what Crouzet calls the "first Saint Bartholomew"—the assassination of the Huguenot leaders—from the "second Saint Bartholomew"—the popular massacre—that followed. The great majority of the killing was the unintended by-product of a radicalized populace convinced that the king had authorized their violence and that they acted in his name. Having made essentially the same argument in my own work, I agree fully with Crouzet here and in his contention that the city's magistrates could neither prevent nor call a halt to the populace's destructive fury. At this point a subtext in the book becomes explicit. Crouzet argues vigorously against Jean-Louis Bourgeon's recent interpretation of the massacre as the product of an uprising orchestrated by Henri de Guise with the connivance of Parlement and other Parisian magistrates and directed primarily against the crown. Bourgeon's arguments, which rely on a highly idiosyncratic reading between the lines of the evidence, are simply untenable. They have, however, been rather widely cited by historians not working directly in this field, and Crouzet's systematic (but polite) counterattack will, I hope, be salutary.

Crouzet's writing style can become tedious, with its overuse of paradox and rhetorical questions, but the prolixity is perhaps not inappropriate, given the Renaissance themes. And there is, as Rabelais would say, a substantific marrow to chew.

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Laurent Bourquin. *Noblesse seconde et pouvoir en Champagne aux XVI^e^ et XVII^e^ siècles.* (Histoire Moderne, number 27.) Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne. 1994. Pp. 333. 180 fr.

In this volume, Laurent Bourquin is concerned with a portion of the French nobility that J. M. Constant described in 1989 as the *noblesse seconde* ("Un groupe socio-politique stratégique dans la France de la première moitié au XVII^e^ siècle," in P. Contamine, ed., *L'état et les aristocraties, XII^e^–XVII^e^ siècle, France, Angleterre, Écosse* [1989]). These were people quite distinct from both the great feudatories and the mass of petty nobles who formed their clienteles. This second nobility became a royal bulwark in the province of Champagne between the reigns of Francis I and Louis XIV, and Bourquin describes the evolution of its role over this period of about 140 years, making particular use of the *Aveux et Dénombrements* at the Archives Nationales and the mass of military musters, pay vouchers, and so on conserved in various collections of the Bibliothèque Nationale, largely for genealogical purposes.

This group of nobles was important because it combined faithful military service to the crown with considerable influence in its home province. A succession of politico-military developments accentuated this importance during the period under discussion. Under Francis I and Henry II, Champagne had great strategic significance in the wars against the Habsburgs, because it lay between the heart of the kingdom and the imperial frontier. The great magnates of the region generally led the French defensive forces but were not as unstintingly loyal to the crown as was the second nobility. In the ensuing wars of religion, Champagne included an important Huguenot enclave around Sedan, but it was primarily a stronghold of the Catholic dukes of Guise who had their own agenda. After 1584, when the Catholic League, headed by the Guises, was in opposition to the crown, the second nobility provided the monarchy with important support. According to Bourquin, the triumph of Henry IV was, in this region, also the triumph of the second nobility. After Henry's death, the regency needed its services again when various great magnates led periodic uprisings. After some loss of influence under Cardinal Richelieu, the second nobility again played a key role during the Fronde of 1648–52 when the princes and great feudatories challenged royal authority.

Meanwhile, the long and ultimately victorious French war with Spain (1635–59) seriously weakened the second nobility, which suffered major damage to its patrimony at the hands of hostile soldiery. Then the ultimate French success and the subsequent ventures of Louis XIV pushed the French frontier eastward so that Champagne no longer was a frontier district in which the military skill and local influence of the regional nobility were vital royal assets.

Bourquin shows that members of the old second nobility increasingly pursued military careers in other regions and began choosing their marriage partners outside the old circle of champenois nobility of the sword that had furnished their spouses for generations. Some families prospered and others did not, but what was missing by the last third of the seventeenth century were the two factors that really defined the second nobility: local wealth, power, and connections; and an important regional military role.

In carefully describing the evolution of this group of nobles over about five generations, Bourquin has written a solid, well-documented book that includes twenty-four tables displaying his evidence, eight genealogies, a large bibliography, and a useful index (which is, however, confined to proper names).

John Bell Henneman, Jr.
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Tessie P. Liu. *The Weaver's Knot: The Contradictions of Class Struggle and Family Solidarity in Western France, 1750–1914.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 279. Cloth $42.50, paper $17.95.

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In March 1993, Maurice Ligot, deputy mayor of Cholet, sponsored an international conference to mark the bicentennial of the Catholic and royalist revolt known as the Vendée. In 1793, Cholet had served as headquarters to the Vendéen insurgency against the revolutionary French Republic. Holding the celebratory conference at Cholet's branch campus of the University of Angers not only showcased the gleaming new facility and the dynamic Choletais economy that helped to build it but it also underlined the municipality's determination to hold onto its future by holding onto its youth. The Cholet campus's technically oriented programs would offer job-ready skills to the youth of the Choletais and thus turn out the skilled workers that local manufacturers would need in the twenty-first century. Cholet would honor its past while assuring its future.

These efforts to sustain the regional economy, as Tessie P. Liu's book admirably shows, have their historical precedents. The people of the rural Choletais have always depended on the development of alternative sources of income—in textiles and shoemaking—while avoiding the headlong rush toward urbanized industrial centers. Cholet, in the hinterland of the port city of Nantes, was a precocious producer for international markets, thanks in part to the triangular trade in trinkets, humans, and tobacco that linked Europe, Africa, and the Americas in the eighteenth century. In the late twentieth century, the Choletais produces for the ready-to-wear garment industry as well as linens and electronics.

Textiles have been a mainstay of the Choletais economy and part of local identity; a red-and-white kerchief, the *mouchoir de Cholet*, was almost as close to a standard insignia as the "Royal and Catholic Army of the Vendée" would get. In the nineteenth century, however, rural weavers in the Choletais faced a difficult challenge from entrepreneurs who sought to mechanize weaving and who, in the process, gained substantial control over the raw materials needed for weaving. Work remained for weavers who were willing to make sacrifices in order to maintain their artisanal status and a nominal independence; specialized work was farmed out to them. But once capitalists controlled access to raw materials and access to markets, formerly "independent" weavers were left with little choice but to work on terms that deprived them of any real initiative and authority. In such a way weavers and weaving households became victims of their attachment to the artisanal ideal. Their prideful stubbornness induced them to accept "psychic compensation" in place of the real thing.

There was money to be made off of the persistence of the cultural ideal of the artisan; Liu's key insight, convincingly demonstrated, is that the artisanal ideal was also a masculinist one. When men chose to cling to weaving and the weaver's identity even while income declined, women and children paid the price: they took in work to make up the difference. Women subsidized men's blind attachment to their craft when they accepted what Liu calls "the logic of sweating." The artisan's heroic defense of his interests and his craft was paid for by the sweated labor of his wife, daughters, and sons.

Readers familiar with the west of France will be surprised by how little religion figures in the story of the weavers of the Choletais. And Cornell University Press is to be congratulated for bringing out this volume in paper because teachers will want their students to read it not only for its persuasive argument but also for the excellent review of the literature on French industrialization that it contains.

RAYMOND A. JONAS
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BAILEY STONE. *The Genesis of the French Revolution: A Global-Historical Interpretation.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. vii, 268. Cloth $49.95, paper $14.95.

After some thirty years of revisionist debate, historians of the Old Regime and French Revolution are still looking for an authoritative version around which to rally. This book is Bailey Stone's attempt to provide it. He has read extensively in the considerable secondary literature of recent years. As he quickly avows, this is a work of synthesis that offers by and large what is the agreed revisionist stance on each of the discrete elements of the problem. Most of the principal findings of revisionist historians are presented in a clear, accurate, and sensible way. As such, it certainly offers a useful text for able students in upper-level undergraduate or graduate courses.

The problem lies, of course, in how the various elements are put together. It is not surprising that, as a historian of the late Paris Parlement, Stone should find the genesis of the revolution in a political crisis of the Old Regime state. His interpretational recipe may be characterized as a large measure of Theda Skocpol, well seasoned with Paul Kennedy, but carefully accommodated to the specific ingredients offered by revisionist scholarship. The heart of the matter, he feels, lies in the geopolitical ambitions in which the absolutist state was trapped and in its inability to mesh its geopolitical purposes with France's sociopolitical concerns. Social change and the Enlightenment have their place here, but they are definitely subordinate to the imperatives of the state; indeed, social change appears essentially as a product of the needs of this absolutist state.

Basically, the French state was doomed to overreach itself: the needs of its international ambitions prevented necessary reform and it never acquired the representative system that allowed the English state to mesh geopolitical and sociopolitical concerns. Neat though the argument is, it strains at crucial points. Implicitly, the English experience appears normative: but one can point to the absolutist model of Prussia (Frederick even moved toward tax-farming with the *Regie*). Moreover, the French absolutist state was built

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in the first instance for needs of internal order rather than international hegemony; and this makes the issue of representative assemblies less straightforward than is allowed here.

Furthermore, Stone roots his analysis in a statist model and yet the inability to change direction despite clearly articulated alternatives is here ascribed most often to personal failures of understanding and will at crucial moments. Indeed, he sees the French as flawed when they failed to separate England and the Continent in policy before 1774, but he also reproaches them when they did so after 1774. Finally, he is most ill at ease with social and intellectual issues. There is only the briefest allusion to the possible autonomy of social change (for example, in relation to economic change) and hence of its profoundly problematic function in the demise of the regime. By the same token, he really provides no explanation of where the great insurrection of the public mind comes from, other than the geopolitical failure of the state.

Explaining why the absolutist state collapsed and opened the vacuum for revolution is one thing; explaining why revolution took the extraordinarily complex shape it did is quite another. Historians often get the two confused since both pass as origins of the French Revolution. This book is a competent discussion of the first, but offers nothing for the second.

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DOROTHY JOHNSON. *Jacques-Louis David: Art in Metamorphosis.* (Princeton Series in Nineteenth-Century Art, Culture, and Society.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1993. Pp. xv, 316. $45.00.

Jacques-Louis David's ability to give compelling visual form to some of the most urgent public sentiments of his time was evident as early as the Salon of 1781. There, Diderot admired David's combination of high moral purpose and fidelity to nature and wrote of the artist that "*il a de l'âme.*" Such praise was prophetic of a stellar career shaped by its turbulent political context at the same time that David, as artist and as politician, left his mark on French history. Deputy to the Convention, organizer of the revolution's pageants, and commemorator of its martyrs, David went on to devote yards of canvas to the glory of Napoleon. Unlike many of his fellow artists, David's capacity for political metamorphosis could not accommodate the restored Bourbons, and he ended his career as an exile in Brussels.

Inevitably, the bicentennial of the French Revolution brought renewed attention to David, culminating in 1989 with a major exhibition in Paris. It is to Dorothy Johnson's credit that she is able to bring fresh insights to so well-worked a subject. With impressive command of the documentary and visual evidence, the author celebrates David as a *peintre-philosophe.* Relying on wide reading in specialized publications of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Johnson traces in David's work a breathless engagement with a diverse series of intellectual currents ranging from the cult of the *grand homme* to Mesmerism. Such emphasis on the artist's insatiable taste for intellectual fashion contrasts with the author's independence from modish jargon. At the same time, clarity is occasionally sacrificed to a taste for such dictionary exotics as "eleemosynary" and "inspissated."

David's choice of "innovation and transformation as the essential principles of his art," Johnson argues in her introduction, "was consonant with intellectual developments and 'advances' of the Late Enlightenment . . . in such diverse disciplines as physics and chemistry, biology, anthropology, mythography, psychology, and history"; and this metamorphic impulse constitutes David's "modernity" (pp. 3–4). Although the link to late-Enlightenment thought is intriguing, one should speak of the artist's modernity with some qualification. David's restless development stands apart from the accelerated rate of innovation in twentieth-century art. The stylistic range that permitted David to move from the Roman severity of *The Oath of the Horatii* (1784) to the Rubensian opulence of *The Coronation of Napoleon* (1805–07) was grounded in a capacity to identify with the art and the heroism of distant historical periods. Springing from an eclectic and mobile historical imagination, David's art was very much of its own time.

Johnson emphasizes political context less than is generally the case in current David scholarship. National politics do come into focus in an illuminating discussion of David's constraint and frustration as an imperial propagandist. Here the author brings to light a telling detail of a soldier bearing away a discarded Republican flag in *The Distribution of the Eagles.* That so bitter a reference to the emperor's revision of the revolutionary heritage could appear in the midst of an official painting brings new resonance to the analogies that Robert Rosenblum drew between the work of David and that of Goya (Rosenblum and H. W. Janson, *19th-Century Art* [1984], 52–56).

It is in regard to the phase of David's career that seems most apolitical—the Brussels exile—that Johnson offers some of her most welcome contributions. It is refreshing to see these eccentric paintings of erotic mythological subjects treated with seriousness and with a keen eye for parodic detail. As this book demonstrates, it was with undiminished artistic and intellectual powers that David concluded his remarkable career.

JONATHAN P. RIBNER
Boston University

ROBERT M. EPSTEIN. *Napoleon's Last Victory and the Emergence of Modern War.* Foreword by RUSSELL F.

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WEIGLEY. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1994. Pp. xv, 215. $29.95.

Robert M. Epstein demonstrates that despite the vast number of studies of the Napoleonic Wars in general, and the War of 1809 in particular, there is still something new and important to be said about early nineteenth-century military history. Having written a first-rate study of Prince Eugene's operations in Italy in 1809 (*The Viceroy at War 1809* [1983]), the author's new book deals with the entire scope of the conflict. More critically, Epstein provides a new interpretation of the various campaigns within the dual contexts of Napoleon's "art of war" and the beginnings of modern conventional warfare.

Scholars have long been aware of the fact that after 1809 Napoleon never again achieved a victory of the magnitude of Austerlitz or Jena. Post–1809 battles including Wagram, Borodino, Lutzen, and a host of others involved ever-growing numbers of combatants and ever-higher casualty lists but were essentially devoid of significant operational and strategic results. Attrition became a condition of warfare rather than an option. The question is, why?

Epstein's generally convincing explanation is that the development of divisional and corps organizations by the Austrians and later by the Russians and Prussians, who used corps and large brigades but not divisions, altered the balance of continental military power. French revolutionary and imperial armies were the first to employ such formations, thereby gaining a number of critical advantages. Commanders could create integrated war plans involving several areas of operations and enjoyed, because of the use of combined arms formations, enhanced operational resilience and tactical power. By introducing similar unit structures, the Austrians effectively countered the French organizational advantages. Victory or defeat, therefore, became a function of the cumulative result of battles and campaigns in which victory went to the side with the greater resources. According to the author, the campaigns of 1809 were the first in which contending armies were organized in roughly the same manner, and consequently, the war marks the beginning of modern warfare.

Epstein provides a clear description of operations, but such descriptions can be found in other studies, including the works of David Chandler. The major contribution of the book lies in its explanation of the change in warfare. Other elements, including the loss of French veterans and their replacement by new recruits with a consequent decline in tactical proficiency, the growing number of foreigners (who lacked the tactics and morale of French formations) in the Grand Army, and improved tactics of armies opposed to Napoleon, may also have played important roles in reducing Bonaparte's battlefield superiority. Nevertheless, Epstein has ably presented a provocative thesis that in large measure explains the basic changes in early nineteenth-century warfare.

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GARY P. COX. *The Halt in the Mud: French Strategic Planning from Waterloo to Sedan.* Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1994. Pp. xii, 258.

Gary P. Cox provides a welcome addition to the literature on the French Army during an epoch that has received scant attention, 1815–70. The volume's focus is less inclusive than its title indicates, since Cox concentrates only on army plans for war in Europe; he overlooks naval and colonial matters. In fact, Cox primarily deals with the defense of the French homeland, because, at base, he wants to account for defeat in the Franco-Prussian War.

Inadequate planning and organization eventually doomed the French, although their troops repeatedly demonstrated high combat quality. Despite the fact that various military commissions and key generals defined threats and projected responses, the army never developed detailed strategic plans before 1870. This lack may best be ascribed to French failure to evolve a Prussian-style general staff. French military conceptions barred their Staff Corps from taking a Prussian path. Following Napoleonic precedent, the French overcentralized command. In addition, they saw the Staff Corps not as an agency charged with creating war plans but as a mechanism to collect information to aid the supreme commander in drafting his own plans, usually at the last moment.

Several constants limited French options. Geography, particularly that along French frontiers, shaped strategy, and obviously geography did not change. Neither did the dominant military threat. Immediately after 1815 a great European coalition faced France, but soon the army saw its major challenge coming from, first, the German confederation and, later, Prussia or a Prussian-led Germany. The greatest institutional limitation on French strategic alternatives was the decision to trust in a small, long-service, professional army, a choice imposed by both military prejudice and political necessity. Adopting this form of army ultimately backed the French into a defensive posture.

Cox says as much about reform and failed reform as he does about war planning. Time and again, the inability to recast the conscription law of 1818 frustrated French efforts to create larger forces. Up to 1870, the army had been able to survive by muddling through, the famous *système D*, but its inadequate number of troops cost the French dearly in the Franco-Prussian War.

In laying the foundation for his argument, Cox does not deal particularly well with French military history before 1815. When he ascribes French offensive predilections to the revolution, he forgets roots that go back much further in time, and when he

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states, "Vauban had developed no fortress system" (pp. 45–46), he is simply wrong. Although such errors do not cut at the core of his argument, his failure to discuss conscription as set out in the Jourdan Law of 1798 is a more substantive problem. Here he overlooks important precedent and context concerning a theme central to his volume.

Cox closes by arguing that continuity typified French plans from 1818 to 1914, but this is too extreme. Many of the strategic fundamentals had changed, most notably the reliance on universal conscription, reserves, and railroads. He need not stretch his position that far; it is enough that he demonstrate, as he does, continuity from Waterloo to Sedan.

JOHN A. LYNN
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SYLVIA NEELY. *Lafayette and the Liberal Ideal, 1814–1824: Politics and Conspiracy in an Age of Reaction.* Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. 1991. Pp. viii, 390.

Gilbert du Motier de Lafayette (1757–1834) has long been a prominent figure in histories of the American and French Revolutions, but few historians have written about his nineteenth-century career in French politics. Sylvia Neely has therefore provided important new information and analytical perspectives in this well-researched account of Lafayette's influential role in the new liberalism that emerged in France after 1814.

Although Lafayette and other French liberals condemned Jacobinism and the Terror, they defended the ideals and achievements of the early French Revolution (1789–91) against conservative critics who blamed the revolution for most of what they disliked in nineteenth-century French society. Indeed, much as conservatives in our own era denounce the "1960s," French conservatives staked out their political positions during the Restoration by denouncing the revolution and everyone who had supported it, including Lafayette.

Neely carefully explains how a persecuted liberal minority defined itself in opposition to the dominant conservative ideology and launched a loosely organized political movement that would have its brief ascendancy in the Revolution of 1830. Lafayette became a controversial leader of this evolving liberalism in the Chamber of Deputies, where he represented two different *départements* between 1818 and 1824 as the steadfast advocate of broader-based electorates, freedom of speech, freedom for the press, and a liberal nationalism that located France's national sovereignty in the people rather than in the restored monarchy.

Such views elicited scorn from King Louis XVIII's parliamentary allies, who passed new laws in 1820 to reduce the already small electorate and to censor all political publications. Liberals thus found themselves severely constrained and forced to choose from among three political options: withdraw from politics, wage a legal but futile opposition within government institutions, or support conspiratorial movements to overthrow the regime by force.

Neely shows how Lafayette moved from legal opposition toward revolutionary conspiracies, all of which were unrealistic and doomed to failure. The subsequently famous Carbonarist conspiracies nevertheless attracted support from well-known liberal deputies who believed that an uprising in the army would mobilize wide public support for the tricolor flag and the "rights of man." Government agents arrested the military conspirators, however, and the various plots served mostly to discredit liberalism and to enhance the power of the reigning conservative party.

Defeated in every attempt to transform the Restoration regime, Lafayette eventually decided that French liberals should adhere to legal actions. He embraced a political strategy that described liberals as the defenders of constitutional institutions and conservative royalists as the scheming plotters of illegal actions. These arguments became persuasive when King Charles X moved to overturn much of the Restoration political system in 1830, whereupon "the left was able to step in as the guardian of constitutionality, order, and the rights of the people" (p. 265).

Neely provides excellent descriptions of French political factions, conflicts, and conspiracies. Her thorough research makes this book a reliable source of information on political issues that go well beyond the specific actions of Lafayette, although she approaches politics with a traditional emphasis on parliamentary events, electoral campaigns, and secret conspiracies. There is much less discussion of Lafayette's extensive involvement with the wider cultural politics of creative writers, Romantic nationalists, and political theorists.

Despite the narrow political parameters of her study, Neely explains clearly how the famous leader of eighteenth-century revolutions helped to shape early nineteenth-century French liberalism. Contemporary readers of Neely's fine book, however, may be most intrigued by Lafayette's perennial ability to believe that a powerful conservatism would ultimately give way to a resurgent liberalism.

LLOYD KRAMER
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KATHLEEN KETE. *The Beast in the Boudoir: Petkeeping in Nineteenth-Century Paris.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1994. Pp. x, 200. $30.00.

In this book Kathleen Kete explores the central concerns and confrontations of the nineteenth-century Paris bourgeoisie with modern urban life

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through the culture and practice of petkeeping. The author's treatment of petkeeping as a kind of mirror of middle-class concerns, fantasies, anxieties, and the interior life is based on her claim, abundantly documented with a wide range of lively and colorful discourse, that petkeeping in nineteenth-century Paris had become identified as a bourgeois practice by the bourgeoisie itself. Thus, by examining petkeeping through a variety of sources, principally dog-books, the literature of the Société protectrice des animaux (SPA), the debates concerning the dog tax of 1855, the customs associated with the dog cemetery, medical and popular reactions to rabies, and veterinarian publications, Kete seeks to enter into the daily, ordinary world of bourgeois Paris.

Kete begins her analysis with a discussion of the SPA, an institution founded by the upper classes to reform and control the brutish and rough behavior of the working class with reference to animals. She indicates, however, that she is more interested in the records of the SPA (and the same is true of other sources as well) as a bourgeois discourse reflecting bourgeois self-understanding and bourgeois preoccupations about modern urban life.

Kete contends that in the 1850s the Paris middle class surveyed Georges-Eugène Haussmann's capital city confidently, convinced that it could master urban life; taming the violent urges of the working class would be a prime example of such mastery. By the late 1860s and 1870s, however, modern urban life was increasingly experienced as alienating and cruel. "The pet," according to Kete, "became the counter-icon of the scientific, and dehumanized, age" (p. 7). Linking the debates concerning vivisection to bourgeois disillusionment with science and modernity, Kete is especially good in documenting the cardinal role, within the antivivisectionist movement (as in the animal protection and animal rescue campaign generally), of women who, sensitive to male dominance and power, could easily identify with vulnerable animals. The antivivisectionist movement, in turn, contributed to growing antipositivist attitudes as well as to sensitizing people more deeply to animals.

From Kete's imaginative reading of Paris bourgeois petkeeping practices, we learn that pets, especially dogs, functioned as a response to, and refuge from, the difficulties of urban life, filling an emotional void created by the modern world. The comforting pet, however, could also become a source of anxiety in the mind of the bourgeoisie through the perceived threat that rabies could be introduced into domestic space. By placing the widespread fears of rabies within the context of data indicating that relatively few people contracted the disease, Kete probes the deeper cultural meaning of rabies, a disease onto which the middle class projected its fears of uncontrolled sexuality, the lower classes (whose animals were thought to be the only ones spreading the disease), the breakdown of domestic tranquility and order, and the perils of modern civilization.

This book, largely about dogs as pets with some discussion of domestic fish and birds, concludes with a delightful chapter on cats. Perceived by the bourgeoisie as sexual, independent, and less malleable than the dog, the cat became associated with the bohemian life and the intellectual. By the end of the century, however, as people came to appreciate their cleanliness and because animals in general lost some of their symbolic power to express the themes of modernity, cats came to be accepted into the bourgeois home.

Although Kete asserts that petkeeping in nineteenth-century Paris was closely identified with bourgeois practices and cultural constructions, she does tell us that poor people owned dogs. In fact, according to Kete, "The French dog tax of 1855 was a counterattack against poor people's dogs" (p. 111), and moreover, dog ownership had become widespread in Paris by the late 1870s. At a minimum then, the reader is left to wonder whether Paris workers also kept animals as pets (as opposed to animals used for work). More broadly, Kete's use of petkeeping among the bourgeoisie of nineteenth-century Paris as a symbol for virtually all bourgeois confrontations with modernity seems, at times, to strain somewhat under the weight of so much cultural significance. Read for what it tells us about middle-class Parisians, however, Kete's book provides both an entertaining and informative look into an interesting aspect of bourgeois daily life and practices.

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WALTER D. GRAY. *Interpreting American Democracy in France: The Career of Édouard Laboulaye, 1811–1883.* Newark: University of Delaware Press or Associated University Presses, Cranbury, N.J. 1994. Pp. 178. $33.50.

A rising historiographical tide of French liberalism in the 1970s and 1980s seems to have finally reached Édouard Laboulaye (1811–83). Historians are indebted to Walter D. Gray for the first biography ever devoted to this professor and politician who became France's leading exponent of American ideals and institutions after the death of Alexis de Tocqueville.

Gray is at his best in meticulously cataloguing Laboulaye's successive roles as an enthusiastic student of German legal studies and education, as a popular lecturer and historian of the United States at the College de France, and as a member of French Liberal and Republican parties during the Second Empire and the Third Republic. Laboulaye was most in his element when pursuing the liberal project: supporting the Union during the American Civil War, attacking slavery, expanding public space for women's participation, and leading the drive in France for the Statue of Liberty, his most famous legacy.

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In one respect this volume is an authorized biography. Gray's book opens with a foreword by the great-great-grandson of Laboulaye and closes with the author's reciprocal homage to Laboulaye's descendants. Therefore, as one might expect, Gray does not seem to be compelled to take a critical stance toward his subject. He notes Laboulaye's disillusionment after the June Days of 1848 and refers in passing to Laboulaye's loathing for the Paris Commune of 1871, but he does not focus on the important fact that before 1848 Laboulaye shared none of Tocqueville's forebodings about the dangers of centralization to liberty. Indeed, during the July Monarchy, Laboulaye was far more enthusiastic about Prussia than America as a model for France. In 1843, he went so far as to declare that reading *Democracy in America* had cured him of admiration for self-government. For Laboulaye, 1848 was not just a turning point in the "evolution of his thought" (p. 36). It was a revolution.

Once converted, Laboulaye became far more *Americaniste* than Tocqueville, and thus less nuanced in his appreciation of long-term negative aspects of the United States, such as race relations, than was his predecessor. Gray does not discuss Laboulaye's thoughts (or lack thereof?) concerning the impact of post–Civil War economic development on U.S. political culture. Most significantly, the marginalization of the American model in France during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, an eclipse that lasted for generations, is not addressed. To assess the significance of Laboulaye and the "American School," it is indispensable to offer the reader a broader view of French political culture during the past century. Only in this way can one also hope to find a convincing answer to the foreword's opening question: "The first biography of Laboulaye is published by an American scholar. Why should this be so?" In this larger context, Gray's biography may be usefully supplemented by Françoise Mélonio's *Tocqueville et les Français* (1993).

SEYMOUR DRESCHER
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TAMAR GARB. *Sisters of the Brush: Women's Artistic Culture in Late Nineteenth-Century Paris.* New Haven: Yale University Press. 1994. Pp. viii, 207. $45.00.

Tamar Garb's study of the first fifteen years (1881–96) of the Parisian Union des Femmes Peintres et Sculpteurs enlarges our appreciation of the achievements of French women artists and their struggles for recognition in the realm of grand art. Surging beyond the old-style formal art history and armored with extensive archival and periodical sources, exhibit catalogs, and feminist insights, Garb has produced a delectably rich and well-contextualized sociopolitical history of art. She reexamines, from a gendered perspective, what she refers to as "the most overvisited field of art history, that of late nineteenth-century Paris" (p. 2), and confronts "the mythologies of modernism" (p. 21), surefootedly re-creating the milieu, the issues, the conflicts, and the tensions experienced by aesthetically conservative women artists, their supporters, and their critics at that time.

In the introduction one finds a few cursory bows to the fashionable rhetoric of signification: "sites," "discursive fields," and "the Other." But overall, the body of the work is refreshingly readable. Garb's arguments are exquisitely well-grounded in fresh empirical evidence. The volume itself is abundantly illustrated with contemporary photographs of artistic works by members of the Union, all too many of which carry the unfortunate notation "whereabouts unknown."

Organized by the distinguished sculptor Madame Léon Bertaux for the benefit of women artists, the Union grew rapidly. Among its many projects, the group published the *Journal des femmes artistes*, which appeared twice a month and sponsored a major annual exhibition of women's art. Garb recounts that the annual exposition of 1896 exhibited some 1,000 works by 295 women artists, and that the aesthetics of display for the Union's salons were deliberately nonhierarchical and even home-like. The group's internal disputes over inclusiveness versus quality, over separatism versus mixed-sex exhibits have a familiar ring, as do the discussions of the women artists' lack of mentorship or patronage in the greater art world. All these debates were chronicled in the women's press of the time, including the feminist periodicals, as well as in the publications of the male-dominated art establishment.

Garb's study begins with a discussion of the organization and its members, then turns to the sociopolitical and cultural context. A long third chapter on "Feminism, Philanthropy, and the *femme artiste*" connects her work with that of recent scholars of French feminism, sharpening the focus by highlighting feminist interest in women in the arts. This in turn provides an excellent contextual setting for the fourth chapter, which treats in detail the Union's campaign for the admission of women to the École des Beaux-Arts, which met with success in 1896. This chapter contains an illuminating discussion of the "unspoken" issues, such as the perceived threat to "the institution of the nude" (p. 89) in heretofore all-male life-drawing classes. Garb ably dissects the debates over women's admission in the Conseil Supérieur des Beaux-Arts (March 1890) and in the Chamber of Deputies (January 1893), exposing the equivocation, prevarication, and delaying tactics of opponents. She poses challenging questions about the gendered construction of "Art" itself in French *fin-de-siècle* culture.

Chapter 5 further considers "The Sex of Art." Here Garb confronts the historical debate over "genius" (implicitly gendered male) and "feminine genius" by dissecting the published critiques of women's art and the Union's annual salons. Her brief concluding assessment of the 1890s discussion of "feminine art"

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as a "utopian vision" conjures up more recent French—and Anglo-American—debates about whether there can be, or should be, such a thing as a distinctively "feminine" writing.

In sum, this book is essential reading for those interested in the cultural life of late-nineteenth-century France.

KAREN OFFEN
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RUTH BUTLER. *Rodin: The Shape of Genius.* New Haven: Yale University Press. 1993. Pp. xv, 591. $35.00.

Rodin's sculptures are arguably the best known in the Western world after Michelangelo's *David*, and his life has also assumed legendary proportions. Though he came from modest origins, Rodin's genius brought him the adulation of writers such as Ranier Maria Rilke and the patronage of an international elite that included King Edward VII. Women flocked to him. Yet he had "little sense of his own power," Ruth Butler declares in the concluding pages of her book (p. 515).

Rodin continues to attract both scholarly and popular attention. In 1981, during an important exhibition at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., Rosalind Krauss wrote tellingly of Rodin's "ethos of mechanical reproduction" as an indicator of postmodernist art ("The Originality of the Avant-Garde: A Postmodernist Repetition," *October*, no. 18 [Fall 1981]: 47–66). Frederic Grunfeld's biography (1987) orchestrated the many sources on Rodin into a well-crafted narrative.

This new biography by Butler is meticulously researched and contains a wealth of information that she has culled from thousands of letters in the Rodin archives in Paris. It brings to light individuals who collaborated in his work, such as Henri Lebossé (who enlarged *The Thinker*), the numerous women he enthralled (including the English painter Gwen John), and his relation to contemporary writers (Octave Mirbeau, for example). The book is well illustrated with over 200 black-and-white photos, but includes only one of Rodin's erotic drawings and none of his late watercolors of nudes in motion.

Butler excels in tracing the mature Rodin's success among aficionados in Great Britain and the United States (she omits sales in Germany, saying that topic demands another volume). We learn about the whims of the sitters and the increasing prices he charged for doing a bust. The most difficult person to please was his compatriot, Georges Clemenceau ("That's not me: it's a Japanese you've made, Rodin; I won't have it!" [p. 478]), but the most recalcitrant sitter was Pope Benedict XV, who sent Rodin packing before the bust was barely started. The aging artist had hoped to stay in Rome for the duration of World War I, but he went home to Meudon and died there at age seventy-seven before the war ended.

Butler covers Rodin's life from 1860, when he was twenty, to his death in 1917. She delineates national events such as the Franco-Prussian War, the Commune, and the birth of the Third Republic, but Rodin seems to have been little affected by them. She provides fascinating details regarding his failing the entrance exam to the Beaux-Arts, his years decorating buildings in Brussels, and his early scandals and successes in Paris, being accused, for example, of making the *Age of Bronze* from a bodycast because it was so lifelike. We follow step by step the vicissitudes of his public monuments commemorating Victor Hugo, Honoré de Balzac, and the burghers of Calais (town leaders who in 1347 gave themselves up to the English in order to save the city). Butler suggestively links the scandal over Balzac to the Dreyfus Affair, with Émile Zola (who commissioned the statue from Rodin for the Société des gens de lettres) as the linchpin.

Rodin grew up in a working-class neighborhood near the Pantheon in Paris. His father, a clerk for the police, encouraged the young man's desire to become an artist: "Think about words such as: energy—will—determination. Then you will be victorious!" (p. 13). His older sister, Maria, dominated him and, Butler believes, shaped the sculptor's future relations with women. Maria died shortly after joining a religious order, whereupon the young Rodin spent some time as a lay brother in the newly founded Society of the Blessed Sacrament. Butler does not probe into Rodin's religious sentiments, although she makes periodic references to his "spiritual crises" in various contexts. Yet it would be interesting to analyze this and other issues, in particular to learn his view of the relation of suffering to creativity and the connection between his libido and his art. Butler gives details about Rodin's female conquests—he is most often presented as the victim of those conquests, particularly in the case of his protégée Camille Claudel, who "tyrannized" him—but we are never given to understand the source of his charm. Butler is not a prude: she points out that he had his female models caress one another and masturbate. She also presents Rodin as a proto-feminist, valuing female sexuality and the creativity of women artists. But she does not examine the ambiguities of Rodin's fixation on sex and its relation to his sense of power (or powerlessness?). How does his *Iris, Messenger of the Gods* fit in a certain cultural tradition, or differ from a Courbet painting of a vulva, "Origin of the World?" Why is it that his female students (lovers) ultimately felt cheated, destroyed?

The "Shape of Genius" must be found in Rodin's inner life as well as in his daily struggles with the materials and economics of his art. Yet in spite of the voluminous documentation we never get inside Rodin's head. Is the biographer's task merely to piece together information from which readers can create their own portrait of the artist? I think not, and recommend a new biography of Toulouse-Lautrec by Julia Frey (1994) who, like Butler, had access to a

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tremendous cache of unpublished correspondence but who engages fully with her subject, daring to confront him intimately. Exploring ambiguities in his nature as well as in the surrounding society, Frey presented Lautrec with all his inconsistencies and gave a less biased portrait of him than Butler does of Rodin. Nonetheless, Butler's book is a provocative mine of information about the complex life of the much-beloved sculptor who the author finally decides was the loneliest of men.

JOAN UNGERSMA HALPERIN
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NELLY SCHMIDT. *Victor Schoelcher et l'abolition de l'esclavage.* Paris: Fayard. 1994. Pp. 440. 150 fr.

Victor Schoelcher (1804–93), an intellectual and politician from Alsace, believed, unlike the *conventionnel* Henri Grégoire and most nineteenth-century Anglo-Saxon abolitionists, that abolitionism could not be reconciled with Christianity because the latter preached resignation. The arrest of over 25,000 republicans after the coup d'état of 1851 cemented Schoelcher in his atheism and in his visceral opposition to that part of France that he regarded as "conservative, pro-slavery, stingy with civil rights" (p. 260).

According to Nelly Schmidt, Schoelcher not only opposed slavery but he also traveled to almost all the French colonies between 1829 and 1848 (see the map, pp. 266–67), as well as to the United States, Egypt, and Turkey. Closely associated with the musically talented Legouvé family, his interests broadened as a young man to include collecting music sheets and thousands of pamphlets, books, and artifacts relating to colonial slavery. Moreover, he sustained a prolific correspondence that forms the basis of this lively, well-documented biography of the author of the Decree of Abolition of Slavery in the French Colonies (April 27, 1848). As under-secretary of state of the Commission for the Colonies in the spring of 1848 and then president of the Commission for the Abolition of Slavery, Schoelcher was clearly the pivotal figure in one of the most important accomplishments of the Second Republic.

He went to England in exile in January 1852, kept contact with the American antislavery scene, subscribed to William Lloyd Garrison's *Liberator*, corresponded with Boston abolitionist Mary Chapman, and visited fellow ex-deputy Victor Hugo in Jersey.

Schmidt investigates little of Schoelcher's private life. His lifelong bachelorhood is not explored and his personality is described briefly and somewhat impersonally in the conclusion: "Grand bourgeois, dandy, autodidact, informed collector, art critic, musicologist, he was above all a republican of the Mountain [of 1848], abolitionist of slavery, of the death penalty, freemason, militant [advocate] of the rights of man" (p. 261). Although Schmidt claims that Schoelcher evolved, this is not evident, unless political ascent is meant. (He was a senator of the Third Republic.) The biography is necessarily somewhat static, except the treatment of the excitement around 1848, for the man was stubborn. Finally, Schmidt does not depict the consequences of abolition. We are told Schoelcher made enemies among the colonists, but did he make friends among slaves? Nor are we given any comparisons with the aftermaths of American, English, Spanish, or Brazilian abolition of slavery.

But there are far more merits to this work than faults. Schmidt gives us amazing archival documentation based on twenty-five repositories in four countries. A bibliography, an index, sixty pages of key documents (pp. 353–417), and a helpful chronology are also provided. Concise and vividly written, provided with many apt quotations well worked into the text, and objective, this biography is highly recommended to anyone interested in the abolition of slavery or in the political and intellectual history of France in the nineteenth century, which is usually written by leaving the colonies out.

EMMET KENNEDY
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MICHAEL A. OSBORNE. *Nature, the Exotic, and the Science of French Colonialism.* (Science, Technology, and Society.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1994. Pp. xvi, 216. $35.00.

This is a good book with a bad title. Perhaps a useful subtitle would have announced that the book gives us the social, political, and intellectual history of the Société zoologique d'acclimatation, a society that admitted over 4,600 members, including many rich and powerful men, in its heyday during the Second Empire. The ambiguous phrase "Science of French Colonialism" means the interactive natural science done in France and the colonies, not a scientific doctrine of imperialism. Michael A. Osborne provides an excellent analysis of the scientific foundation of the concept of acclimatization, which turns out to be the controversial "limited-variability-of-type hypothesis," hatched originally by the fertile mind of Isidore Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire. The concept was much squabbled over in anthropology and medicine, although its greatest significance was as "a method and a process whereby humans exploited the forces of nature, under the guidance of the principles of science, to assist exotic plants and animals to adapt to new circumstances" (p. 71). Many looney, scientifically based schemes resulted: llamas and alpacas for the Vosges and Algeria; yaks for the Isère; cotton, sugar cane, and various tropical crops for Algeria. French settlers in Algeria resisted cultivating unfamiliar crops but governments, bureaucrats, the military, and scientists insisted that they try. It was an experiment possible only when "colonial settlement was based on *petite culture*," Louis Napoleon's "peasant smallholder model of agriculture" rather than the later "world of factory-farm colonialism" (p. 171).

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Osborne's study of the rise and fall of the Société d'acclimatation also deserves a respectable niche in the recent spate of studies analyzing the role of science in Western imperialism. The author gives a fine treatment of the integration of science into French colonial policy in Algeria. Osborne's thesis of "the reflexive relationship between science and empire" presents quite a different view of the work of scientists from that offered by Lewis Pyenson in *Civilizing Mission* (1993). Part of the difference of interpretation may result from the fact that Pyenson dealt with physical science while Osborne explores natural science. It is more likely, however, that the basic difference comes from Osborne's rejection of the hoary core-and-periphery model of French scientific activity, the *damnosa hereditas* left to historians of science by Joseph Ben-David. Osborne finds that "Collaboration, rather than dependency, control, or deference, typify the field of acclimatization studies in the French empire" (p. 175).

Osborne's revisionism extends to the history of the Muséum national d'histoire naturelle, which turns out to have had a much more important role in colonialism than we formerly believed. The Société d'acclimatation issued from "the ranks of the Muséum professors," who used the scientific society as "a convenient way to marshal capital and to circumvent the Muséum's spatial, financial, and intellectual limitations" (p. 174). Colonial expansion fed back into science in spite of the absence of an official procolonial position in the Muséum before the 1890s.

One of the most admirable activities of the society was an unsuccessful attempt to change the dull nature of the French diet by serving delicacies from the empire at their banquets: cat, dog-liver brochettes, horse soup, and rat salami with sauce Robert. A menu from 1911 (p. 60) is gastronomically tame but has an ethnographically exciting picture of a supplier of the Mauritanian products served. None of these dishes are available in the bourgeois restaurants of the Bois de Boulogne, still home to the society's famous Jardin zoologique d'acclimatation.

Many illustrations, maps, and tables guide and entertain the reader through the dense text.

H. W. Paul
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Robert Aldrich. *France and the South Pacific since 1940.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. 1993. Pp. xxii, 413. $38.00.

More a compendium than a narrative, this book contains a wealth of information, political and economic, statistical and anecdotal. Robert Aldrich offers the reader an intelligent analysis of a number of far-flung, small-sized communities that are ethnically diverse and that have endured a recent history of not-so-benign neglect by a former colonial power, France.

The text, not written with the charm and sensitivity to local color that many major studies of small-scaled communities display, often contains "macro" language to describe "micro" situations. In commenting on the appeal of one politician, Aldrich states that "Povanaa was a charismatic figure who drew his support from the Polynesian masses" (p. 172), when, at the time, the total population of the islands was 119,000, with some 35,000 concentrated in the only urban area of significance, Papeete. In unintended but appealing contrast, the reader is told that a state of emergency was declared on the island of Wallis in 1986 after threatening phone calls and then "the breaking of a window by a stone thrown at an administrative building" (p. 298).

The disproportion between the language of the text and the scale of the Pacific islands under consideration makes what ought be an intensely compelling narrative a rather heavy-handed one. The style of the writing further freights the narrative ("A particular lens through which to see how concern with New Caledonia increased is the publications . . . " [p. 278]). Moreover, the reader is somewhat bothered by the anonymity of the actors and commentators: the author often uses function rather than name; thus: "the envoy" and "the diplomat" (p. 61), "the emissary" (p. 64).

What the text does make clear is the radical change in "metropolitan" concerns in the terminal decades of colonialism when part of French Polynesia was made a nuclear testing site, when the production of the nickel mines of the islands had a rapid but brief economic growth, and when French government officials imagined a glowing Pacific twilight before the dark end of the colonial era.

To amass and arrange these diverse elements—whether the two small groceries in Mata-Uta in 1982 or the eight nuclear test explosions on Mururoa at the same time—was a considerable task and has resulted in a useful book. To the allure of nineteenth-century Polynesia found in the paintings of Paul Gauguin is now added the harsh facts of old macro-communities and new macro-states looking for a place in the late-twentieth-century sun.

Raymond F. Betts
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Mary Louise Roberts. *Civilization without Sexes: Reconstructing Gender in Postwar France, 1917–1927.* (Women in Culture and Society.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 337.

Mary Louise Roberts has given us an exemplary text of the new gender history. This gracefully written and well-researched book will be of interest not only to historians of twentieth-century France but also to everyone who is striving to understand either the "linguistic turn" in history or the debates between devotées of women's history and gender history.

Roberts focuses on shell-shocked France during the final years of World War I and the immediate postwar

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years. The war's devastation posed awesome challenges. This book is not, however, the history of how France met those challenges, but rather how French women and men struggled to make sense of them. Roberts turns therefore to the kinds of sources that would shed light on people's thoughts about the changes they were experiencing—wartime memoirs, diaries, and personal fiction; and for the postwar period, popular fiction, political debates recorded in daily newspapers or in legislative records (especially on the anti-abortion and anticontraceptive propaganda law of 1920), education manuals for both vocational guidance and sex, and commentaries on fashion—and reads these sources as a literature specialist would read fictional texts. Narrative structure, metaphor, metonomy, and so on are as revealing of consciousness as the actual topics being discussed.

The sources reveal a preoccupation with gender; some expressed fears that gender hierarchies were "unnaturally" reversed, others that gender distinctions had been "unnaturally" erased. Women during wartime not only took over men's jobs but also (or so it seemed to the men at the front) had become the "insiders," while men were marginalized, shut out by the censors from news from the homefront. Men, far from being permitted to wage a heroic, "manly" war, were forced into an impotent confinement in the trenches. Following the war, women bobbed their hair, shortened their dresses, followed a *lycée* curriculum like the men's, and entered universities and employments in increasing numbers and higher statuses; men, at least in these sources, were either dead or mutilated.

In reading these "texts," we see clearly the importance of gender as an organizing structure, which people turn to for making sense of their environment. The socioeconomic and political context helps us to interpret these meanings, but we would be mistaken to treat these sources as transparent descriptions of social reality. Many historians have documented that women did not undergo a dramatic and lasting change as a result of the war, and Roberts does not contest their findings. For example, even though French women and men understood that their low birth rate was a "crisis" that explained their country's postwar strategic weakness, low birth rates were by that time nearly a century old and had little connection, we would now agree, with the postwar troubles. And even though French women and men considered the new fashions emancipatory, we can now see their role in the new mass consumer culture that bound women to hours in the hair parlor and bound their bodies, rather than liberating them, in girdles and on diets. But it behooves us to read the debates on "depopulation" and fashion not for the explanations they purport to provide, but rather to grasp the culture of France—culture in the anthropological sense of a group's construction of meaning. The narratives of impotence and sterility in the depopulation debate or in the complaints about boyish women's fashion tell us something perhaps even more "real" about how the French experienced their lives than do demographic or economic statistics.

Social historians may wish Roberts had uncovered or recovered more of women's experiences and feelings and had used more of women's rather than men's words, but women's experiences are not the subject of this book. Roberts makes the point—and I heartily agree—that when people talk about gender, they are usually talking about more than just gender. It is the "more"—that which gendered discourses purport to explain—that is the real subject of this study, not the genders. That Roberts has not written what social historians would have wished is not, however, a criticism of this book, which is immensely important in and of itself. Perhaps it is time to recognize that the gender history/social history debate has been needlessly dichotomized: we can use Roberts's insights about how gender structures affect history, even as we continue to write about individual women as agents (and subjects) of history.

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Jean-Pierre Azéma and François Bédarida, editors. *La France des années noires.* Volume 1, *De la défaite à Vichy*; volume 2, *De l'Occupation à la Libération.* (L'Univers historique.) Paris: Seuil. 1993. Pp. 536; 517. 290 fr. each volume.

In November 1993 this elegantly presented two-volume work of serious scholarship, bearing a somber title, appeared in Parisian bookstores. Another look into the dimmed recesses of wartime France may not have been the book to place on one's coffee table during a time of festive celebration, yet this double volume's appearance reflected a determination by a younger generation of French historians to confront contentious issues and selective memories of the recent past by bringing the insights of new scholarship to a general reading public whose interest had been piqued by media discussions of collaboration and resistance. The luxurious format of the volumes, complete with excellent photographs, high-quality paper, and clear, large print, indicates that the publisher believed there was a readership willing to pay a hefty price to obtain these insights. The result is a work of collective authorship that presents up-to-date scholarship on wartime France in a format that is at once attractive and dramatically appealing, but it is not a sanitized version of a troubled memory about a painful era.

The contributors represent a who's who of scholars associated with the Institut d'Histoire du Temps Présent, an organization that has not hesitated to investigate the often divisive conflicts of recent French history. The forty essays by twenty-nine contributors cover a variety of topics, ranging from the nature of the Vichy regime to the resistances that

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developed both within France and around General Charles de Gaulle in London and Algiers, and are based on the findings of the authors' more detailed monographs and special studies, reinforced by recent research from other scholars. Whereas the majority of the essays come from French specialists, two important essays by Robert Paxton and one by Roderick Kedward represent the pioneering insights that non-French historians have brought to the historiography of wartime France. Although the editors deny that these volumes offer a new "canon," there is considerable agreement about the French experience of World War II.

The collection is organized thematically and chronologically. The chronological break comes with the year 1942. Up to that time there was a general acceptance of Pétainism or at least an attentism in which relief at being spared the harsher features of war prevailed over a growing discontent with shortages and inconveniences. The first two years represented a high point for the Maurassian phase of the national revolution, with emphasis on the moral regeneration of France. This period was also the time in which state collaboration, including an officially sponsored anti-Semitism, defined the nature of the regime. The myth that there were two Vichys at the official, state level, is again put to rest, particularly in an insightful analysis by Robert Frank, who shows that differences between the policies of Henri Pétain, Pierre Laval, and Jean-Louis Darlan were no more than variations on the same theme: preservation of the national revolution with the relative emphasis given to domestic or international policies providing whatever nuances were to be found between Marshal Pétain's concern for the moral regeneration of France, Laval's desire to find a favored place in Adolf Hitler's new order, and Admiral Darlan's attempt to accomplish both.

The "black years" extended from 1939 to 1945, actually beginning with Edouard Daladier's government in 1938 and ending with hopes for a postwar renewal at liberation, although Stanley Holfman argues (v. 1, p. 133) that the period from 1934 to 1946 should be seen as a "bloc" with the shock of defeat in 1940 forcing a painful reconsideration of France's role as a political and cultural influence. The early years of Vichy (1940–41) saw implementation of anti-Semitic measures, a search for a place in the new order as Vichy tried to play its cards (the empire and the fleet) against the German trumps in the form of 1.8 million prisoners of war (discussed by Yves Durand), de facto annexation of Alsace-Lorraine (described by Pierre Barral), military annexation of the departments of the Nord and Pas-de-Calais (examined by Etienne Dejonghe), and the beginnings of resistance networks in France (explained by Dominique Veillon) that extended to London where the Free French, described by Jean-Louis Crémieux-Brilhac, struggled to gain credibility and acceptance both within France and from the Allies.

At the same time, Vichy sought renewal in an economic modernization amid shortages, growing German demands, domination of economic production, and financial control, making it difficult, as Henry Rousso observes, to make real progress toward a planned technocracy. The government did, as Claire Andrieu notes, attempt to continue the promotion of family and population growth, a discussion that began well before Vichy and was first made policy by Daladier on the eve of war. Many of these policies came to little, despite much propaganda and programs for the development of a "youth culture" that reflected ideas about regimenting young lives along martial lines in the name of community.

The decisive turning point came in 1942 with open evidence of anti-Semitism revealed in the Paris roundups and deportations, provoking the church's tentative questioning of the regime's claims. Public opinion became uncertain in its loyalty to Vichy, seen in two regions of France, the southeast and the west, examined by Jacqueline Sainclivier in a useful synthesis of her monograph. It also brought repression, as collaborationism assumed fascist, repressive tendencies with the institution of the labor draft and the formation of the detested militia. Although a minority voice, the Paris-based fascists assumed prominence, particularly after the Germans occupied all of the country following the Allied landings in North Africa. As Paxton notes, this event was the decisive break, depriving Vichy of empire, fleet, and any claim to independence. France became Germany's vassal, and the Franco-French war began in earnest with the growth of the resistance, particularly after communist attentism, described by Denis Peschanski, gave way to the engagement described by Philippe Buton. The conflict did not necessarily end with liberation, the flight of Vichy die-hards to Sigmaringen, or even with the postwar purges. The hope for a reconciled, unified France continued to be poisoned by the memory of Vichy. By confronting this "poisoned" memory, the editors and contributors to this volume have used candid historical reconstructions as antidotes to politically motivated myths.

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SUNIL KHILNANI. *Arguing Revolution: The Intellectual Left in Postwar France.* New Haven: Yale University Press. 1993. Pp. viii, 264. $30.00.

This work by political scientist Sunil Khilnani includes three analytical and theoretical chapters and three case studies, on Jean-Paul Sartre, Louis Althusser, and François Furet. One would expect that the case studies would be of more interest to historians, but curiously the reverse is true. The theoretical chapters, especially the first, are dense yet often elegantly argued, with some sharp and penetrating insights. They can be read with benefit by scholars

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who may disagree with Khilnani's political positions, which are resolutely conservative.

Khilnani is quite convincing in arguing that we can better understand French intellectual debate if we view it in a distinctive national context rather than from a global perspective. He is equally persuasive in focusing on the French Revolution and how successive generations of intellectuals have argued about that epochal event and applied it to their own political thinking. He skillfully weaves his way through the thicket of conflicting definitions of "intellectual," emphasizing the "collective identity" (p. 11) that French intellectuals share.

The work is richly documented; Khilnani is extraordinarily well read in the literature by and about French leftist intellectuals. His book is refreshingly straightforward and openly polemical, in the manner of Tony Judt's *Past Imperfect* (1992). Khilnani has an eye for the damaging, even devastating citation, and his quotes from communist historians of the 1950s are hair-raising.

There is sometimes an element of bravura and arrogance in Khilnani's tone, and he can be too hastily dismissive of major theorists, especially Sartre, his favorite target. Many of the gratuitous valuations, such as the claim that a piece of Sartre's logic is "astonishing in its effrontery" (p. 64), should have fallen prey to the copy-editor's pencil. The chapter on Sartre is the weakest, adding little to Judt's attack on Sartre.

Khilnani's discussion of Althusser is more interesting and original. Khilnani is not concerned with the private mysteries of the brilliant and tormented man who became criminally insane and murdered his wife, but rather with his "public intellectual career" (p. 83). Khilnani proposes several reasons for Althusser's brief period of intellectual star status, from 1965 to the mid–1970s. Althusser's theoretical approach insisted on the central political role of intellectuals, at least those who could read Marx with him and recognize themselves as revolutionaries. Althusser's rigorous emphasis on always being scientific also could appeal to intellectuals seeking certainty. Despite Khilnani's best efforts, Althusser remains an odd and shady figure on the intellectual revolutionary scene, and the reader is not convinced that Althusser's "model of the relations between intellectuals and politics" (p. 15) effectively challenged and ultimately displaced Sartre's.

Khilnani is on surer ground in his chapter titled "Revolution Exorcised: 1968–1981." Here he argues that only after the mid–1970s did it become, in France at least, "intellectually and politically sustainable" to abandon the Soviet Union as a "political model and yet continue to remain on the left" (p. 129). He is also correct that Alexis de Tocqueville became simultaneously "the thinker against Marxism, and what was understood as its political reality, totalitarianism" (p. 130). Certainly no thoughtful observer of the contemporary French intellectual scene would deny Khilnani's contention that the late 1970s saw the cutting of the "umbilical attachment of intellectuals to the vocabulary of revolution" (p. 151).

François Furet, the focus of the last chapter, is an intellectual hero for Khilnani in the way that Émile Zola and Jules Vallès were for Victor Brombert in his classic work by the same title published in 1960. Whether Furet's interpretation of the revolution that began in 1789 is accurate remains a subject for debate, although no one would deny that Furet's re-argument of that revolution and his assertion that it has been brought to closure have had a significant impact both in France and abroad.

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VINCENTE MONTOJO MONTOJO. *El siglo de oro en Cartagena (1480–1640): Evolución económica y social de una ciudad portuaria del Sureste español y su comarca.* Murcia: Ayuntamiento de Cartagena and Real Academia Alfonso X El Sabio. 1993. Pp. 359.

Situated near the southeast corner of the Iberian Peninsula, the port city of Cartagena ended the Middle Ages as a small, *señorial* town on the frontier between the Christian and Islamic spheres of influence in the western Mediterranean. A century and a quarter later, Cartagena was a busy entrepôt, with possibly 10,000 inhabitants, a complex network of agricultural, livestock, and mining trades, and a well-developed local oligarchy that mingled stock-raisers, agriculturalists, merchants, and functionaries in a somewhat fractious political environment.

Avowedly writing in the tradition of Fernand Braudel, Vincente Montojo Montojo has explored a remarkable range of archives to piece together an exhaustive and detailed picture of the evolution of the town of Cartagena and its region. Little more than a fishing village dominated by its *señor* and his clients, Cartagena came under royal jurisdiction at the start of the sixteenth century and began a rapid expansion. The jurisdictional shift facilitated the consolidation of a local oligarchy dominated by stock-raising notables descended from the settlers who arrived with the late-medieval reconquest of the area from Muslim control. This clique was forced open after 1521, as venality of municipal office developed. This made it possible for rising newer families to move into the group that dominated local affairs and forced the stock-raising elite to share influence with families sustained by agriculture and commerce. By the late sixteenth century most of this expanded elite had acquired noble status. The end of the sixteenth century also saw a new group enter into local affairs: merchants of foreign extraction who were drawn to the city by its import-export trade and the growing volume of royal business connected with Cartagena's role as an increasingly important center for naval activity. As these families became naturalized they used their connections in Madrid to force their way

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into the institutions of local governance. Because they also sought to retain certain fiscal privileges, to the perceived detriment of local businessmen, this led to considerable acrimony in local politics after 1600.

Part of Cartagena's prolonged prosperity derived from significant fiscal advantages, advantages that offset the limited natural resources of the hinterland. Aside from mineral deposits (particularly alum), the town's great maritime advantage was a natural harbor that was relatively safe from weather and surprise attacks. This safe harbor made Cartagena a natural base for royal naval operations at a time when the crown was engaged in an active military policy in North Africa, mitigating the fact that it was more difficult to reach from the Castilian interior than the competing port of Alicante.

Cartagena's expansion stopped around 1630 as changing commercial patterns and dramatic increases in royal taxation deprived the port of its competitive edge. As a consequence the decades between 1630 and 1660 saw the regional economy turn in on itself and shift much of its emphasis back to the traditional livestock industries. This left the remaining import-export activity more clearly in the hands of foreign merchants and rendered the region much more dependent on outside economic interests.

An excellent local case study, this book is useful to anyone concerned with the sixteenth-century Mediterranean. Because Cartagena was never more than a secondary center in the Mediterranean urban system, the study would have been helped by a more systematic discussion of that system as a context for local activity. At times the reader is daunted by the mass of detail, which reflects the book's function as a monograph within a regional historiography. At the same time, however, the volume is meticulously documented, the secondary literature is fully explored, and the results are conceptually and qualitatively faithful to the Braudelian tradition.

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MÁXIMO DIAGO HERNANDO. *Soria en la baja edad media: Espacio rural y economía agraria.* (Colección historia.) Madrid: Complutense. 1993. Pp. 190.

Máximo Diago Hernando examines the economic, social, and spacial organization and structures of Soria's hinterland—as well as the adjacent territories of Agreda, Almazán, and Yanguas—in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Although the author's implicit agenda is to study the relationship between town(s) and countryside(s), his focus is almost exclusively on the rural world. The work is divided into three exceedingly long chapters. In the first, Diago Hernando clearly depicts a mixed geographical space of mountain and plain. Topography as well as social and economic factors dictated a variegated rural landscape: the hills given to livestock grazing and the plain to cereal cultivation. The diverse topography and economic use of the land also produced a wide range of forms of lordship and property (communal, private, seignorial, royal, ecclesiastical), all in competition for the limited resources of the region.

These broad categories, however, were not very stable. If Diago Hernando's case studies of the villages of Covaleda, Duruelo, and others demonstrate anything, it is that most small rural communities in the region of Soria were under intense pressure by the Mesta and by the oligarchy of Soria to open their commons to the livestock of powerful men and corporations. Royal officials, more often than not, sided with the Mesta and the powerful elite of Soria. Similar trends can be observed in the lands of Agreda, even though there the city council pursued policies contrary to the Mesta and livestock owners.

An equally long second chapter focuses on agricultural life in the region: what was produced, where, in what proportion and types of holding. This is done mostly by the detailed examination of some ecclesiastical domains. As elsewhere in Castile, the urban oligarchs intruded forcefully into the rural land market, peasants and small farmers grew poorer, and agricultural production in Soria's countryside declined.

The last and best part of the book is given to the economic and social role of livestock in the region. Diago Hernando provides a rich and detailed description of the different types of stock, of grazing patterns, of the organization of the Mesta in the region of Soria, as well as the social and economic hierarchy of livestock owners. As the author shows, owners of large flocks, because of marriage alliances and economic power, were able to gain a substantial influence in Soria's affairs after the 1530s. An array of useful prosopographical studies support his arguments.

Although at times awkwardly written—the book begins almost *in media res*—and organized (breaking up the chapters into smaller and more accessible units would have been preferable), and although one would have wished for more information on the city of Soria proper (most of it is rendered in intriguing footnotes), this is an informative, well-researched, and useful book. It shows the dynamics of rural economic change at the onset of the early modern period in an important region of Old Castile. The study is also an important contribution to a series of striking books (Hilario Casado's book on Burgos being the best example) that show the close interconnection between town and countryside, and the complexity of economic and social structures. As the author argues in his conclusion, we err in placing these structures within any rigid, overarching ideological construct.

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HENRY KAMEN. *The Phoenix and the Flame: Catalonia and the Counter Reformation.* New Haven: Yale University Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 527. $45.00.

The dialogues of history and anthropology continue to be enriched by works in which ethnography and broad sociocultural models can be tested against the reconstruction of distant pasts. In this encyclopedic text, Henry Kamen focuses his magisterial command of archival resources and Spanish historiography on religious development in early modern Catalonia. Yet, to an anthropologist, the implications of his text go beyond his historical gaze to raise interdisciplinary concerns about the nature of place and voice, about the connections and rhythms of cultural and social processes, and, ultimately, about the meanings of change itself.

Kamen begins with vignettes from Mediona, a rural hamlet of the Alt Penedès, near Barcelona. Through surviving sources on religious practice, Kamen evokes a judicious sense of a complicated village: bequests and expenditures, fights and celebrations, fears and deaths. Kamen avoids temptations for "social generalizations," yet he makes the varied personalities and features of the community tangible. Mediona, along with other Catalan localities, provides a concrete referent for later arguments, in comparison with more intense, albeit diverse reports from Barcelona.

Kamen then situates local questions within the problems of Philip II and Catalonia amid broad peninsular structures of reform, ongoing as well as Tridentine. He nonetheless carefully balances these changes with failures and everyday resistance. I would worry at times that student readers might be overwhelmed by the many examples introduced from Spain and the rest of Europe, although these underscore Catalonia as a society with its own diverse interpretations of the world.

In subsequent solid, lengthy chapters Kamen discusses interrelated phenomena that go beyond any single locus of time and space, recalling in their breadth and rhythms Clifford Geertz's image of culture as an octopus. Kamen's third chapter, for example, raises issues of public worship ranging from the imposition of liturgical reforms on dioceses (which seemed invariably to have just invested in new local missals) to the meshing of new forms and practices with older features of belief and action: saints, spaces, and celebrations. This tension of multiple hierarchies and complex social practices of continuity suggests a creative filter by which reforms were made local and impacts nuanced, however serious the changes of these decades on Catalan life. In the fourth chapter Kamen elaborates on these in tracing popular festivities and meanings that were whittled away at rather than abruptly abolished by reform. Again, one glimpses a continuity to Catalan actions and beliefs as meaningful as the new disciplines steadily encroaching on pilgrimage and carnival.

Kamen's acknowledged mastery of the Inquisition comes out in his book's fifth chapter. Here his review of the concerns and actions of that body conveys to the reader its limited power and even rejection by many levels of Catalan society. Meanwhile, he effectively contrasts the actions of Catalans and their institutions to policies emergent in other parts of Spain.

A broader reading of society appears in the next chapter on marriage and sexuality, perhaps the only chapter where one feels that too many sociocultural features are covered in the pages allocated them. The author traces attempts to impose ecclesiastical rules on customary economics, including strategic manipulations of different perceptions of marriage. A discussion of love and conduct follows, in which confessors' manuals are read against these legal structures. Extended observations on infidelity then lead to reflections on sexuality as well as the status of women. Kamen again argues that changes must be perceived on a broad scale rather than as a simple acceptance of "reform." Yet so many interlocking points convolute the argument.

The final chapters deal with teaching and communication. Kamen analyzes the influence of reform and religious orders on sermons and catechism, epitomized by the Jesuits in Catalonia. This complements his earlier discussions of other orders without making institutional features into protagonists or merely accepting their reports of success. A discussion of bilingual teaching as part of Catalan differentiation within a changing Spain and a divided universal church forms a bridge to chapter 8, with its vivid evocations of printers, readers, and intermediaries in a Catalonia enmeshed in Europe but also interpreting that world, whether Counter Reformation piety or Spanish incursions. Thus, Kamen's book, which begins in a small rural town, ends with the cosmopolitan collection of a single Barcelona bookshop. Yet in such microcosms the author has explored culture in both its octopoidal attributes and its central, generative features that explain unity even within change, as the brief conclusion notes.

Ultimately, the most critical theme here for both anthropologists and historians is that of change itself. The very image of the "Counter Reformation," however nuanced by our historical research, risks evoking some tectonic force. From extensive readings and variegated voices, Kamen instead has presented a much more complex fabric of social movement. Catalans both anticipated and ignored pivotal documents; central reform issues were altered by their political context, economic implications, or a genial amplification that changed their content and impact. Obviously, Catalonia and Catalan Catholicism changed, but the cultures of the principality become evident in how change was tested, understood, and embodied in inhabitants of cities and countryside through these crucial centuries. This complexity is aggravatingly familiar to those working among contemporary social actors and their participation in global changes, a

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heartening meeting ground for anthropology and history.

In his preface, Kamen notes that the "themes for exploration—and the sources—are virtually limitless." By giving order, insight, and context to these data, by envisioning the Counter Reformation as actually lived and altered in Barcelona as well as Mediona and Perpignan, he certainly has illuminated the means by which we must learn from the culture of the past in the present and future.

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M. ANNE PITCHER. *Politics in the Portuguese Empire: The State, Industry, and Cotton, 1926–1974.* New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xvi, 322. $62.00.

Two standard images of Portugal under the Antonio Salazar regime depict a system that was basically opposed to economic modernization and an empire generally characterized by an "uneconomic imperialism." This book by M. Anne Pitcher grapples with aspects of the problems invoked by both of these images as it studies the evolution of the textile industry in metropolitan Portugal, cotton production in Portuguese Africa, and the developments in state policy that regulated both sectors and sought in varying ways to integrate them. The investigation of economic policy and performance is preceded for each period of the regime with a brief description of general developments in Portuguese politics and state policies. The economic research is based on primary sources ranging from official publications and records to direct documentation, supplemented by a number of limited secondary studies, and the political synopses rely on standard secondary works.

Pitcher early on concludes that analysis of the *Estado Novo* based on its official corporative laws and doctrine tends to mask the way in which the economy actually functioned, and in this she is now supported by most other scholars who work in this period. The Salazar regime was highly statist and interventionist, but it never developed functional corporatism more than halfway, the theoretical role of the corporations more often being carried on by private entrepreneurs and groups on the one hand and the state on the other.

For a century textiles had been the first and principal modern Portuguese industry, or at least the nearest thing to a modern industry, but by the 1930s and 1940s the state's priority lay with more innovative and dynamic sectors. Thus, according to the author, the textile industry was regulated in a capricious manner that failed to expedite its modernization. It occasionally benefited from enforced cotton production in the colonies and the Portuguese system of imperial preference, most notably during World War II. In general, she finds that state policy sometimes favored the largest and most modern firms, although not consistently. State regulations and autarchist policies also permitted many small obsolete firms to survive into the second half of the century, while handicapping the industry with higher costs and lower-quality cotton.

The autarchist system of enforced colonial cotton production was much more detrimental, of course, to the colonized, as Pitcher points out. The only beneficiaries in Angola and Mozambique were the large companies and, in the final years, colonial cotton farmers and a small minority of more enterprising native cultivators.

In general, Pitcher's findings are consistent with other recent investigations of Portuguese policy in this period, most notably those by Fernando Rosas. Her main conclusions about overall economic performance during the final decades of the regime lie about halfway between what she describes as the "stagnation" and "integrationist" schools of interpretation. This is broadly convincing, although it should be recognized that industrial growth throughout the 1950s and 1960s was generally quite positive and, given Portugal's basic problems, could probably have only been improved slightly by a more creatively liberal regime.

The discussion of broader political developments presents the conventional wisdom about Portuguese affairs. Only rarely is there a minor faux pas, such as the description of the military conspiracy aborted by Salazar in 1961 as an "attempted military coup" that was "crushed" (p. 213).

Although it offers no strikingly original new insights, this is a well-researched and clearly analyzed monograph that adds further to our detailed knowledge of state policy and economic development in Portugal and its empire under the dictatorship.

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ANGÉLIQUE JANSSENS. *Family and Social Change: The Household as a Process in an Industrializing Community.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xxii, 317. $64.95.

This book by Angélique Janssens challenges Talcott Parsons's theory that industrialization produced nuclear families, and that extended family structures inhibited successful adaptation to the industrial world. The author's introduction is particularly useful for its lucid summary of past scholarship and ongoing debate about the nature of family change. Janssens contributes to this debate with her analysis of two household samples whose histories she reconstructs (from 1849 to 1890 and from 1880 to 1920) in the Dutch city of Tilburg.

Although Janssens's use of longitudinal data is less innovative than she suggests—many historians have linked records to get beyond the limits of census reports—the source on which she relies is unusually

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rich. Dutch population registers recorded all changes in the resident population between the ten-year censuses, providing essential information about each individual, such as birth date, occupation, religion, relation to head of household, marital status, and details about his or her residential mobility. The findings from these data may surprise social scientists who continue to place any stock in Parsonian theory. Co-residence of kin rose with early industrialization, and a continued late age at marriage suggested a persistently strong bond between parents and adult children. Contrary to what Parsonian theory would predict, extended families did not in any manner seem to inhibit adaptability or upward mobility in the industrializing context.

The collection and analysis of data in this book are meticulous and painstaking. Even with the admitted inconsistencies of her data (sometimes resulting from low numbers in the samples), Janssens's argument is generally convincing, and this book makes an important contribution to scholarship on household structure. Some of her premises are, however, questionable. She is quite right to challenge structural-functionalist theory in order to understand change in family life, but by focusing on household structure she remains within the same paradigm whose inherent limits she seeks to expand beyond. The analysis of structure almost invariably leads to a "functionalist" interpretation that the behavior behind the statistical averages is "rational." How can we be sure, for example, that late age at marriage meant strong bonds between adult children and parents? It might also indicate a weak economy that did not permit the setting up of independent households. To her credit Janssens readily concedes that quantitative family studies indicate little about the quality of family relations and insists that they should be complemented with qualitative research; and yet the latter is almost completely absent from her own work and the reader is left with little sense of the human experience that composed household structures.

Parsons meant for his theory to be applied to a mature industrial society. Tilburg was not such a society. Although it grew from 14,000 to 60,000 inhabitants, it had low population density, remained isolated, and preserved a rural atmosphere. It also had unusual population stability; the overwhelming majority of its inhabitants had been born and raised there. Finally, Tilburg experienced small-scale industrialization that resulted in neither proletarianization nor the complete disappearance of domestic industry.

It would have made more sense to challenge Parsonian theory with data from a mature industrial society. But while admitting that Tilburg may not be typical, Janssens asserts that the classical industrial development of other cities "may now safely be considered as the exception in historical reality" and the majority of people in the nineteenth century "experienced social and economic change of a much more gradual and limited nature" (p. 244). Although Tilburg offers an important and instructive case study, its example is perhaps too atypical to support a "gradualist" interpretation of industrialization.

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PATRICIA PENN HILDEN. *Women, Work, and Politics: Belgium, 1830–1914.* New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 357. $59.00.

Patricia Penn Hilden has rescued from neglect the history of the Belgian labor movement and the history of women's work and politics in that movement. Her book provides a good sketch of Belgian history, detailed discussions of women's involvement in the textile and coal-mining industries, an analysis of debates about gender roles, and a history of women's activity in Belgian union and socialist politics. This scope sometimes makes it seem overloaded, but packs a great deal of important history into one volume.

The book is invaluable not only for this rescue work but also for highlighting the importance of the Belgian case in considering gender issues within industrializing proletariats. Belgian women workers enjoyed greater access to work on a more equal basis than in other industrial countries. Not until 1892, for instance, did Belgium legislate to exclude women from working underground in coal mines. Hilden argues that this equality extended to working-class politics: "Belgian men steadily refused to close their ranks to the working women of their tight-knit world" (p. 259). For Hilden, women's high status as workers explains the lack of misogynist opposition.

Some might point instead to the rapidity of Belgium's industrial development: Belgium knew little of the household economy and of the concomitant Proudhonian ideology. One might also point to Belgium's late constitution as a nation: republicans may not have developed the male bond described by Christine Faure, Geneviève Fraisse, Joan Landes, and Carole Pateman. Whatever the reason, Hilden does well to call this egalitarian tendency to our attention.

She has written a committed labor history, refreshing at a time when the French far Right has reached 20 percent of the vote in presidential elections and the looney Right has taken over the U.S. Congress. Her commitment, however, occasionally reduces her insight. Her analysis of debates about women's work is at times clouded by her tendency to consider elites in a bloc: the "bourgeois ruling class." Her sympathies for the feminists in the working-class movement sometimes lead her to blame rather than to analyze.

Nowhere is this more evident than in her treatment of the Belgian socialist women's decision in 1902 to "suspend the movement for universal female suffrage until the victory of universal suffrage for men" (p. 283). This decision caused much debate among European socialist women. It was, however, in line with a general evolution: by the war, most socialist feminist movements had become socialist women's move-

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ments, as Hilden rightly points out (although she gives the date for France as 1910, citing my work; it was actually 1913 [p. 252]). We need to understand why some socialist women agreed to put perceived party interest ahead of that of their sex. Hilden, however, simply labels Lalla Vandervelde, who proposed this resolution, "a willing traitor," "easily found" by the male leadership of the party, who needed this concession to make an alliance with the liberals.

In general, however, Hilden provides much information and insight, based on admirably thorough research. All those interested in gender issues among the industrializing proletariat will read it with interest and profit.

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VESA VARES. *Konservatiivi ja murrosvuodet: Lauri Ingman ja hänen poliittinen toimintansa vuoteen 1922* [A Conservative and the Years of Decisive Change: Lauri Ingman and His Political Activity to 1922]. Summary in English. (Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, number 174.) Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1993. Pp. 658.

This dissertation by Vesa Vares is a political biography of a leading Finnish conservative politician during the early twentieth century. Lauri Ingman was a key player in Finnish politics, serving twice as prime minister and four times as minister of education and dying while the Lutheran archbishop of Finland.

A heavy-set, pragmatic, and cautious man who did not like to close doors to cooperation, Ingman was wary of ideologists of all kinds. He believed in a meritocracy and distrusted emotionalism in politics. A moderate conservative who accepted democracy and parliamentarism, he, like many other influential Finnish conservatives, was more in tune with the moderate and pragmatic other Nordic and British conservatives than with their more authoritarian and repressive counterparts in Eastern and Southern Europe.

Democratic sentiments and moderation among Finnish conservatives stemmed from the fact that they were not the most conservative force in the country. That distinction belonged to the Swedish-speaking conservatives who were part of the traditional elite against whom the new Finnish-speaking elite, assisted by a reform movement that affected its mentality, had to wage a long uphill struggle.

The experience of a revolution and civil war, however, radicalized many originally moderate conservatives, including Ingman, and moved them further to the right. Their very moderation had left many like him unprepared and helpless in a situation where passions and ideologists ruled supreme and men capable of extreme actions took over on both the Left and the Right.

In more peaceful times his pragmatism and moderation, however, prevented Ingman from making some major mistakes, which helps explain the length of his political career. He refrained both from physical repression of internal political enemies and from the foreign policy adventurism that tempted some other conservatives. Nevertheless, he was not immune to miscalculations resulting from wishful thinking based on his beliefs and values. He foresaw neither the Russian Revolution nor the defeat of Germany in the World War I, both of which resulted in fundamental political changes in Finland.

In comparison with socialists, agrarians, communists, and even the radical Right, the conservatives have not been much studied in Finnish history recently. Notable exceptions are works on national leaders such as Carl Gustaf Mannerheim and Juho Kusti Paasikivi, who played critical roles during crises involving war and peace. Through his work, Vares has lifted from relative obscurity a less colorful but very influential conservative politician who played a major role in Finnish history during less stormy times. An effective committee man rather than a charismatic leader, Ingman nevertheless helped to shape not only the conservative but also the national political agenda over many years.

Although Ingman was an important figure, the length and details of Vares's work at times seem excessive. Some of it obscures rather than clarifies the argument. A rigorous editor could have improved the book a great deal by cutting this excess material.

Blemishes of form and style, however, should not obscure the deeper merits of the work. Through his study, Vares has succeeded in shedding new light not only on the personality and role of Ingman but also on Finnish conservatism and political history in general. Owing to his efforts, the picture has become more nuanced than before. Vares has penetrated well the mentality of Finnish conservatism and also places it in the context of wider European conservatism of the times. His occasionally biting and critical commentary hits many targets, including fellow historians.

Vares's source base is vast and varied and he has mined it with diligence. He has produced an informative and detailed portrait of a major Finnish political actor and his times.

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SAMUEL JOHN KLINGENSMITH. *The Utility of Splendor: Ceremony, Social Life, and Architecture at the Court of Bavaria, 1600–1800.* Edited by CHRISTIAN F. OTTO and MARK ASHTON. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1993. Pp. xx, 315. $45.00.

It is rare indeed to read a book that breaks new ground in so many ways, and so painful then to learn that the author was shot and killed in New Orleans in 1986. This, his doctoral dissertation, has been respectfully and carefully revised for publication as a memo-

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rial to him. The result is not only an important study but also a physically beautiful book.

Until this publication, court building and culture in early modern Bavaria interested only antiquarians and architectural historians. This work brings these subjects into general cultural history and sets the agenda not only for further research on Bavarian court culture but also on other European courts. Samuel John Klingensmith courageously ignored the boundaries between architectural, social, and diplomatic history to reach for something like a *histoire totale* of the Bavarian court. Sources for the project were either almost impossible to find for some topics, and so overwhelming in quantity for others, such as household accounts, that they are difficult to make sense of briefly. Thus, there is some unevenness in the analysis.

Maximilian I (1597–1651) was both a great state and palace builder. His residence in Munich was bigger and more magnificent than any other in Germany. Court ceremony was modeled on that of Spain, the main result being much more privacy for the electoral family, compared with what contemporaries have described for the royal families of France and England.

While comparisons between the later seventeenth-century Bavarian court under Maximilian Emmanuel (1679–1704) and the French court are inevitable and necessary, the outcome is not always interesting. Louis de Rouvroy, Duc de Saint Simon's *Memoirs* (1694–1723) have been used as a ready court culture source for too long. Much more research must be done on buildings, ceremonial, and cultural court diffusion, as well as the respective influences of distinctly Spanish, French, and the still influential Italian courts, before a more satisfactory comparative court cultural history will be possible.

Broadly speaking, after a phase of central residence building in the early seventeenth century, the Bavarian rulers turned to building a series of smaller, more intimate country residences. It is interesting to speculate on the specific purposes that were intended for these residences, built almost as if their aim was to introduce a different activity at court, or a novel space in which to manifest electoral magnificence.

The privacy of electoral family bed chambers continued to prevail, the result being a large number of anterooms in all the Bavarian palaces. Each of these rooms was usually reserved for the several ranks of courtiers, in hierarchical order. As Klingensmith puts it, "In Germany Louis XIV's apartment would have been sufficient only for a prince of a very minor rank" (p. 125). Electors continued to build ever bigger residences through the course of the eighteenth century, partly as a result of devastating fires, and partly as a result of changing styles of entertainment.

The photographs of architectural drawings and the graphs, calendars, and rosters of diplomatic receptions provide ample support for the analysis of the Bavarian court offered here. The attention to such details as the food eaten in the entertainments and the increasing constraints on the electoral family's own behavior will intrigue readers and prompt them to review their notions about what court culture was, and possibly still is.

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BODO NISCHAN. *Prince, People, and Confession: The Second Reformation in Brandenburg.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1994. Pp. xvi, 366.

This is a book about the subtle interaction of religion and politics in an age riven by confessional strife and by princes' little-veiled efforts to achieve absolute rule. Bodo Nischan takes as his case in point the Hohenzollern margrave-electors of Brandenburg from the late sixteenth century until the Leipzig Conference of 1631, at which the Lutherans and Calvinists (Reformed) of Germany attempted to subdue their mutual acrimony enough to allow them to present a united front to Emperor Ferdinand II. Central to this study is the conversion of Johann Sigismund (r. 1608–19) from Lutheranism to Calvinism, although his father, Joachim Friedrich (r. 1598–1608), had already inclined toward a "pan-Protestant confessional stance" (p. 63) and had had his sons educated at the pro-Calvinist Strassburg academy. On Christmas Day 1613, in the Berlin Cathedral, Johann Sigismund received the Reformed variety of Holy Communion. His staunchly Lutheran subjects were aghast, and every level of society resisted conversion.

We usually hear (and teach) in Reformation courses that Brandenburg converted to Calvinism. Nischan reevaluates all received historiography and in good measure departs from it. Having closely examined the printed and archival documentation, he explores the nuances of the elector's motivation; his complex political relations to the king of Poland, from whom Johann Sigismund held the Duchy of Prussia in fief, to the Reformed count palatine of the Rhine, and to the Saxon "brethren" to the south; the positions of his advisors, both secular and ecclesiastical; and the difficulty posed by the unbending Lutheranism of his wife Anna, heiress in both Prussia and Cleves. Johann Sigismund can hardly have converted, as twentieth-century scholars have generally maintained, to gain Dutch support in the Jülich-Cleves succession dispute (p. 95). Rather, we should take the prince's religious explanations seriously. Paula Sutter Fichtner (*Protestantism and Primogeniture in Early Modern Germany* [1989]) has shown that, for religious reasons, German princes sometimes engaged in practices that were not in their best dynastic interests. The ruling house of Brandenburg may provide another example of spiritually motivated, even if deleterious, behavior. All the same, Nischan goes on to look at the creeping, then the leaping, gains of militant Catholicism within the empire and the resultant need to make the sort of clear distinction between the old

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religion and Brandenburg's new creed that high-church Lutheranism did not provide.

One of the unique and highly valuable features of this study is its attention to church ritual as political symbol. Brandenburg had originally retained more of the Catholic sacramentals and observances than any other Lutheran territory. From 1613, Johann Sigismund made removing "leftover papal dung" a salient goal of his Second Reformation. The eucharistic elements were no longer to undergo elevation, which had reinforced the Lutheran doctrine of Christ's physical presence; the Host was now to consist of ordinary bread, displayed on a table and broken (*fractio panis*) by pastors during distribution. Exorcism was to be eliminated from baptism. Not only most clergy but also the populace was incensed, and rioting broke out. The people wanted their familiar artifacts and ceremonies.

The leading Lutheran superintendents and theologians of the land played on popular sentiment as they attacked their ruler's imported advisors, such as Salomon Finck and Martin Füssel. This book is rich in character development and pithy anecdote. It describes the careers, personalities, and often vitriolic commentary of men like Simon Gedicke, Johann Behm, and Philipp Arnoldi, who did not spare the elector himself. How did they get away with it? Why, indeed, in an age when rulers stepped above the law and resorted to violence to get their way, did Johann Sigismund's reformation—at least, as he envisioned it—fail? The answer, apart from practically uniform opposition and his wife's patronage of anti-Reformed activities at court, is that the prince badly needed money to finance his intricate foreign entanglements. He was deeply in debt. The nobility extracted religious guarantees in return for even partial subsidies. The Reformed faith in Brandenburg did not, however, die. Nischan concludes that a complex interaction of forces ultimately produced the first state with religious toleration as its policy.

This is an exemplary study of the interweaving of personal, spiritual, political, and economic elements in the post-Reformation era. It was worth waiting for. In case there should be no modern biography of Anna, a doctoral student may wish to pursue her life as a topic. She remains a dim figure in this book but possessed the determination and the power to interfere significantly with her husband's government. She did not rely on "pillow talk."

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Martin I. Klauber. *Between Reformed Scholasticism and Pan-Protestantism: Jean-Alphonse Turretin (1671–1737) and Enlightened Orthodoxy at the Academy of Geneva.* Selinsgrove, Pa.: Susquehanna University Press or Associated University Presses, Cranbury, N.J. 1994. Pp. 244.

Martin I. Klauber presents Jean-Alphonse Turretin, professor of church history and theology at the Academy of Geneva, as the leader of an entire generation of Reformed scholars who sought a reconciliation between Reformed orthodoxy and the growth of rationalism. Klauber's study is divided into an introduction, six chapters, and a conclusion, plus an extensive bibliography and an index.

Klauber first sets the theological climate at the Academy of Geneva in the years prior to Jean-Alphonse's tenure there. The debate in Geneva over the adoption of the *Helvetic Formula Consensus* makes it clear that already, in mid-century, there was a small group of liberals on the faculty at the Academy. The *Consensus*, aimed directly at the theological ideas promulgated at the French Academy of Saumur, was authored by Francis Turretin, Jean-Alphonse's father.

Klauber then turns to Jean-Alphonse's education. At the Academy of Geneva, he was greatly influenced by Jean-Robert Chouet, a Cartesian who had taught at Saumur prior to moving to Geneva. Louis Tronchin, professor of theology at the Academy who had studied at Saumur, furnished Jean-Alphonse with the specifics of his new "enlightened orthodoxy" that would lead to the demise of the *Helvetic Formula Consensus*. From 1691 to 1693, Turretin traveled abroad and engaged in postgraduate studies in Holland, England, and Paris, where he met a number of scholars of liberal leanings.

In his discussion of Turretin's theology, Klauber demonstrates how Turretin, hoping to defuse the atheism of Spinoza and the deism of Hobbes, developed a system of natural theology (dealing with the existence and attributes of God, divine providence, natural law, and immortality) that was based solely on reason. Although Turretin still accepted special revelation, he rejected earlier methods of exegesis and emphasized the use of reason in interpreting the biblical text according to the author's intent. Stressing the progressive nature of revelation, he exalted the words of Christ above the rest of Scripture.

Klauber then details the demise of Reformed scholasticism and the abrogation of the *Helvetic Formula Consensus* in Geneva and in French-speaking Switzerland under Turretin's leadership. Finally, Klauber turns to Turretin's dream of a union among the Reformed, the Anglicans, and the Lutherans of Prussia, which led him to focus on defining the fundamental articles, those doctrines necessary for salvation that all could agree on. In the end, his enlightened orthodoxy was closer to the Remonstrants and the Socinians than his Reformed forebears, including his father, Francis. The next generation put all doctrines under the scrutiny of reason, which brought the theological faculty at Geneva into the Socinian camp.

In this treatment of the younger Turretin, Klauber has produced a study that highlights the fascinating interplay between Reformed, Remonstrant, and Socinian elements in Protestantism in the early eigh-

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teenth century and how they dealt with the new intellectual currents of Cartesianism, Deism, and atheism. A well-written, thoroughly documented study, this book is a fine contribution to the intellectual history of the early Enlightenment.

J. Wayne Baker
University of Akron

Jürgen Schlumbohm. *Lebensläufe, Familien, Höfe: Die Bauern und Heuerleute des Osnabrückischen Kirchspiels Belm in proto-industrieller Zeit, 1660–1860.* (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, number 110.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht. 1994. Pp. 690.

The works of Carlo Ginzburg, Natalie Davis, and Giovanni Levi have led us to expect good microhistory to introduce us to colorful individuals, scandalous love stories, and murderous vendettas, to show us how a few individuals dealt with extraordinary events. But what do they say about the majority of Europeans? What can they really tell us about everyday life? Jürgen Schlumbohm's answer is to turn the magnifying glass of the microhistorian on a single community near Osnabrück, to dissect everyday choices and actions over a long span of time. The lives of peasants in the parish of Belm stand out not for their drama but for acts so commonplace that their meaning and pattern might escape all but the keenest and most patient of historians. Finding the norms and understanding the range of actions and choices available to villagers led Schlumbohm to use an eclectic blend of methods drawn from demography, anthropology, and German *Alltagsgeschichte.* The result is an exhaustive style of microhistory with incisive findings about the life cycle, the peasant family, and the traditional European demographic system.

In the responses of Belmers to population growth and economic crises Schlumbohm discovers behavior that does not quite fit the model of Europe's demographic system. As population tripled, swelling the parish rolls from 1,300 souls in 1651 to 3,000 in 1812, and a few peasants dominated landholding through impartible inheritance, the number of landless laborers mounted alarmingly. In these circumstances one expects to find evidence of the economy stagnating, households changing, and marriage rates declining. Not so. Belmers took up linen weaving to supplement their livelihoods, but they did so without challenging the dominance of the large farmsteads or altering their domestic living patterns. Belmers also solved the economic crises of the 1830s and 1840s in a novel fashion. When the crises came, the poorest among them did not put off marrying or have fewer children. Some left their homes for America, but many others moved in with each other and formed larger and more complex households. Marriage, reproduction, and property were therefore more subtly and flexibly linked than is commonly assumed.

In the heart of the book, a series of brilliant chapters on the household and the life cycle, Schlumbohm identifies long-term patterns but with an understanding of choices, alternatives, and possibilities. Demographers should sift his findings with care. He discovers not one household pattern but two: one large and complex, the other small and nuclear. They dovetailed, fitted together like pieces of wood joined by a carpenter. He also finds that children and young adults shared common life experiences regardless of class. Amazingly, too, almost every Belmer married. Naturally these chapters explore the full range of Belm's demography, including fertility, nursing, widowhood, mobility, and the waves of emigration to America in the 1830s and 1840s. In each case Schlumbohm describes peasant actors who may often have played scripted roles, but who also improvised new parts for themselves, too. One of the dominant themes of these chapters is how marriage helped create an unequal society. In developing it, he leaves us with one of the most incisive studies of German peasant marriage ever written.

The lives of Belm's peasants do not fit neatly into our modern theories. Theories may point out patterns, but they rarely grasp the range of choices open before the individual. Our mistake has been to see traditional societies as inflexible or all encompassing. Our population models may also help us to see certain constraints on choices, but people in the past did not live a uniform life cycle. Likewise, our models of the peasant household falter when confronted with the complexities and the inequalities of real rural microcosms. It should not surprise us to learn about the poverty of theory in explaining peasant lives, to discover villagers altering their everyday worlds where they could. But it does, and the really astonishing thing is that we once thought their lives to be simpler, somehow more predictable than they in fact ever were.

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Peter K. Taylor. *Indentured to Liberty: Peasant Life and the Hessian Military State, 1688–1815.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1994. Pp. xvi, 275. $45.00.

The "indenture" alluded to in the title of Peter K. Taylor's challenging and important book is not the expedient whereby some Hessian peasants became "mercenary" soldiers in order to escape to "freedom" in the new world. Instead, this is the story of a much more complete and wrenching indenture by which Hessian society accommodated itself to the needs of English capital throughout the eighteenth century. The bearers of the indenture were not merely, or even primarily, those men who became soldiers on behalf of the English, but rather an entire rural society that was forced to redefine internal relations in response to the demands of a market it never even saw. Taylor gives us a new take on the question of a German *Sonderweg* by insisting that the ideologies of

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English "liberties" and German petty despotism were inextricably linked.

The particular merit of Taylor's approach is that he follows his initial observation about the relation of English capital to Hessian society through a series of articulations that reach down to the peasant household and its members. Taylor draws on Eric Wolf's macroanalytical insights on the interconnections of different modes of production, as modified for the micropolitics of family life by Hermann Rebel, to explain the interpenetration of those different levels of social experience. The conceptual framework produces a dense vocabulary (there are frequent references to "kin-ordered enterprises," "tribute-takers," and "system necessary victims") but rich possibilities for presenting the echoes and reverberations of actors in all registers of society—from Landgrave Charles I's first efforts to set up a subsidy relationship with major European powers to a widow's preference for her younger son over her older son in an inheritance dispute. It shows how peasants could have an active role in shaping the conditions of their lives and yet still be victims of the system.

The conceptual framework is supported by a wide range of sources, from parish registers, cadastres, and local debt protocols to peasant supplications and reports of local bureaucrats. Taylor also uses tales from the Grimm collection of fairy tales to address peasant perceptions of the impact of the draft.

Two territorial edicts form the most powerful bridge between the different levels of analysis: the recruitment ordinance of 1762, which tried to locate the most "expendable" members of the territory to make them available for the draft, and an edict restricting the devolution of peasant estates intact to a single heir (the *Hufen* edict) in 1773. Taylor shows first that the state and bureaucracy itself suffered ideological disjunction because of the unforseen consequences of its efforts to regulate and sustain an expanding subsidy enterprise, since both patrimonial authority and agricultural labor could be undermined by the drain of young men into the army. He then shows how the pressures of that disjunction produced tensions in rural society, not just between individuals but also between competing social roles and expectations that were sometimes lodged in the same individual: "To be a victim was to bear the contradictions between systems and within them at the very core of the self" (p. 202). The state was committed to the "preservation" of the self-sustaining household economy and constructed its edicts to ensure that the key families of the economy survived under the pressure of the recruitment system. But exemptions from the draft granted to potential heirs of wealthier peasant estates produced a sudden shift in marriage patterns. The percentage of grooms whose parents' tenures conferred draft exemptions dropped from 41.9 percent in 1754–62 to 14.1 percent in 1763–74. The magnitude of the changes that Taylor identifies strengthens his case for the centrality of the draft to the experience of rural life in the eighteenth century.

This book makes an important contribution to the expanding literature on early modern German rural history. It links that world with the broader social and economic transformation of Europe as a whole, without losing sight of the concrete local experiences of the people who lived through them. For that reason, it deserves the attention of scholars beyond the field of German history.

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STEVEN M. LOWENSTEIN. *The Berlin Jewish Community: Enlightenment, Family, and Crisis, 1770–1830.* (Studies in Jewish History.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 300. $49.95.

On the eve of the nineteenth century the Jewish community of Berlin was not the largest in Germany, but more than any other it had already experienced the effects of modernization. Initial moderate cultural adaptation had escalated to rapid abandonment of traditional modes of conduct and increasingly resulted in apostasy. A lingering atmosphere of crisis, brought on by uncertainty, prevailed. Would Judaism be able to adapt itself to unprecedented conditions in which economic, cultural, and political integration exercised seductive appeal but seemed an unlikely achievement in the absence of religious adaptation and fully realizable only after conversion?

Surprisingly little has been written on Berlin Jewry in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries since Ludwig Geiger published his two-volume *Geschichte der Juden in Berlin* (1871). Scholars who have touched on the subject have concentrated on intellectual developments, especially the life and writings of its leading personality, the philosopher Moses Mendelssohn. Steven M. Lowenstein is the first to undertake a thoroughgoing social history of Berlin Jewry, basing his research largely on quantitative data drawn, for example, from lists of converts, subscribers to Enlightenment publications, payers of the tax on kosher meat, and supporters of religious reform. From these sources he has put together what he calls a "collective biography" of Berlin Jewry over the space of half a century, from 1770 to 1830. Although we do not learn a great deal about the interior or day-to-day lives of individuals, we do gain much fascinating new information about social trends and obtain a carefully constructed and persuasive overview of generational development.

According to Lowenstein, the initial stimulus to modernization was given by an economic elite that emerged with greater wealth following the Seven Years' War. Although these families adapted to the elegant life style of wealthy non-Jews, in the first generation they devoted themselves to providing leadership for the community and retained an attach-

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ment to tradition. It was not until after the death of both Mendelssohn and Frederick the Great in 1786 that clear signs of social dissolution appeared. During the libertine years of Frederick William II's reign, liaisons between Christians and Jews, frequently resulting in illegitimate children (who were almost invariably baptized), became more common, as did divorce and adult conversions to Christianity. The Jewish Enlightenment, initially moderate in the age of Mendelssohn, entered a more radical phase; a budding Romanticism drew some Berlin Jews, especially women, away from Judaism; and the attempt to mediate through religious reform, which emerged in the second decade of the nineteenth century, failed, mostly because of the hostility of a reactionary Prussian government. Only after 1830 did the crisis subside, once it became apparent that Judaism, in a variety of forms, was able to survive within an integrated society. By that time the rate of conversions had leveled off and a new leadership, composed of more recent immigrants to the city, replaced the original elite, most of whose descendants were no longer Jewish.

Lowenstein's data enable him to undertake a gender analysis of the conversion phenomenon, reinforcing the view of some earlier research that, whereas women, especially those caught in interreligious liaisons, predominated among the converts until 1806, thereafter it was mainly career-seeking men who left Judaism while women became a conservative force. Lowenstein also finds that three factors emerge as significant in determining the extent of abandonment of Judaism: wealth, ideological commitment to Enlightenment or to religious reform, and home religious practice. Yet he wisely concludes that these correlations do not necessarily imply causation. It was the total effect of being caught up in a wholly novel situation, whose outcome still remained uncertain, that best explains the sense of crisis and its consequences.

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FRANCISCA LOETZ. *Vom Kranken zum Patienten: "Medikalisierung" und medizinische Vergesellschaftung am Beispiel Badens 1750–1850.* (Medizin, Gesellschaft und Geschichte, Beiheft, number 2.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner. 1993. Pp. 428.

In the minds of historians of Europe, the century between 1750 and 1850 is well established as an era of epochal sociopolitical change. Historians of medicine have documented a new interest of physicians in the health of the poor and point to the emergence of hospitals and infirmaries for the indigent sick and the employment of doctors for their care. Reformers hoped to render the poor responsible for their own and the public's health and turn them into "citizen-patients." The so-called "medicalization" had arrived.

A study that applies this general thesis to a major German province, the grand duchy of Baden, is welcome. Francisca Loetz opts for the social history of medicine as her approach: and, writing in 1988, she sees this field as barely emerging. The bulk of chapter 4, "The Medicalization of Society in Baden," gives a comprehensive overview of the subject. This ranges from anthropologic and demographic considerations—such as rejections of men from the draft as physically unfit, the relationship of nutritional deficiencies to prevalent illness, morbidity and mortality among neonates and children—to a discussion of acute and chronic disease, the perception of illness by the poor, and their choice of therapists and medications. Numerous comparisons to the English and French literature attest to the author's erudition.

Contrary to widespread assumptions, Loetz finds a lack of professional solidarity among physicians as well as among pharmacists. She documents the praise of doctors in support of midwives. She underlines the hands-off attitude of the government toward barber-surgeons and lay healers, and she emphasizes how rarely parsons were used as medical advisers to the poor. Yet standardization and centralization occurred after 1809 (under French influence), as well as a continuation of "medical police" regulations, intensive efforts to introduce vaccination and other precautions during the cholera epidemics of the 1830s, and much hospital building after 1830 (but not for the purpose of institutionalizing the poor). Mutual tolerance is what the archives reveal. Loetz weaves hundreds of quotations into the text so skillfully that the prose remains smooth.

Clearly Loetz takes issue with Michel Foucault and, as a scholar early in her career, she is courageous to do so. Her evidence derives from extensive use of the archives—more than Foucault's ever did. She offers the model of "Vergesellschaftung" to replace "Medikalisierung" for Baden between 1750 and 1850. This new word is defined as social networks that intersected the boundaries of class, education, profession, religion, or life style and connected Badeners to each other in times of illness. Archival evidence does not show a "birth of the clinic" or a wish to "discipline and punish," at least not before the 1830s.

Should doctoral theses such as this be published? Loetz's interesting chapter 4 is preceded by 130 pages of justification for her thesis, her method, the state of scholarship, and general considerations of medicine in Germany, followed by fifty-four pages of graphs and forty pages of literature. In my opinion, a smaller book, with the argument up front (with a paragraph on the relevant history of Baden and a good map) would be read more widely. Together with Arleen Tuchman's recent *Science, Medicine, and the State in Germany: The Case of Baden* (1993), Loetz's thesis serves Baden well.

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PAUL NOLTE. *Gemeindebürgertum und Liberalismus in Baden 1800–1850: Tradition, Radikalismus, Republik.* (Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, number 102.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1994. Pp. 561. DM 112.

With this study, Paul Nolte contributes significantly to the debate on the nature of republican and democratic forces in German history as well as to an understanding of the social and political history of southwest Germany and Germany's most progressive state, Baden. A long tradition of German republicanism at the municipal level is often acknowledged, but it is hardly well situated in historiography. True, the Napoleonic and Vienna settlements nearly wiped republicanism off the map as monarchical, bureaucratic states absorbed the Reich's myriad self-governing communities, especially those of western and southern Germany (see Mack Walker, *German Home Towns* [1971]). And, of course, the failure of the revolutions of 1848–49 squashed both republican and democratic movements. Nolte wants to link earlier republicanism with that of later periods in reconsidering the history of the German "middle class" and the meaning of citizenship, a program underway among some German historians.

Nolte argues that during the *Vormärz* an authentic statewide, municipally rooted liberal politics emerged in the fundamentally new state of Baden, part of a common European movement. It was not simply a negative, localized conservative reaction to meddling, tax-collecting central state officials, as is often perceived, but a reorientation of local power structures. Nolte uses an exhaustive array of sources, primarily records produced by various ministries in Karlsruhe and their local officials, but he also uses materials produced by the municipalities themselves. He draws on contemporary publicist writings, newspapers, local histories, and so on, and he explicitly engages current scholarship not only of Baden historiography but also that of the larger German world. Whereas others have examined particular German localities and towns for the period, Nolte breaks new ground in examining the parliamentary and extraparliamentary interaction among municipalities at the statewide level.

After reviewing the centrally inspired reorganization of the 1810s and the "restoration" of the 1820s, Nolte begins the core of his argument with the hiatus of 1830–31. For this period of ambitious reforms, he details the debates (both in and out of the diet) surrounding 1831 and later legislation on municipal organization that restructured access to, benefits from, and political participation in the state's municipalities in order to locate their social contexts, the initial stirrings of mass political mobilization, and local social transformation. There follows an examination of the "transitional" *Bürgertum*, the formation of political clubs, their ideology and mentality, and the links among them.

Nolte sees the 1840s as a period of radicalization of bourgeois liberalism and not that of the rising of a new lower-class political movement. The radicalization was firmly planted in local middle-class interests that activate a broader social basis of support during the confessional controversies and economic depression of the mid–1840s. In this part Nolte shows how the growth in local power, organized statewide, undermined central authority. Finally, Nolte posits the revolution of 1848 as a municipal revolution, that is, a continuation of *Vormärz* political conflicts between the municipalities and the state. In doing so, he develops a new empirical social basis to explain the events of 1848. In the end, the revolution's failure led to depoliticization of the masses, a setback only overcome a century later (although popular democratic forces never died out entirely within Baden).

Although not entirely novel in its interpretation, Nolte's study is thoroughly researched and deserves a reading from anyone interested in nineteenth-century Germany and the course of German liberalism.

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ANDREAS BIEFANG. *Politisches Bürgertum in Deutschland 1857–1868: Nationale Organisationen und Eliten.* (Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, number 102.) Düsseldorf: Droste. 1994. Pp. 511. DM 98.

With this volume Andreas Biefang has given us one of the most important contributions on the history of nineteenth-century German nation-building and nationalism to appear in recent years. Carefully constructed and elegantly written, his work will force historians to reconsider basic issues in the relationship of German to Prussian, and popular to official, nationalism in the two decades before the foundation of the German empire. Based on exhaustive research in over thirty archives, this book also offers important insights into the history of liberalism as well as into the political organization of the public sphere on the eve of universal manhood suffrage.

Biefang focuses his gaze primarily on four national organizations: the Congress of German Volkswirte (1859), the German National Association (1859), the German Chamber of Commerce (1861), and the German Diet of Deputies (1862). He argues that the leaders of these four organizations constituted the "discernable, national-political, functional elite of the German bourgeoisie" (p. 17) and that, further, this functional elite developed and disseminated viable, if also revolutionary, strategies to achieve German national unity. Here Biefang departs from two traditions of research into the history of German nationalist organization: the first typically writes the history of a single nationalist organization and then generalizes from this one to the whole; the second focuses on the ideas of German nationalists and thus, by dint of its

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own methodology, uncritically reproduces a cliché by which the German bourgeoisie is master in the empire of the spirit, but not in the more mundane realm of hard-biting, give-and-take politics. Biefang's "functional elite" is, by contrast, a German political elite of roughly eighty men, most of whom were academically educated, typically as jurists, were Protestant (83 percent), and came from all corners of Germany save for the important and telling exception of Austrian lands. Through organizational work and pragmatic politics, and not simply by intellectual prowess, this "functional elite" worked toward radically transforming the German Confederation from a loose grouping of states to a single national state characterized by a federal government with strong centralized executive power. This, argues Biefang, was the national revolution, the thing itself.

The question, then, concerned means. Here Biefang presents a bourgeois nationalist elite more than willing to consider military conquest, in the form of a European war, as a viable road to national unity. Indeed, Biefang contends that the elites believed war—if carried out under democratic auspices and directed by an army of the people—was, in fact, an acceptable, even self-evident means to the end of national revolution. And this was still the 1860s. This salutary insight places the whole question of the Prussian foundation of the German empire in new light. Had this national elite succeeded with its strategy, Biefang maintains in the final sentence of the book, "the founding of the German empire would have been no less bloody" (p. 435).

This book is indispensable for specialists in German history, not only for its larger arguments but also for its more modest contributions: the careful contextualization of the emergence of the Progressive party within a national, not just a Prussian, framework; its patient insistence that one should not consider 1848 as an absolute caesura in the history of the national movement; its precise circumscription of the marginal Austrian contribution to German nation-building; and, not least, its revisionist insight into the nature of bourgeois nationalist organization in the 1860s, which, according to Biefang, can neither be subsumed under class categories nor be disparaged as the idealistic politics of notables in an age rapidly passing them by. Rather, Biefang maintains, this elite constituted a nationally oriented core of increasingly professional politicians.

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THOMAS KÜHNE. *Dreiklassenwahlrecht und Wahlkultur in Preussen 1867–1914: Landtagswahlen zwischen korporativer Tradition und politischem Massenmarkt.* (Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, number 99.) Düsseldorf: Droste. 1994. Pp. 677.

Prussia was the bulwark of reaction in Wilhelmine Germany. The highly unequal three-class suffrage helped preserve reactionary majorities in Germany's largest and dominant federal state. Thomas Kühne has now provided a lengthy examination of the electoral system for the Prussian house of deputies and the political culture surrounding it. His book helps fill a gap in the history of electoral systems and electoral culture, contributing as well to the critical question of Prussia's role in the Reich. Along the way, he addresses key interpretive questions about the nature and modes of political participation, the transition from traditional to modern state, and the relationship between local and national politics.

Kühne's general argument, that the anachronisms of the Prussian franchise reinforced traditional, deferential, nonparticipatory patterns of politics, will come as no surprise. The voter base may have been broad, enfranchising most males twenty-five and older, but the unequal, indirect, and nonsecret balloting deeply affected the nature and style of political representation. Although historians have generally emphasized the inequality of the Prussian franchise, its two-stage procedure and public casting of votes may have been just as significant, not least because they offered many possibilities for officials, employers, and priests to influence the outcome. Such procedures help shape electoral culture. Kühne's emphasis, however, is on the symbiotic relationship between the legal-constitutional framework and the structures of local politics and society. The anachronistic Prussian suffrage lasted for over sixty years, he argues, in spite of rapid social change and wider movements toward mass participation, precisely because it reflected the social realities of the relatively closed, hierarchical, and conformist communities in rural Prussia.

Equally important and perhaps less obvious are the ways that modern styles of politics challenged and penetrated the Prussian system. There was a spillover effect from the more open Reichstag contests, where voters enjoyed equal, secret, and direct balloting. In the cities especially the communitarian social assumptions of the Prussian model broke down. The concept that districts should be represented by natural community leaders—local notables—was not accepted everywhere; in some cases electors or deputies were chosen to represent specific social groups. Even the traditional language of localized politics could be transformed into a kind of participatory populism by the idea that voters should be represented by people who resembled them. The parties singled out as enemies of the state, especially the Catholic Center and later the Social Democrats, were the ones that went furthest in employing the Prussian representative system in service of more modern styles of politics. In their hands supraregional causes and issues went some distance toward nationalizing even the particularistic Prussian system.

The last part of Kühne's book analyzes the Prussian

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suffrage as an issue in German politics. Whereas the Reichstag suffrage became a symbol of democratic reform, the Prussian suffrage came to embody political backwardness. Despite its obvious anachronism, mainstream political parties could not agree on reforms. Kühne attributes the failure of the reform cause to the ascendancy of a conservative form of statewide political synthesis, epitomized in the Blue-Black (Conservative-Catholic) coalition of 1912–13.

There are other points of interest in Kühne's book. The reader is struck by the absurdity of an electoral system that required people to stand for fourteen hours or more in unheated halls simply to hear votes being cast. The Prussian system was no model of rationality or efficiency. Kühne's chapters on the voting act as a local festival, on the pragmatic rationality of abstentions, and on the patterns of local political deals and alliances all stand out as carefully crafted and interpreted. Yet, given the sixty-seven-year sweep of his study, accounts of individual elections are sketchy. His thesis that politics revolved around local issues and relationships is plausible and is anecdotally supported, but other levels of activity—like regional and statewide platforms and campaigns—are scarcely examined. A number of his broad claims about the nature of elections are supported by scattered examples from different decades and regions. Where Kühne does use statistics, however, they are good ones, based on an impressive data base developed for his handbook on Prussian elections (1993).

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JAMES F. HARRIS. *The People Speak! Anti-Semitism and Emancipation in Nineteenth-Century Bavaria.* (Social History, Popular Culture, and Politics in Germany.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 290. $47.50.

As James F. Harris notes, there is a tendency among historians to portray mid-nineteenth-century Catholic Bavaria as less anti-Semitic than Protestant Prussia (p. 4). This is one of the stereotypes he debunks in this superb book on "the effect of public opinion on state policy in the form of popular opposition to the Bavarian government's proposal in 1849 to make Jews equal to Christian Bavarians" (pp. 1, 13–15, 32–37, 114).

Harris scrutinizes the typical categorization of anti-Semitism into "religious" and "modern" or "traditional" and "racial" forms. He shows how anti-Semitic attitudes were projected in a "modern" way in the wake of the Revolution of 1848; he therefore identifies modern anti-Semitism as occurring earlier than most scholars (pp. 4, 230–31). Racism in this case is not a key factor (p. 135). The "not-so-simple country folk" held a "complex conceptualization of Jews" that interwove hostility toward the parliamentary government introduced in 1848 with centuries-old anti-Semitism (p. 132). This was vented in a democratic manner, especially through the presentation of petitions. Some 552 petitions, along with legislative proceedings and press accounts, make up the core of Harris's previously underutilized documentation.

Harris is wary of some historians' penchant for romanticizing peasants who involved themselves in democratic processes. Merely because peasants proved to be adept at expressing "genuine" sentiments (p. 123), why should today's scholars assume that they were up to something good (p. 40)? In this instance Bavarian officials—although not for altruistic motives—were attempting to install a progressive program. Harris argues that "an antirevolutionary conservative state championed Jewish equality with Christians, while most people, expressing their will democratically, successfully opposed the same effort with the help of a handful of aristocrats, journalists, and communal leaders" (p. 6).

By deliberately placing his work in the historiography of anti-Semitism, Harris offers a cogent analysis of the topic. He misses a few major contributions, such as that of Jeremy Cohen on the mendicant orders in the thirteenth century (which has been challenged by Robert Chazan and others). Neither has he incorporated the visual dimension of anti-Semitism as interpreted by scholars such as George Mosse and Sander Gilman. Also absent from his discussion is the notion that anti-Semitism is a paranoid hatred, a fear grossly out of proportion to any reasonable threat, although a story Harris relates makes this clear: "Most speakers opposing emancipation [in 1849] argued that because of Jewish 'talent' for business, simple Bavarian peasants were unable to compete and faced economic ruin. In response a whole series of supporters ridiculed the fear that over four million Bavarians felt toward fewer than 60,000 Jews . . . If [they] could not compete . . . that said little for the intelligence and abilities of the Christians" (p. 72). Furthermore, the fact remained that "in most of the communities of Bavaria there were no Jews at all" (p. 14).

But the gaps in Harris's study are minor. His story points to an often repeated phenomenon: those who style themselves as the foes of modernity see no harm in appropriating it to implement their conservative vision. People's hatred of parliamentary government does not necessarily preclude them from participating in it (p. 132). Harris's remarkable book reminds us how burning hatreds can move history. Despite a resolute bureaucracy, the expense (of money, time, and skills, all of which were in short supply), and the ravages of a harsh winter, the people made their feelings known: they did not want Jews in their midst (p. 127). This is an original, thoughtful, well-argued monograph that constitutes a major contribution to German and Jewish history.

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NICHOLAS STARGARDT. *The German Idea of Militarism: Radical and Socialist Critics, 1866–1914.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 232. Cloth $59.95, paper $24.95.

Nicholas Stargardt proposes in this short study to analyze how the meaning of the term "militarism" "was contested, expanded and changed" (p. 14) while an "antimilitarist" tradition took shape as a theory and political epithet in imperial Germany. Because he argues that German Social Democracy became "the only major political force to carry the anti-militarist banner" (p. 15), his study is devoted principally to an analysis of discussions in this forum. He contends that the socialist analysis of militarism pivoted on three motifs: that professionally led conscript armies, like Germany's, subverted democratic government; that these bodies represented a drain on society's material resources; and that they provided less effectively for the national defense than democratic militias could.

These motifs coalesced initially into a fatalism about war under capitalism and a "radical democratic attack on the authoritarian state" (p. 128). In response to the pressures of domestic and international politics, as well as to discursive tensions among its constituent themes, the socialist understanding of militarism evolved into a more ramified analysis, which was associated with the writings of Karl Kautsky and Karl Liebknecht. In emphasizing the economic interests and the manipulation of popular emotions that underlay militarism in advanced capitalist societies, these leaders articulated political positions that recommended active socialist attempts to prevent the outbreak of war.

Surveying these changing meanings of militarism is a worthwhile exercise, but several orders of problems compromise the value of this study. Stargardt's broader claim to link the discourse on militarism to the development of civil society in Germany is unconvincing. His analysis skirts basic questions about the resonance that theories of militarism found even within the socialist milieu, let alone among Catholics or Left-Liberals.

Stargardt's account also founders on the imprecision of the meanings he assigns to several terms indispensable to an analysis of the resonance of socialist thinking. These terms include "internationalism," "anti-militarism," "peace movement," and "pacificism." The last of these, which Martin Ceadel (*Thinking about Peace and War* [1989]) has recently revived, is particularly unfortunate. Stargardt first misdefines it (p. 6), then conflates it with another ill-defined term, "pacifism," in a manner so haphazard as to suggest typographical errors (pp. x, 230), except that these flaws accompany numerous other heedless mistakes: the observation that Ferdinand Lassalle "chose to accept the *fait accompli*" that Bismarck presented him in 1866 (p. 22) and mention of a "Vienna-trained intellectual" by the name of Max Weber (p. 92). These difficulties are not incidental. Signs of haste abound in this book, and they subvert an argument that would have rewarded more care.

ROGER CHICKERING
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MIKAEL HÅRD. *Machines are Frozen Spirit: The Scientification of Refrigeration and Brewing in the 19th Century; A Weberian Interpretation.* Boulder, Colo.: Westview or Campus, Frankfurt a.M. 1994. Pp. 275. $48.00.

Mikael Hård has made two distinct contributions to the literature in the history of science and technology. The first is a detailed portrait of the invention, development, and commercialization of mechanical refrigeration, centering on the pioneering figure of Carl Linde. Hård probes how scientific knowledge (thermodynamics) was used to create a new industry (mechanical refrigeration) and to transform an existing one (beer brewing). In this respect, his book extends our understanding of science-based industry, and lecturers looking for a novel angle on that topic will welcome his treatment of the brewing industry. His second contribution is to use Max Weber's economic history and sociology of religion in analyzing his case. Quoting Weber, Hård elaborates the insight that "scientific progress is . . . the most important fraction of the process of intellectualization" and that "this intellectualist rationalization [is manifest] in science and scientifically oriented technology" (p. 15). Hård thus places his case study into a broad Weberian framework.

Hård traces how scientists, engineers, and entrepreneurs in the German-speaking world used—and indeed transformed—the science of thermodynamics in creating a new industry. Based on archival research and a careful reading of the German-language engineering literature, Hård's account convincingly corrects previous work on the topic. Before 1870, mechanical refrigeration technologies had little relation to science, not even the "ideal cycle" concept of Sadi Carnot, the conservation of energy concept recognized in the 1840s, and least of all the mathematical formulation by Rudolf Clausius and William Thomson of the first two thermodynamic "laws" in the next decade. In 1857 one prominent engineer testified that in an "ideal machine . . . the production of ice does not necessarily involve an expenditure of power" (p. 79). At this time, natural ice harvested during the winter was the most important method of cooling used by brewers, meat packers, and luxury restaurants.

The "scientification" of refrigeration technology began in the 1870s with the explicitly theoretical analysis of Linde, a recent graduate of the Swiss Polytechnic and then a young professor at the Munich Polytechnic. To evaluate the three leading mechanical refrigeration technologies, Linde conducted a Carnot cycle analysis of them, entirely on paper. Using pressure-volume diagrams, Linde's results were

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not only theoretically elegant and visually persuasive but they also suggested, on thermodynamic grounds, the superior promise of vapor compression over the rival techniques of air expansion and ammonia absorption. He also saw that vapor compression refrigeration could be conceptualized as a steam engine working in reverse. For the next two decades, Linde's career—as an educator, inventor, engineer, and entrepreneur—was bound up with transforming this promise into reality. In this quest, Linde received intellectual support from the engineering community, but it was the material resources provided by two of the largest breweries in Europe that proved decisive. The Spaten Brewery of Munich in effect paid Linde's developmental expenses, while the Dreher Breweries of Vienna tendered several early, influential orders. Another key resource for Linde's project was the Augsburg Machine Co., then expert in the manufacture of steam engines, and later (as the renowned *Maschinenfabrik Augsburg-Nürnberg*, or M.A.N.) acclaimed for its manufacture of the Diesel engine.

The interest of these two breweries in mechanical cooling went far beyond their being huge consumers of natural ice (the expense for which constituted between 2 and 10 percent of the retail cost of beer). Even before 1870, they had been the leading Bavarian breweries in installing such technological innovations as British hot-air malt driers, steam engines, and saccharometers. Hård convincingly presents the large Bavarian breweries after 1870 as leading users that shaped the development of Linde's mechanical refrigeration technology. Breweries took delivery of four-fifths of the 700 Linde machines manufactured by 1890. (Other users included warehouses and ships, factories selling ice, the chemical industry, and, in the United States, meat packers.) In an especially attractive chapter, Hård details the specific steps of the brewing process where strict temperature control was most essential. Large breweries that could afford the expensive mechanical refrigeration systems thus gained an additional advantage over their smaller competitors, reinforcing the trend toward factory-scale brewing and economic concentration. The largest brewers increased their share of production more than fivefold in the 1880s alone.

Hård's use of Weberian terms to pepper his narrative and structure his explanations may puzzle some readers. He does not establish why this set of Weberian concepts is preferable to existing conceptualizations about technological change drawn from social constructivism, economics, or other sources. (Indeed, he also draws additional concepts from recent German work in the history and sociology of technology.) The real strength of the book is its fresh look at the rise of science-based industry in the nineteenth century and its strong statement on the importance of leading users in technological change.

THOMAS J. MISA
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VELI-MATTI RAUTIO. *Die Bernstein-Debatte: Die politisch-ideologischen Strömungen und die Parteiideologie in der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands 1898–1903.* (Studia Historica, number 47.) Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1994. Pp. 377.

Veli-Matti Rautio's study of the debate unleashed within German Social Democracy by Eduard Bernstein's attempt to revise Marxism originated as his dissertation at Tampere University in Finland. It has been translated into clear if not always elegant German by Marjo Kuivikko. The subject has, of course, been discussed by many other historians, and Rautio's sources are largely the same as those that have been consulted by earlier authors. A reader who is familiar with the standard literature on the German Left at the turn of the century will, therefore, find few surprises in this book.

Rautio divides his analysis into three sections. The first is organized along chronological lines and treats the debate in terms of its relationship to the emergence of the orthodox Marxist and reformist-revisionist schools within the party between 1898 and 1903. The second takes a more thematic approach to essentially the same subject matter, examining the theoretical views of Bernstein and his critics in the context of "the party ideology." The final section, which is less well integrated, includes, among other things, a discussion of Bernstein's own interpretation of the debate, a comparison of Karl Kautsky's response to Bernstein's revisionism with that of Rosa Luxemburg as a representative of "the Left," and an analysis of the relationship of the debate to the broader context of politics and society in imperial Germany. The book also includes an appendix in which a number of the resolutions and other documents produced in the course of the debate are to be found.

Although Rautio traces the origins of the ideological divisions within German Social Democracy back to at least 1890, he dates the emergence of two clearly identifiable camps to the months immediately after the publication of Bernstein's most influential book, *Die Voraussetzungen des Sozialismus und die Aufgaben der Sozialdemokratie*, early in 1899. He does not suggest that Bernstein's work caused the division, but rather treats its function as essentially catalytic. Rautio recognizes that his attempt to divide the party into two clearly defined groups, which he treats as Weberian "ideal types," is somewhat artificial and tends to obscure many very real disagreements within them. He defends his decision to do so, however, as necessary and legitimate within the context of his effort to analyze the basic character of the major schools within German Social Democracy by studying their response to Bernstein's revisionism rather than, as he claims other historians have done, focusing on the views of individuals within those schools.

The fact that Rautio chose to end his work with the formal victory of the orthodox Marxists at the Dresden party congress in 1903 means that many of

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the most interesting echoes of the Bernstein debate lie beyond the scope of his study. Moreover, his inability to extend his analysis in a meaningful way beyond the national leadership of the movement will disappoint the many scholars who have been calling for more studies of the membership at large. Nevertheless, this book deserves serious attention from those interested in the history of German Social Democracy. Rautio's investigation of the revisionist controversy is much more thorough than most previous efforts. Moreover, he is well acquainted with the work of others in the field and comments frequently and intelligently on their interpretations of this important topic.

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ZVI LOTHANE. *In Defense of Schreber: Soul Murder and Psychiatry.* Hillsdale, N.J.: Analytic. 1992. Pp. xii, 550. $59.95.

In 1903 a former Saxon appeals court judge, Daniel Paul Schreber, published his *Memoirs*, the story of his mental illness, hospitalizations, and current improved condition written in order to gain release from a state hospital. Several years later Sigmund Freud seized on Schreber's book, with its vivid description of hallucinations and psychotic delusions, as a vehicle to expand on his views on the link between paranoia and homosexuality. In 1974 the psychoanalyst William Niederland examined the writings of Schreber's father Moritz, a Leipzig orthopedist. Niederland argued that the specific content of the son's delusional beliefs, that a terrible thing called "soul murder" was being inflicted on his body and mind, could be traced back to various body-straightening devices his father had almost certainly used on him as a child.

Today, with the ubiquitous reexamination of all things Freudian, the current interest in child abuse, and the intrinsic fascination of Schreber's dramatic personal story, his life and times have again come under intense scrutiny. In this most recent study, Zvi Lothane, a psychiatrist and psychoanalyst, attacks almost all the scholarship on Schreber (including several works and themes which cannot be discussed in this limited space).

Lothane argues against Freud's thesis that Schreber was homosexual. Schreber had delusions about being "'unmanned' (transformed into a woman)" (p. 52), believed he was persecuted by Dr. Flechsig, his psychiatrist, and expected to be impregnated by God in order to produce a new race. At most, according to Lothane, such delusions show that Schreber was a transvestite.

Furthermore, contends Lothane, it is Niederland's "myth" that Schreber's hallucinations and delusions came from his "allegedly evil father and traumas inflicted upon him as a child" (p. 62). Moritz was in Lothane's view a devoted, if strict, father whose orthopedic "appliances [were] no more menacing than braces for the teeth" (p. 180). He argues that Schreber's delusions were actually an outgrowth of mistreatment by his doctors and wife, starting with the drugs given to him for sleeplessness and suicidal thoughts, which may have produced a toxic psychosis. But the main sources of maltreatment, declares Lothane, were Flechsig, who allowed Schreber to be declared legally incompetent and had him transferred to a state hospital; Schreber's wife, who colluded with Flechsig because she wanted to manage her financial affairs; and Dr. Weber, the antiquated director of the Sonnenstein state hospital, who held Schreber against his will and prevented him from being declared competent.

Finally, Lothane maintains that past physicians have unjustly diagnosed Schreber as psychotic or paranoid schizophrenic when he basically suffered from depression brought on by loss and rage. I have serious reservations about Lothane's rationale for this diagnosis: that delusions are meanings we disagree with and paranoia is in the eye of the beholder (pp. 435–36). Such reasoning allows Lothane to conclude that one cannot tell whether Schreber was being "serious and psychotic" or merely "sardonic" (p. 387).

Lothane's book is presented as a work of scholarship, heavily documented and annotated, and with an impressive amount of previously unpublished information about Flechsig and Weber. But his scholarship, while considerable (although often tangential), cannot disguise the fact that the book is basically a polemic. Lothane's defense of Schreber's father is not convincing; the book's own pages are filled with information that flatly contradicts his benign interpretation of the father's child-rearing practices. Moreover, Schreber was a very sick man before Flechsig allowed him to be adjudged incompetent, although this event may have worsened his condition. Schreber probably was rageful and depressed, but he was certainly also psychotic for quite some time, a state that cannot be ascribed primarily to his doctors' treatment. Lothane rightly stresses, however, Weber's injustice to Schreber in trying to keep his still-delusional patient confined, even when he had become competent in the legal sense. Lothane's call for further discussion of Freud's formulation also seems reasonable (although it must be remembered that Freud did not in fact call Schreber a homosexual but rather talked about his homosexual wish fantasy.)

Lothane's use of language can be regrettable. Although late-nineteenth-century institutional psychiatry had severe shortcomings, psychiatrists were not "Holy Inquisitors" (p. 461), and their asylums were not "concentration camp[s]" (p. 300). With the ground laid by such outrageous metaphors, Lothane nimbly suggests that one can draw a straight line from Sonnenstein as an inhumane state hospital in 1900 to the Nazis' use of the site for their euthanasia program for mentally defective people.

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Nothing in my review, however, should be taken to imply that Schreber did not suffer greatly. No matter how often one rereads his descriptions of "soul murder," one is horrified anew by the agonies of severe mental illness.

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RUSSEL LEMMONS. *Goebbels and* Der Angriff. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1994. Pp. x, 172.

Russel Lemmons has written a study of the Nazi newspaper *Der Angriff*, covering the years 1927–33. He examines aspects of the Nazi movement in Berlin during the era known to devout National Socialists as the "Time of Struggle," or *Kampfzeit*. Founded by Greater Berlin Gauleiter Dr. Paul Joseph Goebbels in 1927, *Der Angriff* was a *Kampfblatt*, or a "Fighting Paper," that is, more a screaming accuser than a reporter of facts. This piece of "agitprop" proved vital to Goebbels in his rapid expansion of the National Socialist presence in Berlin.

Lemmons shows how the young Gauleiter (Goebbels was born in 1897 and committed suicide in 1945 at the age of forty-eight) flourished in the febrile atmosphere of the late Weimar Republic. During this turbulent time Adolf Hitler and his paladins were scheming to obtain the power that would ultimately be handed to them by the "reactionaries" so reviled by Goebbels and *Der Angriff*. Lemmons takes us into their cauldron and examines the propaganda techniques employed by the energetic little agitator. First, Goebbels attracted attention by inciting SA men to violence. Then, when these young National Socialist hoodlums clashed with Communist toughs, their resulting notoriety, paraded before a growing public in *Der Angriff*, gained new recruits for the Nazi cause. Goebbels also libeled his enemies, especially the competent but Jewish deputy police president, Bernhard Weiss ("Isidor"). Along with illustrator Hans Schweitzer, Goebbels published *Das Buch Isidor*, which Lemmons rightly describes as a "vicious polemic." The book was funny in a sadistic way, and *Isidor* perfectly suited its alienated, angry clientele. Weiss took him to court, where Goebbels's appearance resulted in sensational stories about the little doctor, the would-be "conqueror of Berlin." Thus agitation, publicity, and infamy all contributed to the growing strength of the Nazis in Berlin. From a few hundred activists in 1926, the party grew into a mass movement.

Der Angriff was the Gauleiter's personal organ, and he used it to attack his enemies both within the NSDAP and outside it: Jews, Communists, conservatives, the followers of the Nazi "socialists" Gregor and Otto Strasser, two brothers who had once been Goebbels's patrons. In addressing the Strasser issue and related topics, Lemmons provides readers with a good account of sectarian Nazi infighting. But if the Nazi paper specialized in calumny, it also heaped lavish praise on its own heroes. Edited during its early days by Julius Lippert, *Der Angriff* helped to create the myth of a "Struggle for Berlin." As Lemmons shows, the cartoons and drawings of Hans Schweitzer ("Mjölnir") depicted the idealized toughness of the brute-like, determined SA man, a stalwart fighter against Bolsheviks and their Jewish puppet-masters. In the Schweitzer image, the SA stormtrooper stood with fists clenched, head bandaged, and jaw thrust forward as he fought against the Jews and their helpers. And it was in the pages of *Der Angriff* that an impassioned Goebbels preached his dogma of death and redemption, celebrating murdered Nazis (Horst Wessel, Herbert Norkus) as men whose death for the cause ensured their survival in the pantheon of national heroes.

Soon the rising fortunes of the Nazis, combined with Goebbels's fine feel for propaganda, contributed to the expansion of *Der Angriff*. By the end of 1930 the publication was appearing six days a week. Although *Der Angriff* was still losing money in 1932, the newspaper now enjoyed a circulation that topped one hundred thousand copies. And *Der Angriff*'s successes justified Goebbels's faith. Lemmons demonstrates that the paper helped win over elements of the local proletariat. When the authorities banned the NSDAP, *Der Angriff* kept the party's message before the public.

Much of Lemmons's fine book (which would have profited from closer editing) will be familiar to students of Goebbels's place in the party propaganda apparatus. Yet in some ways, this brief volume sacrifices depth to brevity. One wishes that the author had made more of an effort to examine the social composition of *Der Angriff*'s readership, although sources are difficult to come by. And the book would have been stronger if the author had placed *Der Angriff* alongside other elements of the Goebbels propaganda style: public events (especially funerals), party rallies, and the endless use of music and the "propaganda march." Still, Lemmons's effort augments our understanding of Goebbels's role in Hitler's struggle for power. Used in conjunction with works written by Helmut Heiber, David Welch, Ian Kershaw, Larry Wilcox, myself, and others, this book contributes to our understanding of a simple but difficult subject. Phrased as a question, the problem remains: how could such a crew come to power in Germany?

ROBERT EDWIN HERZSTEIN
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HANNJOST LIXFELD. *Folklore and Fascism: The Reich Institute for German* Volkskunde. Edited and translated by JAMES R. DOW. (Folklore Studies in Translation.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1994. Pp. xxi, 308. $35.00.

This book, the first detailed history of the discipline of *Volkskunde* (folklore studies) during the Nazi era, was conceived as a contribution to a continuing debate among German folklorists about the role of

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the discipline in the Third Reich. This *Volkskundlerstreit,* almost equal in rancor if not in scope to the concurrent *Historikerstreit,* is discussed more fully in a companion volume of essays coedited by James R. Dow and Hannjost Lixfeld, *The Nazification of an Academic Discipline: Folklore in the Third Reich* (1993). Lixfeld and Dow, both folklorists, are anxious to refute the apologetic "legend" that two disciplines of *Volkskunde* existed side by side during the Third Reich, one that maintained its professional scholarly standards unscathed, the other a corrupted National Socialist version that presumably ended in 1945. This legend helped to legitimate the institutional continuity, both in structure and personnel, of a discipline that had expanded greatly during the Third Reich.

In this study Lixfeld and Dow show in convincing detail how the leading German folklore scholars contributed to the *völkisch* politicization of their discipline well before 1933 and, with few exceptions, collaborated with the Nazis after 1933. Long before the Nazis came to power, leading folklore scholars called for the establishment of a central Reich Institute to employ *Volkskunde* for the political goals of national regeneration, reversal of rural migration to the cities, authentication of foreign-born Germans as an inseparable part of the *Volk,* and verification of German claims to ethnically mixed border areas.

Because of its evident political uses, the Nazis systematically promoted *Volkskunde,* creating new professorships, research institutes, and umbrella organizations, including, although not until 1942, the long-planned Reich Institute. A younger generation of folklorists rushed to take advantage of the new opportunities. Most were affiliated with the office of party ideologist Alfred Rosenberg, who saw in *Volkskunde* a vehicle for propagating the racial creed of his *Myth of the Twentieth Century* (1930). Most of the older generation of folklorists were displaced from leadership positions by the late 1930s for allegedly still adhering too closely to outdated methods and beliefs. But the Rosenberg Bureau's control of *Volkskunde* was challenged by Heinrich Himmler's rival agency, *Ahnenerbe* (ancestral inheritance). This intraparty strife, based on competition for power, not ideological differences, would later serve as a convenient alibi for some scholars who could claim that they suffered from professional discrimination in the Third Reich, even if it was at the hands of fellow Nazis.

The book is based on detailed archival research and a close reading of the relevant literature. It also contains an extensive appendix of documents from the Rosenberg Bureau, *Ahnenerbe,* and German folklorists. It makes a valuable contribution both to the problematic history of German *Volkskunde* and to our understanding of the destructive political culture of Nazi Germany, complementing the works by Reinhard Bollmus and Michael Kater on the Rosenberg Bureau and *Ahnenerbe,* respectively. Read in conjunction with its companion volume, this book also tells us a great deal about failed *Vergangenheitsbewältigung.*

RODERICK STACKELBERG
Gonzaga University

MATTHIAS FRESE. *Betriebspolitik im "Dritten Reich": Deutsche Arbeitsfront, Unternehmer und Staatsbürokratie in der westdeutschen Grossindustrie 1933–1939.* (Forschungen zur Regionalgeschichte, number 2.) Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh. 1991. Pp. xi, 545. DM 78.

Focused primarily on the iron and steel industry of the Rhine and Ruhr during the first six years of the Third Reich, Matthias Frese's revised dissertation recounts in detail the interaction of the German Labor Front (founded in May 1933) with employers and the state bureaucracy. Drawing on extensive research in both government and corporate archives as well as in contemporary publications, Frese meticulously documents the ceaseless infighting and jockeying for position of party, government, and management under Nazi rule.

Rhenish-Westphalian heavy industry, given the size of its corporations, its vital importance to rearmament, and the imperiousness of its managerial elite, was in a better position than were other components of German business to resist intervention by the Labor Front. In their attempts to counter the vast ambitions of that organization and to preserve as much managerial autonomy as possible, leaders of the iron and steel industry often found ready supporters in various government ministries, especially the Ministry of Economics under Hjalmar Schacht. Many instances of willing managerial cooperation with the Labor Front's agencies, however, are also documented in Frese's account. This cooperation grew from pragmatic recognition of shared interests in increasing worker productivity without unduly alienating the labor force.

Frese does not seek to cover all aspects of labor policy in Nazi Germany. Noting substantial contributions to the field by Timothy Mason, Rüdiger Hachtmann, Tilla Siegel, and many others, he attempts to carve out a niche of his own. He provides only limited coverage of such topics as wage policy and company welfare programs. He concentrates instead in the first half of his book on the struggle in the aftermath of the dissolution of the trade unions in May 1933 to create or reshape institutions designed to monitor industry's relations with its employees. In the second half of his study, he focuses on changes in vocational training, the work environment, and organized leisure activities. Insofar as workers appear in his account, they do so primarily as objects of decisions made by others, not as historical actors. Frese does on occasion speculate briefly on worker responses to Labor Front and management initiatives.

Frese's volume is for specialists. Detail threatens to overwhelm cautious generalizations, and footnotes often outweigh text. The reader must supply much of

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the context, both historiographical and theoretical. Frese does discuss continuity in vocational training from the 1920s to the Nazi era, especially as represented by the absorption of the German Institute for Technical Labor Training (founded 1925) into the Labor Front. Otherwise, he provides only limited guidance for integrating his findings into existing literature on the development of either industrial relations or the Nazi regime.

The strength of Frese's work is its empirical richness and its attention to diversity from corporation to corporation and even within corporations. It provides a multitude of examples of the polycentric character of National Socialist Germany and of the constantly shifting confrontations and alliances among its various components. But as one proposal or report after another passes in review, Frese's readers may wish that some of the details had been sacrificed to make way for more comment on their collective significance.

ELAINE GLOVKA SPENCER
Northern Illinois University

HELGE HEIDEMEYER. *Flucht und Zuwanderung aus der SBZ/DDR 1945/1949–1961: Die Flüchtlingspolitik der Bundesrepublik Deutschland bis zum Bau der Berliner Mauer.* (Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, number 100.) Düsseldorf: Droste. 1994. Pp. 359.

This doctoral dissertation could well serve as a model of German scholarship for its precision in describing the legislative process, which structured West German policy toward Soviet Zone (SBZ)/German Democratic Republic (DDR) refugees. The result of those thoughtful decisions could also serve as model of what should be done for people who have been made refugees for ethnic or political reasons.

Both the process and Helge Heidemeyer's book had to begin with the careful definition of the varieties of persons coming from the east, because Bonn was already required to deal with millions of expellees, Germans forced in 1945–47 to abandon their homes and nearly all their worldly goods. The 3.1 million *Zuwanderer*, who later fled the SBZ/DDR in similar destitution, did so voluntarily, although many had reason to fear arrest. Of those whom Bonn "accepted," only 14.2 percent were "political," the others aspiring primarily to escape poverty.

Policy precision was necessary because, under the German progressive welfare system, the "accepted refugees" were granted benefits, especially for scarce housing, and were not "penalized" by a lack of privilege. The accepted refugees were treated similarly, except for the compensation for property losses, which the *Lastenausgleich* granted qualifying expellees. Nearly all applicants were "accepted," as the problem of making distinctions on the basis of motivation proved insoluble. According to Heidemeyer, "A middle way between taking them all and sealing off the border was not practically possible" (p. 191).

The humanity displayed was partly to maintain the sense of a common nationality, yet if Bonn were too generous, this might encourage a permanent division or entice a flood, which could overwhelm the legislators' constituents. West Berlin was nearly overwhelmed, and Bonn responded quickly with a careful distribution of persons among the federal states.

When the expellees came, West Germans were desperate for food, housing, and most essential goods; when refugees arrived, most heavily in 1953, 1958, and 1960–61, "the Economic Miracle" had made the sacrifices of the indigenous less painful. By 1958, the states were no longer resisting allocations but were eager to acquire more skilled labor for their continued development.

Because troublesome dissidents were leaving, the DDR seemed unconcerned, until so many skilled persons fled that flight itself became a crime. Only the infamous Wall could halt the exodus. DDR policies that prompted flight are mentioned, but this legislative study lacks description of the suffering before the flight or suffering and joys thereafter.

Heidemeyer raises provocative questions: were the British more humane than the Americans? Did the exodus have less effect on DDR policy than did disturbances at home? Did the DDR deliberately stimulate the last wave, in order to force the Soviet Union to accept the Wall? Was the humanitarian reasoning of the Social Democrats in sharp contrast to the political, pragmatic, and reactive response of Konrad Adenauer and the Christian Democrats? "The federal government followed no consistent refugee policy," Heidemeyer argues, "but reacted to emergencies and demands from the political sphere, seldom showing initiative itself" (p. 333).

Although Soviets had mocked East Germans for not generously accepting expellees, the capitalist West Germans did share their homes and limited resources with the millions of expellees and refugees. This impressive postwar unselfishness should be mentioned in the same sentence with the people's wartime concentration on personal survival-selfishness, which accompanied the killing of other millions by a gangster government beyond their control.

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ROBERT BONFIL. *Jewish Life in Renaissance Italy.* Translated by ANTHONY OLDCORN. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 319. $30.00.

This is the English-language version of *Gli Ebrei in Italia nell'epoca del Rinascimento* (1991), a work that captures three decades of impeccable scholarship on Italian Jewry for the enjoyment of the general reader and the perusal of the specialist. Despite the minimal

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scientific apparatus, this is anything but a popular overview of Italian Jewish history from 1300 to 1600. Rather, it is a sophisticated structural analysis of Jewish life and a provocative reflection on the meaning of Jewish "Otherness." In a lucid, elegant style, Robert Bonfil corrects prevalent misconceptions, advances original theories, and presents a new model for modern Jewish historiography.

Bonfil argues that Jewish life in Renaissance Italy was neither a case of "felicitous acculturation and assimilation" (p. 6) nor a mere litany of harassment, forced segregation, expulsions, economic exploitation, hateful propaganda, and occasional murders. According to Bonfil's "specular model," the Jewish minority and the Christian majority reflected each other "as in a mirror" (p. xi). Because Jews and Christians constructed their collective identities by mirroring each other, Jewish history cannot be understood in terms of "influence" or "borrowing" but in the relational terms of mutual interplay.

In part 1, "Structures of Settlement and the Economy," Bonfil reconsiders the economic function of Italian Jewry during the Renaissance and in doing so dispels a prevalent misconception about the all-important area of money lending. Whereas popes, princes, and republics enriched their treasuries by heavily taxing Jewish moneylenders, the Jews played a rather marginal role in the Italian economy. The decision to invite Jews to settle in a given area was fraught with difficulties given the competition from Christian bankers, the hostility of the Franciscans, and the establishment of the *monti di pieta*. Jews were allowed to settle in central and northern Italy not because they were "necessary" for the earthly economy of Italian city-states, but because they were needed for the Christian "spiritual economy" (p. 45).

The Jews provided a foil to Christian spiritual and material wealth. In the spiritual realm, the church reminded Christians that the eventual conversion of the Jews would mean the absolute victory and truth of their faith. In the material realm, by permitting Jewish money lending, the church removed the possibility that it would be accused of not doing anything to alleviate poverty. For Christian society the Jews were both necessary and scorned; they were both present and absent. But unlike the poor and the prostitutes, whose marginalized status Bonfil compares to Jews, the Jews could renounce their "Otherness" through the act of conversion. Indeed, many Jews (Bonfil is unable to furnish exact numbers) did convert to Christianity and continued to influence the Jewish community, acting as censors and polemicists. What fascinates Bonfil is the tenacious decision of most Jews to adhere to their ancestral faith and elect their marginalized status. Religious faith was the primary motivation for this difficult choice. Jewish belief in the divine election of Israel entailed an acceptance of mundane suffering and a hope for eternal bliss. Hated by their Christian neighbors and loved by God, the Jews felt both inferior and superior.

The ghettoization of the Jews in the sixteenth century exemplifies the ambivalent status of the Jews. Contrary to most historians, Bonfil presents the ghetto not as the culmination of medieval hostilities but as a harbinger of the modern toleration of the Jews. A Christian society that for centuries was intent on absorbing the Jews finally decided neither to eliminate them (by extermination or expulsion) nor to compel their conversion. From the sixteenth century onward, "Jewish Otherness is accepted without a prior commitment to acculturate the Jew" (p. 72). Yet even in the segregated quarters, Jewish life illustrated the relational nature of Jewish culture: although the Jews occupied a specific "socio-cultural space," they shared the mental structures and cultural sensibilities of the people of their historical context.

In part 2 Bonfil turns to uncover "structures of culture and society." Drawing on his previous exhaustive study of the rabbinate, Bonfil analyzes rabbinic leadership, Jewish education, and the major intellectual trends among the educated elite. He argues that for the Jews the Renaissance did not mean a departure from the immediate past but rather a continuation and conscious perpetuation of medieval patterns. At the same time, he locates Jewish institutions and cultural trends in the context of Renaissance Italy. For example, he shows that although rabbinic ordination was modeled after the Italian doctorate, the rabbi's function was analogous to that of the priest rather than to that of the physician. Similarly, educated Jews were informed by prevailing intellectual trends while transforming them to fit particular Jewish existential needs and religious norms. Thus, Jewish philosophers in Renaissance Italy participated in the revival of Averroism, but in their own works they used Averroian epistemological theories to support the singularity and uniqueness of the Jewish people. Likewise, Jewish scholars such as Azariah de Rossi exhibited familiarity with humanist historiography but used the new philological methods to advance an anti-Christian polemical posture. Jews therefore "shared tastes and behaviors with their Christian contemporaries . . . in the context of an effort geared to demonstrate one's superiority over the Other" (p. 153).

The most characteristic feature of Italian Jewry in the Renaissance is the fusion of medieval rationalism and Kabbalah, the aspect of Judaism that commanded so much attention among Renaissance humanists. Bonfil interprets this fusion in the context of intellectual Renaissance syncretism and argues against a superficial dichotomy between rationalism and antirationalism. In Italy a learned rabbi could combine the university curriculum with Talmudic learning and the study of Kabbalah. Furthermore, Bonfil advances the original thesis that Kabbalah acted as "an agent of modernity without breaking the links with the Middle Ages" (p. 170). The inherent ambivalence of Kabbalistic theosophy (which is both theocentric and anthropocentric), enabled Kabbalah to further "the

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cause of secularization while claiming to be profoundly religious" (p. 170). Thus, he explains how Kabbalah infiltrated every aspect of Jewish life and filled the gap left with the decline of Aristotelian scholasticism.

In part 3 Bonfil turns to analyze "structures of mentalities." It is a pathbreaking attempt to offer a thick description of an entire Jewish society by employing the categories of time, space, sounds and silence, color, tastes, odors, food, family, life-cycle events, and death. Based on the scholarship of the *Annales* school, Bonfil provides an insightful new way of organizing the data of Jewish life in Renaissance Italy. To take one example, in his analysis of time and space Bonfil shows how in the Renaissance the Jewish sense of time came to mirror that of Christians but with a difference. The synagogue's "uniform time measured by devotional practices" was analogous to "the time of church." But for Jews there was no rigid dichotomy between sacred time of the church and the profane "time of the merchants" because in addition to religious services Jews also conducted their communal affairs and administered law and justice. The upshot of Bonfil's rich description is that the life of the Jewish minority was but a variation of that of the Christian majority. To express their "Otherness" (both imposed and elected) Jews transposed the values of Renaissance society and culture in their own minor key.

It is easy to misunderstand Bonfil's nuanced approach. Bonfil is not advocating Jewish particularism and does not use the "othering" of the Jews by their neighbors as a justification for Jewish parochialism. Rather, Bonfil urges Jewish historians (especially his colleagues in Israel) to interpret Jewish identity in relational terms and to study the Jewish past as an integral, albeit marginalized and abused, part of the societies in which they resided. The reconstruction of the Jewish past, Bonfil implicitly maintains, cannot be used to advance simplistic nationalist agendas and must go beyond the historical-philological method to integrate social, economic, and cultural histories with the anthropological studies of minorities. Bonfil's work opens a new and welcome chapter in modern Jewish historiography, inviting other historians to follow.

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JOHN MARTIN. *Venice's Hidden Enemies: Italian Heretics in a Renaissance City.* (Studies on the History of Society and Culture, number 16.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 287. $42.50.

In a field crowded with both Italian and Anglo-American scholars, John Martin has produced a useful, readable, and original book about the rise and demise of Protestant heresy in sixteenth-century Venice. Based firmly on the rich records of Venice's Holy Office, blending the insights of the old masters of Italian Reformation scholarship (Cantimori and Chabod) with the specifically Venetian contexts described in several recent accounts, Martin tries to explain exactly who these Venetian dissenters were and what they believed. He is equally interested in how the republic dealt with them. Because it combines social and institutional history, Martin's work highlights the significance of Venice for the history of the Protestant movement in Italy and, indirectly, across Europe.

Unchallenged publishing capital of Renaissance Europe, host to a bewildering array of foreigners (not just German Lutherans but also Greeks, Jews, and even Turks), Venice was in many ways the most dynamic and open place in Christendom until the mid-sixteenth century. A clandestine Anabaptist synod met there undisturbed even after Venice had created its peculiar branch of the Roman Inquisition, and one prisoner was even rebaptized in his cell (pp. 104, 106–07). The bizarre enthusiast Guillaume Postel, condemned in France, arrived a few years later to debate with the Holy Office. But Venice's dissenting conventicles were easily dismantled by the local Inquisition. Beginning with the Anabaptists, repression accelerated under Paul IV in the mid–1550s, then, after a brief respite, experienced sustained growth from 1566–74 ("by far the peak decade" of its anti-heretical activities, notes Martin, [pp. 185–87]); after another respite, Venice's isolated heretical remnants were brutally destroyed under Sixtus V in the mid–1580s (p. 222).

Martin locates the core of Venice's crypto-Protestants, whose membership reached from patrician evangelicals to journeymen, among the city's numerous skilled crafts (pp. 150–51). Frequently these men (women seem truly invisible among his 730 accused heretics) had been born outside Venetian territory and were thus marginalized; Venetians, like other sixteenth-century Europeans, quickly accused foreigners of heresy, sometimes without cause (pp. 165, 194). Always a tiny minority amid this huge, overcrowded cluster of islands, these religious dissidents posed no political threat and had no political influence, nor did their fate interest transalpine Protestants. They were ultimately eliminated by a republic that found their mere existence to be a serious embarrassment in dealing with Rome. But they were usually punished mildly. Even executions were invariably carried out by secret drownings, although papal nuncios pressed repeatedly for the spectacle of public executions, which the republic never hesitated to inflict for other offenses (pp. 68–69, 184–85).

Martin's monograph clarifies the situation of Venetian heretics admirably, because it engages both with the dissenters and with the public authorities who rather reluctantly persecuted them. It may ultimately tell us more about the repression of heresy across Reformation Europe than about Italian history. Tol-

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erant and cosmopolitan Venice finally executed more heretics than any Italian city except Rome. But north of the Alps, its great commercial rival, Erasmian and cosmopolitan Antwerp, executed more heretics than any city in Europe: twenty times as many as Venice, in a city half as large.

WILLIAM MONTER
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WILLIAM E. WALLACE. *Michelangelo at San Lorenzo: The Genius as Entrepreneur.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 266. $60.00.

Michelangelo's work on three Medici commissions at the Church of San Lorenzo in Florence—the façade, Medici Chapel, and Laurentian Library—between 1516 and 1534 frames William E. Wallace's analysis of the praxis of the great master's sculpture and architecture. Readers are taken up narrow roads to marble quarries near Pietrasanta where Michelangelo made numerous trips to oversee the extraction of large blocks and columns for the never-constructed façade. We experience his frustrations over the long waits necessary for the marble's transport up the Arno, only possible when the river was full. The difficulty and expense of acquiring materials lessened for the later commissions, which used much local stone, *macigno* (*pietra serena*). The author also invites us to examine the payment records for dozens of workers, many of them former neighbors and longtime associates, which Michelangelo kept in his own neat hand.

The main documentary sources, drawings and ledgers in the Archivio Buonarotti and Michelangelo's correspondence published in *Il Carteggio* and *Il Carteggio indiretto*, have never before been examined comprehensively with an eye to the entrepreneurial side of Michelangelo's work. Guild matriculation lists and the accounts of the Salviati bank, listing payments from the Medici popes to Michelangelo, help round out the building history of the San Lorenzo commissions. But they also engender a social history of the work and workers in Michelangelo's employ, one which complements Richard Goldthwaite's examinations of the building of the Strozzi palace and of the construction industry in Florence (*The Building of Renaissance Florence* [1980]).

As a result of Wallace's efforts, it will be hard to think of Michelangelo anymore in the usual legendary terms as the isolated, irascible genius. Instead, the author creates a new image of the great artist as contractor and collaborator, who transported materials, hired teams of masons, carvers, and assistants, and watched over their work. For the chapel and library he increasingly delegated the carving of the architectural members to trusted assistants. They used templates to translate his ideas into stone in three dimensions. For Wallace the Laurentian Library represents an important step in Michelangelo's development from marble sculptor and *capomaestro* of a busy *fabbrica* to architect concerned mainly with design. The experience and organizational skills he developed at San Lorenzo prepared him for his later work on St. Peter's in Rome.

Wallace's study inevitably invites us to reconsider the meaning of artistic genius in the Renaissance, as individual or collaborative achievement. In the summer of 1525 Michelangelo employed over a hundred stone carvers on the library project, whose names or nicknames are carefully recorded in the payment records. What role should history accord these highly skilled men, unsung heroes in the realization of Michelangelo's grand designs?

The author is sometimes overly exuberant in attributing emotion to historical circumstance and occasionally lapses in his translation or identification (such as confusing Jacopo with Giovanni Salviati), but these problems do not significantly detract from his provocative and readable account, one that poses key issues regarding the complex relationships among artist, artisan, patron, and artwork.

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STEVEN C. HUGHES. *Crime, Disorder and the Risorgimento: The Politics of Policing in Bologna.* (Cambridge Studies in Italian History and Culture.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 286. $54.95.

This well-researched, carefully crafted book makes an important contribution to the historical literature on modern Italy. It will also be read with profit by scholars of comparative nineteenth-century social history and criminology.

Noting in the introduction that "the centralized police is a relatively new phenomenon," Steven C. Hughes argues that, beginning during the restoration, "the police symbolized a new personalized presence of the government in people's everyday affairs." Relating how the elites and ordinary citizens of a particular community—the city of Bologna and its environs—responded to that presence and had an impact on its limits and effectiveness, Hughes offers a convincing justification for his choice of Bologna as a case study in the evolution of a modern police force and of its interaction with various social groups.

A prosperous and sophisticated city with a tradition of learning and self-government, Bologna in the 1790s learned from the French administration the advantages of a well-trained and disciplined police force. Under the leadership of Carlo Savini, the prerevolutionary *sbirri*—undisciplined, poorly paid, and often corrupt—were replaced by a uniformed corps organized in military fashion. This force effectively protected the lives and fortunes of the Bolognese upper classes who had previously relied on personal retainers and bodyguards to do the job. In so doing, the French-trained force and the central government that oversaw it accepted responsibility for

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public safety. Any breakdown in that safety, such as riots or increased crime, inevitably undermined the legitimacy both of the police force and of the regime.

The lesson of the revolutionary era—that public security and political legitimacy went hand in hand—was not lost on the statesmen who served Pope Pius VII and his successors in the decades between the Congress of Vienna and the unification of Italy. In the 1820s, the papal government endeavored to shape police cadres that favored morality, restraint, and fairness in the enforcement of the laws. But its efforts were frustrated by its inability or unwillingness to devote sufficient resources to the task. What resources were available were used to secure law and order in Rome, sometimes at the expense of provincial cities.

The papal government continued the French tradition of centralized, quasi-military policing, thus enhancing a powerful tool of political control. In Bologna, however, the police proved more effective at keeping political dissenters under surveillance than at preventing burglaries, assaults, and other common crimes. By the late 1820s, prominent citizens complained incessantly to the Legate that the papal police force was not large enough to do the job. They insisted on, and were granted, the right to create a local force, the *pattuglie cittadine*.

That these civic patrols undermined the legitimacy of the papal government became evident during the political upheaval of 1830–31. Reluctantly, the papal Legate in Bologna enlisted their support in the restoration of "public tranquillity," which was threatened by unrest among the lower classes. In subsequent years, the papal government did its best to renege on its agreement with the civic patrols. The issue was how to make the Bolognese upper classes feel safe while denying them a voice in political decisions or even in administrative and judicial affairs. Despite years of Austrian support and mentoring, the papal government failed, at least in the eyes of the Bolognese elites, to provide the efficiency, order, and prosperity that might have made absolutism tolerable.

By the early 1840s, concern about crime and frustration with the inadequacy of the papal police motivated the Bolognese elites to demand the restoration of civic patrols. In November 1846, Pope Pius IX gave in to these demands with trepidation, for he feared a worsening of social tensions in the city and the countryside.

The Bolognese elites, although not their beleaguered government in Rome, learned a lesson from the upheavals of 1848–49. An effective police force could be used both to prevent ordinary crimes and to help assure political stability. In the 1850s, they looked for success stories outside the boundaries of the Papal States. They found such success stories in the England of Robert Peel and Richard Cobden, the France of Napoleon III and Baron Haussmann, and, closer to home, in the Piedmont of King Victor Emmanuel II and Count Cavour. When changing international conditions in northern Italy deprived the papal government of Austrian support, it was easy for the Bolognese elites to turn their allegiance to a government that promised political freedom for them and restraint for their internal enemies.

Hughes tells this story in rich detail, never yielding to the temptation to oversimplify complex events, ideologies, and personal views, yet helping us make sense of a difficult chapter in the history of Italy's Risorgimento.

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MICHELA DE GIORGIO. *Le italiane dall'unità a oggi: Modelli culturali e comportamenti sociali.* (Storia e Memoria.) Rome: Laterza. 1993. Pp. xi, 550. L. 48,000.

In this book, Michela De Giorgio has courageously taken on the challenge of writing the first overview of women's lives for the entire span of modern Italy. Although her long volume in fact touches little on the era after World War II, it does offer a wealth of information about women during both the liberal monarchy immediately following unification and the fascist regime of the interwar period. Her work lacks a strong analytical thesis, as is true of most broad surveys. But she does wish to show that Italian women, while remaining politically and economically subordinate to men, "have been producers of modernity" in customs, social roles, and life styles (p. x). For De Giorgio, these latter areas cannot simply be relegated to the private sphere, but overlapped and seriously influenced public life.

Because large areas of modern Italian women's history have yet to be researched, De Giorgio bases much of her narrative on original sources. She has done an extensive reading in women's magazines, comportment manuals, and novels and offers a nuanced portrait of prescriptive models offered for emulation to Italian girls. Having done previous research on Catholic women, De Giorgio is especially strong in showing how Catholic models at some times influenced and at other times conflicted with models rooted in lay culture. She also shows that Italian girls and women increasingly tried to modify normative strictures by answering questionnaires and writing letters to their favorite magazines. Although questionnaires polling women on their attitudes to honeymoons or beauty contests may seem trivial, the responses offer a glimpse into attitudes of women toward changes in marital mores and body images. These women's magazines, like advice manuals and novels, kept Italian women informed on general European debates about female roles and sexuality and mitigated the isolation and provincialism encouraged by traditional forces such as the Catholic church and fascism.

De Giorgio's sources, however, skew the book toward the middle and lower middle classes, leaving the reader with little sense of the experience of poor

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women. In a nation where female illiteracy was still 50 percent at the turn of the century and poverty widespread, a majority of women could neither read nor afford to buy the prescriptive literature analyzed by De Giorgio. Required to work long days in fields, factories, sweatshops, or brothels, lower-class women could not follow the bourgeois model that taught women to stay off the streets unless chaperoned or to avoid conversation with men outside the family. High rates of illegitimacy and child abandonment show that large sections of the female population ignored exhortations to devote themselves to virginity or motherhood rather than sexual experimentation.

Although De Giorgio does not entirely ignore the facts of lower-class life, her strength lies in her rich and evocative reconstruction of models that influenced girls with more education and leisure. Tantalized by her wealth of insights, the reader often wishes for more; in fact, these insights offer topics for dissertations and monographs far into the future. Finally, a stupendous array of photographs complements the text and would be of interest even to those who do not read Italian.

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SILVIA FRANCHINI. *Élites ed educazione femminile nell'Italia dell'Ottocento: L'Istituto della SS. Annunziata di Firenze.* (Biblioteca di storia toscana moderna e contemporanea, Studi e documenti, number 39.) Florence: Leo S. Olschki. 1993. Pp. xii, 408.

Between the broad title of Silvia Franchini's book and the archival research at its core lies a paradox, for this study centers on a single girls' school in Florence, the Istituto della SS. Annunziata from its founding in 1823 to the 1860s. Moreover, as the author carefully notes, for much of that period the records of this small school (which never had more than sixty students prior to unification) are missing; yet in many respects this book justifies its title. Written with leisurely charm, it luxuriates in reflections on social structure, intellectual trends, marriage patterns, and education elsewhere in Italy and abroad. Memoirs, letters, biographies, and hundreds of secondary works are plumbed to provide the kind of detail, and some of the pleasure, of intelligent gossip. In text and footnotes Franchini sketches the careers and the family connections of the people mentioned—and they include a remarkable array of the famous names of nineteenth-century Italian history—to track the social and political networks of a changing elite. Similarly, ideas about the school are tied to broader intellectual currents, and the school in Florence is from time to time compared to elite girls' schools in Naples, Milan, and other Italian cities. These unfailingly intelligent excursions are usefully informed by wide reading in recent work on gender, family, and education by Italian, French, British, and American historians.

Franchini traces the school's origins to the reforming zeal of Gino Capponi and thus in effect to the intellectual heart of the Tuscan Risorgimento. Under the magnifying lens of microhistory, Franchini delights in the intersection of factors apparently distinct: of ideas (redolent of the eras of the Enlightenment and Romanticism), of Capponi's experience abroad (he chose as first headmistress the director of a school in St. Denis, outside Paris), of Napoleonic models (the headmistress had taught in Tuscany in the Napoleonic period and the structure of the school in Florence was similar to that of others established under Napoleon and still operating in Italy), of personal concerns (Capponi was a young widower with two daughters; the Archduchess Marianna Carolina was very supportive), of social ties (the names of those involved compose a Florentine social register: Antinori, Corsini, Peruzzi, Pucci, Ridolfi, Rucellai, Torrigiani, and so on), and of the personal involvement of intellectuals and statesmen (Vieusseux, Cambray Digny, Mamiani, Amari, and Tommaseo among others).

Its lay instructors gave the resulting school the cachet of modernity, but its student body reflected the regime that sponsored it. Its high tuition bespoke its upper-class status, and the Tuscan court allotted an unusually large number of places at reduced rates or no fees at all to the daughters of impoverished but distinguished noble families and of favored officials, reinforcing their status through the regime's version of social mobility. Immediately prestigious, the institute attracted the daughters of notable families from throughout the north and even from Sicily and Naples; and they outnumbered Tuscans from the 1840s on, an interesting sign of the formation of a national elite. We learn in some detail who these families were and that such schooling was now an asset in arranging an advantageous marriage.

The revolutionaries of 1848, however, had little use for subsidies to aristocrats and high officials, and they were abolished in 1850, never to return. Other changes followed. With the ducal regime restored, the grand duchess made sure that religious instruction received more emphasis, and a textbook on Italian history after 1815 was banned, its distinguished author, Celestino Bianchi, relieved of his duties. Despite the resulting rigidification, the institute kept its serious curriculum, with courses in literature and language (but not Latin!), history, mathematics, and science as well as drawing, music, and dance, in which male instructors, carefully chaperoned, gave individual instruction. A lay school that kept its young women under strict discipline in convent isolation, that emphasized the social graces and banned political literature, that embraced a modern, essentially bourgeois conception of education, constrained by the era's narrow view of women's

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roles, the institute reflected the contradictions of the grand duchy itself.

Its prestige enabled it to survive Italian unification, and with abrasive caution the moderates managed by 1862 to place it under the Ministry of Education, preserving it as a bastion of privilege and moving it to the elegance of the Poggio Imperiale above the nation's new capital. There, its well-dressed and well-fed young women, now more regularly subjected to examinations and urged with prizes to greater achievement, were permitted in 1866 to celebrate Italy's acquisition of the Veneto. Through the peephole of the SS. Annunciata, Franchini observes a significant part of the history of the period, in a rich and rewarding essay.

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DOUGLAS J. FORSYTH. *The Crisis of Liberal Italy: Monetary and Financial Policy, 1914–1922.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 370. $59.95.

This study arose out of Douglas J. Forsyth's dissatisfaction with two conventional explanations of liberal Italy's surrender to fascism, namely, the liberal interpretation traceable to Gaetano Salvemini and the Marxist tradition inaugurated by Angelo Tasca. The former "insisted on parliamentary deadlock as the essential factor," the latter on "unmediated social conflict in the factories and villages" (pp. 288, 294). Forsyth does not deny the importance of these elements, only a certain narrowness of liberal and Marxist vision. His book is not so much an exercise in outright revision as of complementarity and refinement. Accordingly, the examination of monetary and financial policy has a functional rather than normative purpose, that of "a particularly useful prism through which to view political conflict" (p. 1).

An analytical narrative unfolds in three phases: the Giolittian era (1901–14), during which propitious external circumstances fostered rising prosperity and democratic reformism; the years of Italy's participation in World War I (1915–18), marked by economic and financial mobilization through dubious improvisations in the areas of taxation, state borrowing, and international accounts; and the war's aftermath (1918–22), when the consequences of earlier improvidence undermined the liberal regime. The root of the problem, Forsyth suggests, was a naive faith in productivism (*produttivismo*). Productivists of a leftist persuasion, such as F. S. Nitti, believed a rapid expansion of Italy's industrial base would translate into a higher standard of living for all Italians and further democratization. Authoritarian right-wingers like the Italian Nationalist Association looked to productivism to provide economic muscle for an expansionist foreign policy. Neither expectation was met: Italy emerged from World War I destabilized by massive transfers of wealth, speculative commercial and banking ventures, huge budget deficits, and unprecedented foreign borrowing. The restoration of macroeconomic order demanded stringent and unpopular measures that the postwar liberal governments were loath to adopt in the face of challenges from new mass parties of the center and the Left. The ministries of both Nitti and Giolitti moved in the direction of fiscal conservatism, a touchstone of which became elimination of the bread subsidy. But the resentment their policies aroused contributed materially to their downfall. The result was political deadlock that offered Benito Mussolini his opportunity.

"Parliamentary deadlock," writes Forsyth, "was in no small measure the expression of conflict over the role of the state and the issue banks in reallocating economic resources" (p. 290). The difficulty with this perspective is that the relationship between monetary-financial policy and political crisis remains somewhat conjectural. Only occasionally did an economic question impinge directly on the political process, the bread subsidy issue being a case in point. The argument in this book is of a more general nature. It is that the legacy of wartime productivism curtailed the postwar liberals' options and eroded their credibility as a governing elite; the cause is one remove from the effect. This sort of linkage is not easily demonstrated, as the author acknowledges. Nevertheless, he marshals his copious evidence well and makes a compelling case, and his book must be adjudged an important and original reevaluation. It matches in quality other economic analyses of the post–World War I European nations by Charles Maier, Stephen Schuker, and Marc Trachtenberg.

ALAN CASSELS
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GIUSEPPE GALASSO. *Storia dell'industria elettrica in Italia.* Volume 3, *Espansione e oligopolio, 1926–1945.* In two volumes. (Storia dell'impresa.) Rome: Laterza. 1993. Pp. 593; 596–1429.

This history of the electrical industry in Italy is an ambitious project to tell the story of Italy's electrical development, from the first Edison installation in Milan in 1882 to the operations of the nationalized electricity system in the 1980s. It encompasses five parts, all under the general direction of Valerio Castronovo and supported by ENEL, Italy's state-owned provider of electricity. Part 3 of this epic consists of over twenty essays and numerous statistical appendixes contained in two volumes. It is concerned with developments from 1926 to 1945 and is appropriately entitled "Expansion and Oligarchy."

This period might also be called "autarky and corporate capitalism," for it marked the ascendancy of the fascist state and the policies of state involvement in an economy preparing for war. The opening essay is entitled "Crisis and Transformation of the Italian Economy." It establishes the economic framework for the rest of the essays and defines the

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all-important relationship of powerful companies and ambitious government. Giuseppe Galasso shows the tensions between large and small companies, political and bureaucratic power, and technical and economic requirements. He admits that the story of these relationships is neither simple nor straightforward. Even the historic legislation that established governmental control over electricity production marked as much continuity as change in the industry.

Pietro Carlo examines the consolidation act of 1933, which gave the state control over water and electricity management. He argues that this act had strong antecedents in the period preceding the crisis of the 1920s, and shows that it did not remove the oligarchic control of electricity generation wielded by a few major concerns. The companies found a convergence of interests with the fascist government, not the least of which was the state's indulgence of their regional aggrandizement and high prices.

The big companies are the main players in this story and these two volumes offer generous amounts of information on their corporate connections and political maneuvering. Luciano Segreto's profile of the leading companies reveals their great power in the Italian economy. From 1927 to 1936, four of the top ten companies were involved in electricity supply. The Edison group was the largest concentration of finance and industry in the country, controlling supply systems from the Alps to Emiliana. The range of interests of these organizations—from manufacturing to media—and the diversity of their financial backing makes them far from being mere producers of electricity. An analysis of the ownership of shares in these conglomerates reveals the oligarchic nature of the Italian economy, with groups of businesses linked by financial and managerial bonds.

When the financial crisis of the 1920s was compounded by the world depression in the 1930s, the Italian government began to accumulate the shares owned by failing banks. The Istituto per la Ricostruzione Industriale (IRI) was formed to manage the industrial holdings of three major banks, which included about 40 percent of the country's electricity supply. IRI became an important force in Italy's electrical development and was the basis for the eventual nationalization of supply in the 1960s.

Taken as a whole, these essays present an economic history of electricity supply with an emphasis on finance and government relations. The authors are invariably economic historians. The technological developments of the 1920s and 1930s do not receive equal attention. Only one essay focuses on technology, and Mario Silvestri can do little more than ponder the weaknesses of Italian power generation. Although the Italian companies posted impressive gains in the amount of power generated during this period, the per capita consumption of electricity lagged well behind other industrialized European countries and the United States. Silvestri highlights some of the problems: early reliance on hydroelectric generation, concentration on energy intensive manufacturing, and poor relations between the scientific community and industry.

This latter problem became critical with government participation in electricity supply, when some powerful individuals held sway. Personality and managerial style assumed some importance with the ascendancy of bureaucracies, and Antonio Vitiello's compilation of biographies of the leading figures is useful in understanding the complex relationships of government, academia, and industry.

Luciano Segreto provides international comparisons in his essay on the problems of European electrical industries. He pinpoints the important trends in electricity supply and shows that Italy was clearly out of step in the movements of grid building, rural supply, and nationalization, as defined by Franklin Roosevelt's Tennessee Valley Authority.

The only social history of electricity is Maria Rienzo's "Electricity in Civilized Life," which discusses the effect of this mysterious force on the collective imagination. Although acknowledging literature and contemporary thought, this essay stops far short of the analysis of social consequences of electricity currently being done by American scholars.

Although it provides a wealth of material on the Italian electrical industry, this history lacks the synthesis to bring a highly complex history into focus for the average American reader. Galasso has done a fine job of editing the essays and providing a summary of them at the end of the second volume, the only part of the text in English. Yet fifteen pages of summary can only touch the surface of the many significant issues raised in the text. Nevertheless, this is a very important chapter in electrical history and an invaluable source of information. Sumptuously illustrated and supported by masses of statistics and a superb bibliography, these two volumes set high standards in the histories of national electricity supply.

ANDRE MILLARD
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ANDRZEJ SULIMA KAMIŃSKI. *Republic vs. Autocracy: Poland-Lithuania and Russia, 1686–1697.* (Harvard Series in Ukrainian Studies.) Cambridge: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute; distributed by Harvard University Press. 1993. Pp. 312. Cloth $29.95, paper $17.00.

The late seventeenth century saw important shifts in the East European balance of power. The Ottoman empire declined, Austria advanced, Russia emerged as a significant power, and Poland ceased to be one. Transylvania, Crimean Tatary, and the other small principalities of the region found progressively less room for maneuver.

Andrzej Sulima Kamiński's book examines Russo-Polish relations from 1686, when Poland ceded Kiev to Russia in return for an offensive alliance against

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the Turks, to 1697, when August II was elected king of Poland and Russia and Austria concluded their first anti-Turkish alliance. The first permanent diplomatic missions between Russian and Polish courts also date from this period, and Kamiński's study provides a useful account of diplomatic practice as well as diplomatic history. Based on Polish and Russian records and an unfortunately incomplete array of secondary works, some of them recondite, this book improves our understanding of this important turning point, although it is also at times misleading.

After setting the contrasting constitutional and political scenes in Poland and Russia, Kamiński describes their respective diplomatic structures. The recruitment of diplomats, their pay, training, linguistic competence, means of communication, sources of intelligence, and the frequency and quality of their reports also receive attention. All this is well done. The Russians emerge as sticklers for formality and precedent, usually well trained, and realistic; the Poles appear as informal and opportunistic, practicing the cult of the amateur. The Russians were evidently more effective.

Kamiński is puzzled, however, by the Ukrainian Cossacks' preference for Russia considering that, as he claims, they had no trust in the tsar. The apparent paradox is unsatisfactorily explained with vague reference to Ukrainian politicians in Moscow and the Kremlin's allowing "the illusion of a szlachta-type democracy" (p. 200). Russian skill at attracting, subjecting, and then absorbing neighboring elites into its system deserves more serious treatment.

Kamiński is better on the Solomon Affair, the case of an inebriate monk who arrived at Sobieski's court in 1689 claiming to bring an offer to desert from Hetman Mazepa of Ukraine. Kamiński claims that Solomon was a Russian provocateur sent to entrap the king into a breach of the terms of the agreement of 1686. His case rests on circumstances, conjecture, and Solomon's own unreliable testimony, but it is presented with enthusiasm and might be true. Certainly Sobieski was persuaded by Solomon, and Russia abandoned the alliance, making peace with the Turks in 1691. Kamiński gives a useful account of those negotiations, which also involved the Tatars and Moldavia. Six years later Russia helped August II secure the Polish throne, although this marked the inauguration of a new Russian-Austrian alignment rather than Russian dominance in Polish affairs. So far so good.

Unfortunately, the level of discussion is diminished by tendencies to stereotype and to repeat patriotic myths. Tsarism is portrayed as forever crushing representative institutions and stifling civil society, although Ivan IV's founding of the *zemskii sobor* and eighteenth-century attempts to encourage self-rule throw doubt on this. The salvation of Poland after 1654 is attributed to the *szlachta* (Russia's war with Sweden goes unmentioned), and the relief of Vienna in 1683 is presented as "the Polish victory," which is not the consensus of military historians. There are unwarranted inferences and inconsistencies, too. The number of books on various states held by the Russian Foreign Office is an unreliable index of its interest in those states; the absence of translators of south Slavic languages is unsurprising, because Russians had no need of them; and whereas at one point Russia's foreign ministers are said to have developed their own policies (p. 93), at another foreign policy is attributed to the tsar alone (p. 110).

Furthermore, Kamiński is surprisingly inaccurate on Russian institutions. The account of the *zemskii sobor* is mistaken; the top two Duma ranks were not the exclusive preserve of "old aristocrats" (p. 44); the patriarch, not the boyars, took over during interregna; the importance of the system of appointments known as *mestnichestvo* is exaggerated; and the Department of Secret Affairs is comprehensively misrepresented. It was not Stepan Chyzhevsk'yi but rather Jan-Gottfried Gregory and Simeon Polotsk'yi who staged Moscow's first theatrical performances. The bibliography suggests a reason for the plethora of errors: it is seriously out of date. The book can be warmly recommended, then, for its many merits, but only to scholars who can read it critically.

PHILIP LONGWORTH
McGill University

HUGH LECAINE AGNEW. *Origins of the Czech National Renascence.* (Pitt Series in Russian and East European Studies, number 18.) Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1993. Pp. ix, 338. $49.95.

Since the "velvet revolution" in (then) Czechoslovakia and its kindred changes in what is once again (accurately) called Central Europe, one can expect more studies like this useful work to be undertaken and to requicken Western scholarship in that area. But this book joins others in evidence that even in the lean years—a generation's worth of them—when scholarly intercourse between Central Europe and the West was much attenuated, there were nevertheless dedicated and persistent people who persevered and enriched Western historical literature on that part of Europe. Hugh LeCaine Agnew can be counted among those people; the research for his book was largely completed before the demise of the restrictive regime there, and he has, indeed, enriched the literature on a subject that has not enjoyed a great deal of attention from scholars writing in English.

What Agnew writes about has sometimes been called the Czech Renaissance, but that denomination tended to lead the uninitiated to think it meant Czech participation in the Renaissance that emanated from Italy in the early modern period. For the sake of clarity, Agnew joins those who choose the English-language term. By whichever name, it is such a striking phenomenon and is so pivotal to recent Czech history that it has sparked considerable discussion among Czech historians and among others who have taken an interest in it. The issues turn on what its

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origins were, whence came the historical sustenance for it, and what were its characteristics as it developed. Agnew rightly places its origins in the late eighteenth century, in part an expression of the Enlightenment, assisted in its infancy by the reforms of Maria Theresa and, especially, Joseph II. In the question of which spring nourished the renascence, Protestant Bohemia of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries or the Catholic Baroque of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, Agnew breaks no lance for partisans of either view. He discusses the elements of both which served to enliven the renascence. In its nature, it was the enterprise of intellectuals—clerics, journalists, linguists, dramatists, historians—who awakened the Czech nation through the revival, reform, and use of the language and through the rediscovery of the history of Czech Bohemia (Čechy rather than Böhmen). Agnew believes that the Czech awakeners looked to other Slavs not because the Czechs were proto–pan-Slavists, but simply to seek in other Slavic languages, primarily Russian and Polish, examples that would suggest to them ways in which they could enlarge the lexicon and refine the structure of Czech.

One frequently faces a dilemma when deciding whether to treat a subject topically or chronologically. When the span of time for the subject is narrow, as in this case, the inclination is to examine separately the components of the whole and then bring together the synthesis. There lurks a danger in that method, however; the components may overlap each other in some respects, and the author may be led to repetition. Agnew chose this method and succumbed to the danger.

In an admirably organized bibliography, Agnew makes the paths of his research known to his reader. He has examined a wealth of archival materials and a wide range of correspondences, literature, and periodicals contemporary to the period under study. Anyone who wishes to join him in study of the subject will be well introduced to the field by his bibliography. The index is also well organized and easy to use. Unfortunately, the publisher chose to annoy the reader with notes cached at the back of the book, requiring the reader to go through finger-gymnastics to keep or find the place of the notes and then flip the pages back and forth. Such an irritating exercise breaks the flow of the author's narrative and disrupts the reader's concentration. There were too many typographical errors in the book, especially in German, to be overlooked.

This is a valuable addition to the literature in a subject and an area of history that needs such additions.

WILLIAM E. WRIGHT
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CHARLES W. INGRAO. *The Habsburg Monarchy 1618–1815.* (New Approaches to European History, number 3.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 262. Cloth $49.95, paper $14.95.

Cambridge University Press has recently inaugurated a new textbook series aimed at undergraduates and devoted to concise surveys of major themes in European history since the Renaissance called "New Approaches to European History." It aims at presenting accessible introductions, light in scholarly apparatus, to historical problems frequently quite broad in scope and complex in nature. Such enterprises present a particular challenge for professional historians: to be at once synthetic and innovative; to remain clear, direct, and lucid yet also substantial, rigorous, and comprehensive; and to offer challenging analysis without eschewing the fundamental narrative framework introductory surveys require.

One of the earliest volumes in this series, Charles W. Ingrao's survey of the Habsburg monarchy from the Thirty Years' War to the Congress of Vienna, rises to meet this challenge in exemplary fashion. Ingrao is one of the leading historians of early modern Central Europe in North America, and his previous books, *In Quest and Crisis: Emperor Joseph I and the Habsburg Monarchy* (1979) and *The Hessian Mercenary State: Ideas, Institutions and Reform under Frederick II* (1987), have been marked by their deft combination of lucidity and economy with rigorous and suggestive analysis. The volume under consideration here is a laudable successor in the same vein.

One of the reasons why the Habsburg monarchy has generally been neglected and poorly understood is because the pattern of its development is so different from that of the protonational states of Europe. The constitutional and cultural complexities of the Habsburg commonwealth have made it difficult for historians to extricate a coherent and integrative overview, but for Ingrao the very uniqueness of the monarchy provides the analytical framework for his survey. His first chapter thus serves as a prolegomena in which the distinctive elements of the monarchy's development are posited as the leitmotifs for the volume as a whole. The first of these was the geopolitically strategic location, which, while making it vulnerable to attack by enemies, also made it attractive as a reasonably unthreatening ally. Its lack of ethno-linguistic or political cohesion was also a limiting determinant within which the monarchy's evolution could take place, but this allowed a focus on subnational and transnational loyalties that were in time to provide wholly new models of development. The monarchy's ambivalent and largely feeble position in and relation to the Holy Roman empire was at the same time prestige-enhancing and a stabilizing factor in German politics. The diversity and vulnerability of the Habsburg domains further required the dynasty to govern largely by consensus with local elites, which, although it limited cohesive integration policies, nevertheless augmented both its domestic legitimacy and its international indispensability. Fi-

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nally, the dynasty itself, not a succession of pious mediocrities but of tenacious pragmatists who understood the limits within which they could operate, provided the continuity of policy and allowed the monarchy to surmount the crises that it faced in the two centuries Ingrao covers.

The subsequent six chapters are built around each of these crises, and Ingrao argues that every stage of the development of the monarchy "hinged . . . on the resolution of a crisis . . . on which its very survival depended" (p. 22). But rather than seeing the crises as symptoms of congenital weakness, Ingrao chooses to see the resolutions as signs of ongoing strength and vitality. Rather than regarding the monarchy as a "political anomaly whose structural immaturity condemned it to a constant state of crisis and decay from the very beginning of its history" (p. 2), he shows that, by understanding its individuality, the strengths of this polity become much more apparent. By amending a "crisis and response" model to stress not only crisis and response but also achievement, he is able to argue successfully for an upward trajectory of incremental political, social, economic, and cultural development throughout the two centuries he surveys. Elegant and concise, yet stimulating and provocative, this is a volume well placed not only to challenge the conventional preconceptions of undergraduates but the comfortable insularities of more senior scholars as well.

FRANZ A. J. SZABO
Carleton University

FRANZ A. J. SZABO. *Kaunitz and Enlightened Absolutism 1753–1780.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xviii, 380. Cloth $79.95, paper $34.95.

Franz A. J. Szabo has been working on a biography of Wenzel Anton von Kaunitz for about twenty-five years. This, the first full volume, takes the story to the death of Maria Theresa in 1780. Presumably the next volume will cover the years of Joseph II's single reign and the four years Kaunitz served Leopold II and Francis II/I, although he was increasingly distant from the corridors of power.

Szabo's thesis is two-fold: to show that, despite Kaunitz's skill and fame in the area of foreign policy, he was far more concerned about and involved in the formulation of domestic policy; and to prove that Kaunitz was the chief spokesman for reform according to the principles of the Enlightenment, in this respect more key than any other figure in the Habsburg government, including Joseph II. This thesis may have raised eyebrows when Szabo began his work, but it is not particularly revolutionary today, not least because of the many articles and papers he has himself presented over the years.

Szabo is a meticulous researcher. One of the reasons scholars have not pursued a biography of Kaunitz is because his personal papers do not exist, and biographers often shy away from subjects without personal confessions. Szabo has moved ahead by reconstructing the role of Kaunitz in government from the official papers in the Viennese archives, and he has done it thoroughly and carefully.

Because of the nature of the primary materials, this book becomes primarily administrative history. Szabo has spent a lot of time and effort identifying the essence of issues at stake in the various senior-level conferences, explaining which positions senior counselors supported, and offering the empress's final decision and her reasons for making them. His contention is that Kaunitz invariably stood on, and usually led, the side that demanded reforms based on the principles of enlightenment and moderation. Maria Theresa usually accepted that position, he argues, as the one that would best serve the monarchy.

Szabo's account does, however, get a little dry at times. Kaunitz's personal side is played down, and even when Szabo discusses it, he puts his subject in the best light possible. He acknowledges that Kaunitz was renowned during his time for many personality quirks but then goes on either to explain them away or to contend that he was actually ahead of his time in his many habits (thus lending credence to the implication that he could even be considered enlightened by today's standards). Szabo praises Kaunitz's limited use of caffeine and sugar, preference for chicken over red meat, consumption of fresh fruit, brushing his teeth after every meal (not always in private), and exercising with great regularity. Kaunitz almost comes across as a yuppie's ideal.

Because this book is intended as a first volume, at its end the reader is left somewhat disappointed. The answers to the great questions still lie ahead: was it because of Kaunitz's and Joseph's reforms that the people of the monarchy proved unresponsive to the more democratic ideas of the Enlightenment when they came with the French Revolution? Was it because of these reforms that the monarchy proved more resilient than Prussia or the German states in the wars against revolutionary and Napoleonic France? Did the reforms provide the strength and progress that carried the monarchy through twenty-five trying years, from 1789 to 1815? And did the monarchy's atrophy come only when its leaders abandoned Kaunitz's principles, especially those that emphasized progress and moderation as they existed in the late eighteenth century? These questions are not posed in this volume, which whets one's appetite for the next.

KARL A. ROIDER, JR.
Louisiana State University

LAWRENCE SONDHAUS. *The Naval Policy of Austria-Hungary, 1867–1918: Navalism, Industrial Development, and the Politics of Dualism.* West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University Press. 1994. Pp. xv, 441. $39.95.

Lawrence Sondhaus's book about the Austro-Hungarian navy from the Ausgleich to its ultimate defeat in 1918 begins and ends with its two most famous

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commanders-in-chief, Admiral Tegetthoff, the victor over the Italians in the battle of Lissa during the war of 1866, and Admiral Miklós Horthy, the navy's last *Marinekommandant.* In between, the navy saw many ups and downs, from support and enthusiasm in the wake of Tegetthoff's triumph, to neglect and even doubt about the need for a fighting navy some twenty years later, to "navalism triumphant" (p. 170) once more and the creation of a modern battle fleet after the turn of the century. Yet amid these changes there were also constants. One of them was that this newest branch of the armed forces needed a patron in high places. It found him first in the person of Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian (later and better known as Emperor Maximilian of Mexico) and then in Archduke Franz Ferdinand, who became "a convert to the cause of navalism" (p. 123), partly as a result of his cruise aboard the *Kaiserin Elisabeth* to warmer climes for the recovery of his health.

Another constant was the multinational character of the navy's officers and men. Although Italians initially were overrepresented among both, the balance later became a bit more even. Not that there was a total absence of friction; a Croat deputy, for instance, announced that the Hungarians should "go back to the Puszta" since the Adriatic "belongs to the Croatians" (p. 182). But like so much else in the empire, this was a verbal skirmish only; the navy remained free of "discrimination on ethnic grounds" (p. 135).

Perhaps the most important constant was that the navy's principal mission remained the same: the defense of the monarchy's coastline. Occasional grander ambitions, such as becoming a Mediterranean power, remained elusive, but "command of the sea in the Adriatic" (p. 271) was a reality. This was true in the prewar years and even during most of the war itself, despite the fact that the navy was "vastly outnumbered by its foes" (p. 295).

Why this should have been so is told clearly and convincingly by Sondhaus, as might be expected from the author of *In the Service of the Emperor: Italians in the Austrian Armed Forces* (1990) and *The Habsburg Empire and the Sea* (1989). What he recounts here is not only the story of the development of the navy but also of the political and economic trends against which it took place. In all, this is a book that no one interested in the topic will want to miss.

JOACHIM REMAK
University of California, Santa Barbara

GYÖRGY BORSÁNYI. *The Life of a Communist Revolutionary, Béla Kun.* Translated by MARIO D. FENYO. (Atlantic Studies on Society in Change, number 75; East European Monographs, number 263.) Boulder, Colo.: Social Science Monographs or Atlantic Research and Publications, Highland Lakes, N.J.; distributed by Columbia University Press, New York. 1993. Pp. xiii, 529. $45.00.

The father of Hungarian communism, Béla Kun was a Stalinist who became the victim of Stalinism, observes former party historian György Borsányi at the conclusion of this political biography. That unexceptionable assessment was not palatable even to the relatively tolerant regime of János Kádár in the 1970s, or in all likelihood to its Soviet masters. Published in 1979, this book was promptly withdrawn from circulation and only reappeared after Kádár's departure from office in May 1988. This edition is a marginally revised translation of that work.

Béla Kun was born in 1886 into a Jewish, petit-bourgeois family in Transylvania, then part of Hungary. Ambitious, energetic, and intellectually gifted, he worked as a journalist and militant in the Social Democratic Party before being sent to the Russian front in December 1914. By the time he was captured, Russia was in revolutionary ferment, and Kun soon became an active supporter of the Bolsheviks. Thanks to his ardor and talents, which won early recognition from V. I. Lenin and company, like-minded Hungarian prisoners of war were the first to be organized as a group within the Russian Bolshevik Party, and Kun was appointed president of the International Federation of Foreign Groups of that party.

In November 1918, Kun and some acolytes arrived in Budapest to take charge of the newly created Communist Party of Hungary. On March 21, 1919, after the liberal-democratic government of Count Mihály Károlyi had resigned in protest at the territorial demands of the Allied powers, Kun pragmatically joined forces with the Social Democrats in a revolutionary regime that proclaimed the Soviet Republic of Hungary. Kun expected that this was merely a small step on the way to world revolution, but within four months domestic disenchantment and foreign pressures had brought his dictatorship to an inglorious end.

From his exile in Austria, Kun excoriated the working class for having "abandoned the revolution . . . in a cowardly manner." He spent the rest of his life in the service of the Comintern, mostly in Moscow, pursuing the goal of revolution in Hungary and elsewhere with a zeal that often brought disastrous results. He encouraged the ill-fated "March action" of German communists in 1921, earning Lenin's rebuke for "leftist stupidities." While the exiled leadership of the Hungarian party engaged in interminable factional disputes, the handful of communists left in Hungary and those sent back by Kun were periodically rounded up by the vigilant police. Kun was demoted for a time, then in 1924 was put in charge of the Comintern's agitprop. When Joseph Stalin assumed power Kun espoused the new leader's line and in 1928 was appointed to the presidium of the Comintern's executive committee. Regarded as a leading theoretician of the Comintern and consumed with a hatred of Social Democracy, Kun supervised the Balkan parties while fighting factional wars within the Hungarian one; he did not shrink from having his

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ideological enemies summarily liquidated. The Comintern's shift to a Popular Front line as well as his mismanagement of the Hungarian party led to Kun's downfall. Demoted once again, he tried to trim his sails to the new wind, but Stalin's purges had begun. Kun was arrested in June 1937 and executed.

Although Borsányi's chronicle brings no major revelations, it does offer a wealth of detail, particularly on the casuistic debates and petty rivalries that infested the closed world of communist revolutionaries. The work is generally objective and scholarly, and given the subject matter it is commendably free of the jargon of communist historiography apart from occasional use of the term "masses." The sources include much unpublished archival material, and although the depths of former Soviet archives remain to be plumbed, there is probably little left to learn about this tragic and rather unsavory figure's political career. As for Kun's private life, we are left with the impression that professional revolutionaries had none. No doubt many came to feel trapped by their chosen career, although few followed the example of the man whom Kun sent back with Comintern funds to work underground, and who promptly abandoned communism to open a jewelry store.

BENNETT KOVRIG
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IMMANUEL ETKES. *Rabbi Israel Salanter and the Mussar Movement: Seeking the Torah of Truth.* Translated by JONATHAN CHIPMAN. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society. 1993. Pp. ix, 389. $39.95.

The subject of this intriguing book is the moral philosopher and educator Israel Salanter (Israel Lipkin), born in 1810 in the Lithuanian town of Zager. Salanter's approach to religious life, called *mussar*, stressed the need for traditional, rabbinic Judaism to integrate into an otherwise cerebral religious canon a heightened appreciation of ethics, the lure of human appetite, and, in particular, evil. Immanuel Etkes, a leading specialist in East European Jewish cultural history, is attentive to the impact on his thinking of events beyond Salanter's study (the rise of the hasidic movement, the impact of Jewish enlightenment, the intrusive, often brutal reforms of Russian Tsar Nicholas I, periodic famines, widespread poverty, and so forth); the focus here is on intellectual history, and Salanter emerges as a thinker of prescience and subtlety.

Etkes's work is one of several in modern Jewish history—written, on the whole, by Israeli scholars (for example, Michael Silber, Israel Bartal, Mordecai Breuer, and Yosef Salmon)—that have reassessed religious Orthodoxy in Judaism, locating in it original impulses, especially in its reactions to modernity. Much of this work is inspired by Etkes's teacher, Jacob Katz, the doyen of Jewish historiography. Still, comparable to the new, widespread interest in fundamentalism, work in Jewish studies, too, is influenced by the vibrancy of contemporary religious fundamentalism that has modified older designations of modernity. This probably explains the prominence of Israeli scholars who have in political and cultural life brushed against a shrewd, creative religious fundamentalism in recent years, Jewish as well as Islamic.

Etkes charts the trajectory of *mussar* ideology on (an albeit rather restricted sector of) East European Jewry: mostly middle class, Vilna-based, moderately (not profoundly) learned in rabbinic texts, disdainful of hasidism but influenced by the mystical movement's populist inclinations and emotional appeal. Hence *mussar*'s reassessment of evil as intrinsic and not external to the human condition, and hence the argument for the primacy of *yirah* (fear of God) as a crucial precursor to prayer. *Mussar* recast the asceticism of older moralists, hasidic and rabbinic alike.

Salanter was also an insightful pedagogue who stressed, partly in reaction to state schools in Russia and elsewhere in Europe, the importance of a Judaic-based moral education, which, he felt, could be achieved through the promotion of special study houses and a curriculum highlighting the introspective as well as the cerebral demands of Judaism. He launched a cadre of *lomdim* as an educated middle class, emblems of *tikkun middot*, an ethical revolution that would chart a middle course between asceticism, religious ecstasy, and rabbinic rationalism. The impact on him of enlightenment ideas—more subtle, not surprisingly, than hasidic ones—was apparent, suggests Etkes, in his naturalistic understanding of the human psyche and his emphasis on the psychological dynamics of faith.

Etkes is especially successful in charting the complexities of innovation in a traditionalist milieu. The book's first, rather hefty section summarizes the teachings of Salanter's masters (Elijah the Gaon of Vilna, Hayyim of Volozhin, and others), thereby setting the stage for Salanter's own spiritual excursions based, at least explicitly, on older, established authorities. When seen against this backdrop, Salanter's innovations appear all the more creative in their interplay between a deference to the past and commitment to change. There is no better analysis than this book of the deft mechanics of innovation (religious as well as institutional) in East European Orthodoxy in the modern age.

As biography, this book is at times wooden. We learn of Salanter's lifelong bouts of depression at the end of a narrative that would have been enhanced, especially in its discussion of his introspectivist agenda, had this theme been taken up earlier. Still, there is little available information on Salanter's life beyond the public sphere, and Etkes mines this material well. He is apparently much impressed with Salanter's moralist thinking—based almost entirely on the records of others since Salanter himself left precious little written work—and Etkes communicates with both empathy and rigor his appreciation for Salanter's religious sensibility.

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The translation from the Hebrew (this book originally appeared in Israel in 1982) is fluent; there are occasional awkward moments, such as "he hoped that the encounter with the scholars of Vilna would enrich and fructify his own scholarship" (p. 80). This splendid, definitive book provides the fullest account available of the intellectual life of East European rabbinic Judaism in the nineteenth century and the most original of its (scrupulously meticulous and pious) innovators.

STEVEN J. ZIPPERSTEIN
Stanford University

NECHAMA TEC. *Defiance: The Bielski Partisans.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xiii, 276. $27.50.

The main aim of the non-Jewish resistance in Europe during World War II was to prepare underground forces to liberate their occupied countries. All other deeds were secondary, according to Yitzhak Arad, former director of Yad Vashem. They all received arms from their governments-in-exile, such as the Armie Krajova of Poland. Yugoslavia, Italy, France, as well as Poland all followed this "liberation model."

By contrast, the main aim of the Jewish resistance was revenge and the chance to die with honor and dignity. They had no support from any government. At first the struggle was not even a matter of revenge but simply of survival. Eventually the aims expanded to include saving as many Jews as possible: ghetto escapees, hidden Jews, lucky Jews who avoided the German mobile killing units. The elderly and the ill and women with children were especially vulnerable and were the most difficult to save.

The Jewish partisans in the Soviet Union arose under similar circumstances, but for a time they were allowed to maintain separate bands within the context and control of the larger communist-dominated Soviet partisan movement, which eventually absorbed them until no clear case of all-Jewish *otryady* ("fighting groups") existed by the end of the war. (For a more complete analysis of this dilemma, see Moshe Kahanowitz, "Why No Separate Jewish Partisan Movement Was Established during World War II," *Yad Vashem Studies*, vol. 1 [1957]: 153–67.)

Sadly, most resistance took place when the situation became the most hopeless; and when did they know this? In Warsaw, only fifty to sixty thousand Jews were left when the ghetto revolt began. In Vilna, only one-third were still alive. In Białystock, the majority had already been murdered. Still, the aim was *nekumeh* (revenge). Better to fall with honor in the ghetto or the forests than to be taken to the death camps like sheep to slaughter.

I will echo Vladka Meed, who, at a conference at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in 1994, called for more research on the daily life of ghetto dwellers, the simple people who faced the Draconian measures of the Nazi terror, and then had to make the difficult and complex decision to fight back. It took strength to resist: some measure of health, good food, clothes, leadership, access to guns, and a strong spirit to defy one's elders. (See examples of revolts in the death camps in Primo Levi's *The Drowned and the Saved* [1992].)

That is why this book by Nechama Tec is so important. We know little about the Jewish resistance among the Soviet partisans, and we have too easily reduced all action in the Holocaust to those of victims, perpetrators, or bystanders. We need two more categories: rescuers and resistance fighters such as the Bielski partisans. I am often asked, "Were your parents in a concentration camp?" This is the stereotype of the Jews, that they were all passive victims. But as the examples of my parents, Irving and Faye Porter—Srulik and Faygeh Merin Puchtik in the Kruk and Max Family Camps (he was known by his *nom de guerre* "Zalonka")—as well as the Bielski brothers, Vladka Meed, Benjamin Meed, and so many others like Abba Klurman, Berl Lorber, Sender Lande, and Charlie Zarutski have shown, not all Jews went like sheep to slaughter. Thousands resisted.

For examples of such resistance, see works such as *They Fought Back* by Yuri Suhl (1967, 1975) and *Never to Forget* by Milton Meltzer (1975), as well as my own research in such volumes as *Jewish Partisans: A Documentary of Jewish Resistance in the Soviet Union during World War II* (2 vols., 1982) and *Confronting History and Holocaust: Collected Essays; 1972–1982* (1983).

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SEBASTIAN SIEBEL-ACHENBACH. *Lower Silesia from Nazi Germany to Communist Poland, 1942–49.* (St Antony's/Macmillan Series.) New York: St. Martin's. 1994. Pp. xx, 381. $49.95.

Canadian historian Sebastian Siebel-Achenbach examines the circumstances that led to the replacement of the homogeneously German population of Silesia by a mainly Polish one at the end of World War II. His account is factually dense and based on research in German, Polish, British, and American archives; many of the documents are reproduced in the body of the text. Although limiting his attention to Silesia, he tells a story that pertains just as well to the other German territories east of Oder-Neiße assigned (minus their populations) to Poland and Russia at the Yalta Conference.

To be sure, beginning the story in 1942 seems odd; the material on German Silesia before 1945 remains tangential to the main body of the work, which begins with the arrival of the Soviet Army. (Similarly quirky is the sudden switch from all-German to all-Polish placenames at precisely that point, giving the impression that the action has moved to a different place.) Most

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of this work, including its most interesting and significant aspects, deals with developments in 1945 and after, in Silesia itself and in relations among the major powers. It includes much new material on the privations of the German expellees and the chaotic beginning of Polish rule. The author also confirms what others have noted about the behavior of the Red Army, which apparently had carte blanche to commit atrocities against a conquered civilian population on a scale unsurpassed by any modern European army. With respect to the new Polish administration, the author estimates that Germans in Silesia died, of starvation or on "death marches," at the rate of 10,000 per month in 1945; 12 percent of the entire civilian population may have perished in the course of Red Army conquest, early Polish occupation, and subsequent expulsion.

In other respects, this work tends to second the pioneering English-language work of Alfred de Zayas (even as it fails, for some reason, to include that work in the bibliography). In contrast to de Zayas, Siebel-Achenbach focuses more on Joseph Stalin (and less on the reluctant Western powers) as the main force behind the transfer of Silesia to Poland. Although Stalin had no particular interest in satisfying the Polish appetite for additional territory, he did see a Soviet interest in creating a condition of permanent Polish-German enmity. Control of the "regained territories" could also be used by Polish Communists to enhance their small base of support and allow them to posture as agents and protectors of Poland's enhanced "living space." As Siebel-Achenbach also notes, Stalin was simply lying when he told his Western partners at Yalta that the number of Germans remaining east of Oder-Neiße (and so subject to formal expulsion westward) was only 1.5 million; the actual figure was closer to 5 million; the total deprived of homes east of Oder-Neiße was closer to 9 million; the total expelled from Eastern Europe as a whole closer to 15 million.

One can only welcome this addition to the still small English-language literature on one of the century's less-publicized atrocities. But as one turns back to the current stories about the former Yugoslavia, it is hard to ignore the awkward fact that the same governments that profess to be shocked by the comparatively small-scale ethnic cleansing currently taking place in the Balkans cooperated with Stalin fifty years ago in carrying out history's largest and most systematic ethnic-cleansing project. As this account makes clear, the Big Three wrote the book on the subject of ethnic cleansing at Yalta and may well have established the model for Serbs and Croats and others yet to come.

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JAN KUBIK. *The Power of Symbols against the Symbols of Power: The Rise of Solidarity and the Fall of State Socialism in Poland.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 322. Cloth $42.50, paper $14.95.

Anyone interested in the birth of Solidarity in Poland could easily assume that by the mid–1990s the topic, as an object of academic research, has been beaten to death. I am not aware of the existence of any published bibliography focused on Solidarity, but if one were to be produced, it would be very long. This, in turn, would suggest that nothing of interest could ever be written offering a fresh insight or a new interpretation of this phenomenon.

And yet, Jan Kubik has convincingly shown that this assumption is plainly wrong and that the rise of Solidarity, which led within a decade to the collapse of the Communist order in Poland, could indeed be interpreted in a novel and exciting way. Undoubtedly, Kubik's unique approach stems from the fact that, although he teaches political science, his academic training is grounded in anthropology, which allows him to move easily across disciplines to throw new light on the emergence of Solidarity.

This approach may not please everyone, especially as the study does not make for easy reading and tends to be overloaded with theoretical references, familiar perhaps to anthropologists but of little meaning to political scientists. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that this is a highly original study that makes an important contribution not only to our knowledge of recent Polish politics but also to our understanding of the crucial role of symbols in influencing political processes. All students of East Central European politics will benefit from reading this book.

The study focuses on two key questions: Why did Solidarity emerge in Poland and not elsewhere in East Central Europe, and how did the organization survive to come back with a vengeance nine years later to bring down the Communist order in Poland, initiating the domino effect in the rest of the region? In answering these two questions, Kubik concentrates on two concepts—legitimacy and hegemony—and shows how both of them, seemingly under the firm control of the Communist Party, were gradually eroded in the second half of the 1970s with the help of a variety of cultural symbols. The seemingly indestructible power of the party-state was ultimately destroyed by two other institutional actors—the Catholic church and the organized opposition—which succeeded in imposing counterhegemonic culture on the state, opening the door to Solidarity.

I have no major problem with the book, and any differences I may have with the author tend to be more of emphasis rather than substance. I do believe that Kubik has overstated the importance of the Catholic church in the process of delegitimizing Communist rule in Poland. To be sure, the visit of Pope John Paul II to his homeland in 1979 proved to be a catalyst that initiated the birth of Solidarity a year later, but in just about every other respect the policy of the church vis-à-vis the government and the oppo-

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sition tended to be highly ambivalent and became even more so as time went by.

I also believe that the author has not given enough credit to the rise of anti-Communist opposition prior to 1976. I realize that he wanted to focus on the period immediately preceding the birth of Solidarity but it can be argued that there would not be any Solidarity but for the worker demonstrations in Poznań in June 1956 or the upheaval on the Baltic coast in December 1970, just as there would not be any Worker Defense Committee (KOR) without the intellectual ferment that began after 1956 and culminated in March 1968.

Finally, let me make a personal comment about the "power of symbols." I was born in Poland and lived there until I was seventeen. During that time I was just as exposed to the relentless pressure of national and religious symbols as all my contemporaries, and Kubik persuaded me that the power of these symbols was just as strong in the 1970s as it was before World War II. My own recent experience, however, tells me that if the traditional symbols retain any appeal today, it is almost entirely confined to the older generation and has little or no meaning for the young Poles. All these are minor quibbles and do not detract from the value of Kubik's stimulating and important study.

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MICHAEL KHODARKOVSKY. *Where Two Worlds Met: The Russian State and the Kalmyk Nomads, 1600–1771.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1992. Pp. xiii, 278. $34.95.

Michael Khodarkovsky's monograph is a study in construction and maintenance of empire, as much as it is an attempt at investigating identity construction with regard to the Russian state. It makes a welcome case for the importance of demolishing rigid disciplinary boundaries and enlisting the help of anthropology to answer the questions of the historian.

Khodarkovsky's main thesis is that although the identity of the Russian state and its political ideology were affected by the encounter with the Kalmyks, major social changes brought about by the contacts of the Kalmyks with Russia led to their becoming more sedentary, which Khodarkovsky evaluates as downward mobility (p. 2).

This study of borderland encounters, as the title amply suggests, is organized into seven chapters preceded by an introduction and a list of Kalmyk and Oirat rulers. The conclusion is followed by an appendix, bibliography, glossary, and index.

Chapter 1, entitled "Kalmyk Nomadic Society," is a historico-anthropological sketch of Kalmyk society aimed at validating Khodarkovsky's "fundamental thesis that Kalmyk society must be approached and understood in its own terms" (p. 3). This is, indeed, a sound conceptual approach, at variance with the still prevailing norm of policy orientation of Western scholarship on non-Russians in the Russian state.

Khodarkovsky, however, may have attempted to do too much in the limited space of one monograph. The first chapter, which occupies a unique place in relationship to Khodarkovsky's fundamental thesis, covers in fifty-two pages topics such as "The People and Their Name" (pp. 5–9); "Socioadministrative System" (pp. 9–12); "The Social Ladder" (pp. 12–14); "Political Organization" (pp. 14–17); "Environment and the Way of Nomadism" (pp. 17–22); "Economy and Trade" (pp. 23–32); "Human and Animal Population" (pp. 32–33); "Religion" (pp. 33–40); "Women and Marriage" (pp. 40–42); "Law" (pp. 42–45); "Succession" (pp. 45–47); "Warfare and the Kalmyk Military" (pp. 47–57).

Instead of attempting an exhaustive analysis of Kalmyk society in the limited space of one chapter, be it the largest of the monograph, perhaps Khodarkovsky should have singled out for in-depth analysis those institutions and practices that are most relevant for deciphering the semiotics of political culture and Russo-Kalmyk interaction, which he covers in chapters 2–7.

Hence, superficial interpretations of social practices such as that of "bride price" (p. 40) or of the meaning of fines for sexual assaults could have been avoided in the body of a more thorough analysis. Also, one wonders why the author chose to report anthropologist D. Aberle's puzzlement at discovering that Kalmyks practiced nonsoral polygamy, yet were not polygamous, if he had no intention of pursuing the matter and offering some explanation of his own.

Of the remaining chapters "Diplomacy and Symbolism"; "Arrival of Kalmyks"; "Rise to Power of Ayuki Khan"; "Uneasy Alliance: Ayuki Khan and Russia, 1697–1722"; "Succession Crisis"; "Russian Colonization and the Kalmyk's Decline and Exodus," the last chapter represents the greatest missed opportunity. The discussion of Russian colonization should have addressed much more thoroughly the ambiguities that marked the encounters of the Russian state with the nomads and those of the nomads with each other. This is particularly valid for the subchapter entitled "A New Approach: A Look at Russo-Kazakh Relations." Here the discussion of the practice of *barimta/baranta* (forceful seizure of herds or goods) would have been enriched by a comparison of some of the legal practices of the Kazakhs and Kalmyks against the background of Oirat *Tsaadjin Bichik* Code and the Kazakh *Zheti Zharghy* or Khan Tauke's Code of 1670.

Still, this is a solid monograph and it should not elude any serious student of Eurasia, for it makes a welcome contribution to our understanding of the empire-borderland equation.

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BARBARA ALPERN ENGEL. *Between the Fields and the City: Women, Work, and Family in Russia, 1861–1914.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 254. $59.95.

The path from the fields to the city provides the organizing principle of Barbara Alpern Engel's book. The first chapter surveys women's place in the patriarchal peasant community; the last is devoted to the wives of factory workers in St. Petersburg and Moscow. Those in between cover the wives of male outworkers, female outworkers, women workers in rural factories, urban female factory workers and servants, and marginal urban women (mostly prostitutes).

The great challenge for social historians, and historians of women in particular, is integrating statistical data with information concerning individuals, who figure only in the written record because they were unusual or eccentric. Engel effectively surmounts this challenge. She draws fully and frequently on the rich statistics for the central industrial zone, the birthplace of most migrants, and integrates it deftly with data from the two capitals, providing the reader with information on incidence of marriage, literacy rates, spouses living apart, and the like. (Her treatment of patterns of migration does not take account of the varying terms for which passports, which peasants needed for travel within the empire, were issued.) She also provides numerous snapshots of particular women, such as the factory worker who suffered ritual shaming at the hands of a cabal of lovers she had rejected. Engel emphasizes forcefully and repeatedly that the litigants, prostitutes, and other individuals on whom she has documentation were not in the least typical, but, she persuasively maintains, from their stories we can discern "fault lines," or pressures that many women felt.

Engel perceives the allure that bright lights had for some peasant women and admires those who responded to the allure, but she does not suppose that city air made women free. For most peasants who migrated to Moscow and St. Petersburg, single women in particular, the most likely outcomes were degrees of degradation and exploitation they would not have faced in the village. In the early chapters, women seem charged with sexual ardor, whereas the urban women in the latter chapters are champions of domesticity. The resolution of this seeming paradox is the grand motif of Engel's book: Russian women wanted increased control over their lives and circumstances. In the village community, especially as daughters-in-law living with their husband's parents, they were subject to numerous and powerful constraints. Insofar as they shook off these constraints—women who worked in rural factories occupied a position intermediate between the village and city—they faced new and potent threats to their autonomy. Engel ends her book with a question: "for every woman who pined for freedom and enjoyed it when she found it, how many more would have clung to the security, predictability and familiar satisfactions of village life, if only they could?" The happiest group of women in this book are the village-dwelling wives of migrant laborers. They had to bear responsibility for their household's agriculture as well as domestic work, but they received income and urban consumer goods from their husbands and only had to put up with them for a few weeks or months per year.

Engel's book could have benefited from more careful editing. "Exemplary" does not mean "typical"; *dela* (files) is a plural noun; the *vino* served at peasant weddings was certainly vodka; and a few footnotes are somewhat garbled. Nevertheless, her study is rich in both erudition and insight. It treats a complex subject in depth, but efficiently; the exposition is never compressed or hurried. Historians of imperial Russia, of women, and of labor will have to read this book and will be glad they did.

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PAUL R. GREGORY. *Before Command: An Economic History of Russia from Emancipation to the First Five-Year Plan.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. viii, 188. $35.00.

Russian economic development has been the foundation of many grand theories (V. I. Lenin, Alexander Gerschenkron, and A. A. Chayanov), only one of which was grounded in any empirical findings, in spite of the voluminous amount of data readily available. In an attempt to address this problem Paul R. Gregory published *Russian National Income: 1885–1913* (1982). The title, format, lengthy statistical appendixes, and even typeface were enough to discourage many readers, and it seems fair to say that Gregory's work has not had the impact it is due. This new book is an attempt to rectify that problem. It largely summarizes Gregory's first book and a series of subsequent articles. There is, however, one unusual problem: the author has difficulty naming his books. His first monograph, in fact, contains substantial information about the 1920s. The most interesting sections of this volume focus on the 1930s.

This stated, the book itself is outstanding. Addressing both historians and current policy makers in the former Soviet Union, Gregory argues that tsarist economic policies and the New Economic Policy (NEP) of the 1920s did indeed provide the infrastructure necessary for sustained growth in both industry and agriculture. In doing so, Gregory rejects the view that Joseph Stalin, lacking viable alternatives, was compelled to embark on a policy of rapid industrialization and forced collectivization. Urging the reader to take the long view, Gregory holds that, from the perspective of the late 1980s, "if the tsarist economy had continued to develop after the conclusion of World War I on the foundations created during the final decades of the Russian empire . . . it is hard to

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imagine that the result would have been inferior" (p. 136).

Gregory does not accept the image of a dual economy for the late-tsarist period, that is, a dominant and backward agrarian sector alongside small pockets of industrial modernity. He finds little direct evidence for a decline in rural living standards in the fifty years following the emancipation of the serfs in 1861. Of even greater significance, the distribution of personal income in Russia in the first decade of the twentieth century was similar to that of the United States and less concentrated than in the United Kingdom. But in rejecting both Gerschenkron and Chayanov, Gregory argues, unconvincingly and with no evidence to support his view, that rural Russia was populated by "utility maximizers" who within the confines of the peasant commune operated according to "rational neo-classical economic rules" (p. 50). More likely, the economic flexibility that Gregory finds in the years following emancipation came not from the commune but from new market forces in noncommunal land-tenure relations: sharecropping, cash rents, labor rents, and, to a considerably lesser extent, hired wage labor.

Gregory's discussion of NEP and the subsequent shift to collectivization and industrialization brings together in a coherent and readable manner the research of V. P. Danilov, Jerzy Karcz, and R. K. Sah and J. E. Stiglitz. Soviet leaders mistrusted and misunderstood market forces. As a result, Gregory demonstrates, they themselves precipitated the Scissors Crisis of 1922–23 and the grain procurement crises of the late 1920s. Once the state set grain prices below market level, it left itself no alternative to strong administrative measures. "Command had" already "replaced markets" (p. 112). Gregory concludes with an assault on a series of "stylized facts" of Soviet economic development (pp. 113–14). Econometric models suggest that collectivization held down increases in rates of investment. In spite of any short-run gains of resource reallocation into industry, collectivization destroyed the potential for long-term sustainable growth that tsarist policies and NEP would have afforded. Collectivization can only be viewed as an act of class warfare. It did not free up hidden economic resources.

Gregory is to be commended for his staunch determination to go against received opinion. His style is clear and his arguments are concise. Although new opportunities for archival research in the former Soviet Union hold much promise for future scholarship, Gregory has produced the best overview of Russian economic development from 1861 through the 1930s. Along the way, he has illuminated many of the blockages current policy makers confront as they "plan" for the transition to a market economy.

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JAN ZAPRUDNIK. *Belarus: At a Crossroads in History.* (Westview Series on the Post-Soviet Republics.) Boulder, Colo.: Westview, in association with the Nationality and Siberian Studies Program of the Harriman Institute, Columbia University, New York. 1993. Pp. xxi, 278. Cloth $54.95, paper $18.95.

With the exception of scholars specializing in the study of East Central Europe, few West Europeans—and virtually no Americans—know or care about the newly emergent Republic of Belarus. Those who have discussed it have referred to it variously as "Byelorussia," "White Russia," or "White Ruthenia," and have treated it as a minor element in the context of Russian or Polish history. Yet this land, an independent state since August 1991 and, as one of the westernmost republics of the former Soviet Union, a separate voting member of the United Nations, occupies an area nearly three times the size of the Benelux nations and has served for centuries as a key crossroads between East and West. More recently, following the dissolution of the Soviet Union, it has housed the central headquarters of the Commonwealth of Independent States and, as the locale of many nuclear missiles, been a focal point in the ongoing process of dismantling these weapons. Perhaps its most important contemporary function is serving as a barometer of the extent to which the Russian Republic is willing and able to reestablish its sway over those contiguous territories, now sovereign states.

Thankfully, Jan Zaprudnik has filled a major gap in Western historiography of Eastern Europe. His entry in the "Westview Series on the Post-Soviet Republics" opens with a brief profile of Belarus in terms of "land and people," and then provides a succinct yet comprehensive outline of Belarusan national development from its historical origins to the key year 1985, when Mikhail Gorbachev assumed the top Soviet leadership. The dominant theme is the remarkable resiliency and perseverance of a people whose national identity came under systematic assault from Poles and Russians, yet who managed to cling to its essential elements in the face of enormous political, economic, and cultural pressures. The remaining chapters chronicle the determined yet, in sharp contrast to other Soviet republics, low-keyed Belarusan drive for increased freedom from Moscow's control and ultimate independence. This portion of the book offers perhaps its strongest segments, complete with detailed examinations of the political, economic, cultural, and international components of the Belarusan experience in the period 1985–92. Numerous tables, maps, and illustrations enhance the text to produce an invaluable "guidebook" to one of the new entries on the European map.

In addition to producing a well-researched and lucidly written book, Zaprudnik has also proved to be somewhat prophetic. Such recent events as the election of the avowed Russophile Alexander Lukashenka as Belarusan president and the decision to merge the

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country's economy with Russia's appear to validate his veiled concern that the infant republic will be inexorably reabsorbed into a Greater Russia. Yet if their past is any indication, the Belarusan people will survive this latest challenge to their national existence.

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NEAR EAST

PAUL E. WALKER. *Early Philosophical Shiism: The Ismaili Neoplatonism of Abū Yaʿqūb al-Sijistānī.* (Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xv, 203. $39.95.

This fine study directly assesses the impact of Neoplatonism on Ismāʿīlī or Sevener Shīʿite thought as evidenced by the work of Abū Yaʿqūb al-Sijistānī (who died ca. A.D. 975). Paul E. Walker has written a book that encompasses more, however, than al-Sijistānī's life and beliefs. Using him as a central locus, Walker surveys the rise and impact of philosophy on Muslim religious and intellectual history, especially in medieval Iranian society.

The volume commences with three chapters on the religious and intellectual setting of early Ismāʿīlism. Chapter 1 provides concise, well-informed overviews of the Ismāʿīlī movement with its factions (such as the Qarmatians and the Fāṭimids) and its leading agents or *dāʿīs* before outlining al-Sijistānī's life and writings. Next, al-Sijistānī's scholarly heritage is carefully analyzed in terms of Islamic influences from Shīʿism, theology or *kalām*, and philosophy or *falsafa*. In the third chapter Walker elucidates the penetration of Greek thought into Ismāʿīlī doctrine prior to al-Sijistānī's time, then he documents the legacy of philosophy on the thinking of three *dāʿīs*(Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nasafī, and Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī). Clearly Walker is restricted by the scanty nature of extant sources. Yet one wishes al-Sijistānī could have been better located in relation to his immediate predecessors and contemporaries. More information on why al-Sijistānī's work specifically, and Neoplatonism generally, lost their hold over Ismāʿīlism would also have been useful for readers. These are but minor quibbles about the book's initial part, which overall sets a well laid out stage for the second part, where al-Sijistānī's specific contributions to the Ismāʿīlī world view are determined.

Part 2 comprises chapters 4 through 13, where, in laconic style, Walker displays his command of the subject matter. Walker discerns the strands of Shīʿism, theology, and Neoplatonism woven together by al-Sijistānī on topics ranging from the issue of God's transcendence, the nature of God's creation, the purpose and imperfectness of intellect in human life, and the soul's role as a link between mind and matter on the path to salvation, to problems posed by humanity serving as a microcosmic representation of the corporeal world. Sensing through al-Sijistānī's writings that Ismāʿīlīs felt the advent of the messiah (*qāʾim*) and the day of resurrection (*qiyāma*) were close at hand, Walker wisely pursues the way prophetic revelation intermeshed with cyclical time within institutional structures to offer believers interpretations aimed at drawing "the serious person to the hidden truth that is the true intelligible reality" (p. 120), thus leading to salvation. In each of these ten chapters, Walker covers many significant developments that helped shape medieval Muslim life.

An epilogue reaffirms why Walker chose to focus on the Neoplatonic elements of al-Sijistānī's influence on Ismāʿīlism. The epilogue also probes the power inherent in controlling knowledge in Muslim society, an important avenue of investigation that could have been augmented by references to contemporary discussions on the nexus between the flow of information and authority. Again, however, Walker does justice to the issue in the medieval Islamic milieu. This work is a milestone in the study of Ismāʿīlī Shīʿism.

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LEONARD M. HELFGOTT. *Ties that Bind: A Social History of the Iranian Carpet.* Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution. 1994. Pp. ix, 358. $39.00.

Leonard M. Helfgott's book is a study of the development of the Iranian carpet industry from the fifteenth century to the present. After beginning the volume with the earliest references to Central Asian carpet fragments in the third century B.C., Helfgott focuses on the production of Iranian (primarily Persian) hand-knotted, piled carpets over the last 500 years. He divides the period into three stages of social, economic, and political development: the fifteenth to early eighteenth centuries, generally known as the Safavid period; the early eighteenth to mid-nineteenth centuries, when "Iran remained a backwater in the world economy" (p. 277); and the period from 1875 to the present, when the Iranian carpet industry boomed and usage of piled carpets in Iranian homes became widespread. Helfgott concludes that the Persian carpet industry is a recent phenomenon and "emerged as a result of Iran's incorporation into the modern capitalist system" (p. 277).

As the book's subtitle suggests, Helfgott argues that the study of the Persian carpet "provides a telescopic view of social, cultural, and economic change in Iran [while also showing] the West's increasing economic, political, and cultural influence on Iran, and the changing patterns of taste and consumption in Europe resulting from imports such as the Iranian carpet" (p. 11). He devotes one-third of his work to the impact of the mid-nineteenth-century boom in the Persian carpet trade on Western European elites

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and emerging middle-class tastes. Beginning with the Crystal Palace Exhibition of 1851 and continuing to the San Francisco Panama Pacific International Exhibition of 1915, Europeans and Americans fantasized excessively about the "Orient" and exhibited the Persian carpet alongside the odalisque and languishing concubines that were thought to be so much a part of "Asian" culture. After the rise of world industrial fairs, public museums soon followed as places that enshrined the "primitive" artifacts and curiosities of Iran and other "Oriental" lands.

Interestingly, the fascination with "aboriginal" cultures of Asia and Africa led luxury buyers and museum agents to purchase as many examples as possible of those art forms that industrial Europe itself could not produce, setting off a trade boom in "Oriental art." Thus, Helfgott argues, "the modern carpet industry in Iran" was born, driven less by internal Iranian market or cultural forces and more by new imperialism and the European conviction of its own superiority over other civilizations (p. 125). The South Kensington Museum (now the Victoria and Albert) hired its own agent, Robert Murdoch Smith, whose shopping spree in Iran from 1873 to 1885 did more for the Persian carpet industry than all the years of artisanal production and trade in the royal workshops of Safavid Iran. As a result, the museum massed an excellent and extensive collection of old and new Persian carpets, textiles, and ceramic ware, to the envy of its rivals. Indeed, one of the more fascinating parts of Helfgott's work is his researched account in chapter 5 of Smith's commercial and not-so-commercial dealings with Iranians during his twelve-year buying escapade.

The remaining two-thirds of the book focuses on nomadic, village, and town production of Iranian (Kurdish, Turkic, and Persian) carpets in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Helfgott's chapter "Carpets and the New Iranian Proletariat, 1870–1940" is the best part of the book. Judiciously using the missionary archives of the Church Mission Society in Birmingham and the Presbyterian Historical Society in Philadelphia, he pieces together the history of the women and children weavers in the carpet industries of Hamadan and Kirman. The British and American missionaries in Iran devoted long periods of their lives to medical, educational, and evangelical work: it is their records that uncover the excruciatingly painful costs for the child weavers of Kirman, and their physical deformities that resulted from dawn-to-dusk working hours in damp and cramped underground carpet workshops. Hopefully, Helfgott will research other areas of Iran for that period of Iranian industrialization.

The work is not without its flaws. Except in the book's best chapters, the reader will encounter far too many speculative comments, intriguing but unsubtantiated historical conclusions, and not one picture of a Persian carpet! The maps are more useful for specialists than for the casual reader. The bibliography lacks any Persian sources and misses as well several key publications and dissertations on seventeenth and eighteenth-century trade and nineteenth-century guilds. Written partially as a cultural history of carpet production and partially as a political economy of Iranian carpet trade and markets, Helfgott's book is an encyclopedic work based on secondary materials concerning Iranian carpets, and he offers valuable insights into the Westerner's fascination with the "Oriental objects" of the region. A true social history, however, of early modern and modern Iranian carpet and textile weavers, artisans, and merchants remains unwritten.

THOMAS M. RICKS
Villanova University

DONALD QUATAERT. *Ottoman Manufacturing in the Age of the Industrial Revolution.* (Cambridge Middle East Library, number 30.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xvii, 224. $59.95.

The impact of European industrialization on manufacturing activities in the Middle East continues to be a hotly contested issue. There is little disagreement that Europe, with the technological and organizational advances of the Industrial Revolution, overwhelmed the markets in the region with its products after the middle of the eighteenth century. But the precise manner in which foreign trade interacted with local structures of production and marketing, and especially the reasons why the latter fell behind European industries, remain to be explored.

In this important book, Donald Quataert argues that many contemporary and modern observers of the Ottoman empire were mistaken in thinking that most, if not all, lines of Ottoman industrial activity suffered an absolute decline, not just a relative disadvantage, when confronted with the new European imports. According to Quataert, many of these writers ignored rural areas and urban households where most manufacturing was going on, noticing only the urban guilds and state-sponsored factories more directly affected by the economic difficulties of the Ottoman empire. A concentrated focus on these neglected areas of production reveals not only that many parts of Ottoman manufacturing were able to resist and hold their own against European competition but also that they responded to external pressures by restructuring and expanding their market share in parts of the empire. Quataert finds that certain lines of activity, such as hand-spinning of yarn and production of cloth, expanded by using cheap imported yarn and supplying primarily domestic markets. He also documents a degree of stability and even occasional bursts of growth in the production and export of raw silk, silk cloth, and carpets in the Anatolian provinces.

Several important points that this book raises are likely to be debated for many years to come. Given the level on which Quataert approaches his subject matter, he is forced to be selective about which industries

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and what parts of the Ottoman empire he can reasonably study. But because he does not provide a systematic justification for the particular choices that he has made, we are left to wonder whether his argument would be affected if different activities were included. On a related issue, Quataert wants not only to chronicle the particular lines of activity he studies but also to make broad statements about the "so-called decline" of Ottoman manufacturing in general. The picture that emerges from this study is appropriately ambiguous, however, and does not lend itself readily to such conclusions. Consequently, especially in the concluding chapter of the book, Quataert sometimes makes leaps of faith in the direction opposite that of the earlier decline theorists. Yet the strength of this important book lies not in such inferences, but in the rich descriptions of the diversity and the resourcefulness of Ottoman manufacturers.

As a study that presents a wealth of information about a little-studied aspect of manufacturing in the Ottoman empire, Quataert's book constitutes a major achievement. Those who are interested in industry, industrialization, and European economic influence in the Middle East will ignore this study at their peril.

RESAT KASABA
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LINDA L. LAYNE. *Home and Homeland: The Dialogics of Tribal and National Identities in Jordan.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. xvi, 188. $29.95.

Although Linda L. Layne does not present her theme in quite this way, her book is a creative, informed, and provocative anthropological case study with historical implications addressing the important question of how imagined communities are constructed when the historical materials are slim, the geographical contours ill-defined, and the identities at all levels—personal, community, and state—contested. Layne's substantial achievement is demonstrating that the construction of tribal/national identity is a process going on simultaneously at the domicile ("*'Arab* Architectonics," chaps. 3, 4), local-regional ("Constructing Culture and Tradition in the [Jordan] Valley," chap. 6), national-media ("National Representations: The Tribalism Debate," chap. 5), national-parliamentary ("The Election of Identity," chap. 6), and the state-royal ("Monarchal Posture," chap. 8) levels.

Layne's argument, assuming the work of Benedict Anderson and applying that of M. M. Bakhtin, is that at all these levels Jordanians "define themselves in an environment full of others' definitions" of nation/tribe/self/home (p. 137). Her nonessentialist, posture-oriented approach to tribal/national identity views it as emergent, temporally and spatially, in face-to-face action. Her discussion is most interesting with respect to how the *bayt* (meaning both the home and its occupants), in particular the guest room/space, is continually constructed and reconstructed on the arrival of every group or individual guest (with the rearrangement of mats, pillows, seating places, and hospitality) to take into account relative differences of age, family position, education, and social status. This posture-oriented approach to identity (the Jordanian approach) focuses on the necessity to reaffirm and reconstruct identity on an ongoing daily basis in a personal, "embodied" manner in the context of changing circumstances and uncertain contingencies.

Layne extends this approach to the national level (hence the constant interplay of home/homeland) with the person-to-person mode of politicking exemplified by King Hussein's regular "royal progresses" throughout his kingdom, by which he disburses largess and receives petitions face-to-face in particular local settings. The construction of Jordan's national identity by the king requires skill and tenacity in view of the country's lack of defining historical dynasties or geographic borders, the contested character of tribalism, and the ambiguous relationship of Transjordanians and Palestinians who are at once self and other. The attempt to construct a nation-state on this contradictory and contested basis requires extraordinary products such as the Jordanian one-dinar bill, which simultaneously projects images of King Hussein in Western suit and tie or Jordanian (tribal) shawl and headband depending on how the bill is exposed to the light (p. 154), as well as Romanic (pillars of Jerash) and the Islamic (Dome of the Rock) images. The contested, contingent mode of the construction of Jordan's nation-state tradition is better appreciated by comparing it to M. E. Comb-Schilling's account (*Sacred Performances* [1989]) of the steady, cumulative construction of Morocco's nation-state over a period of more than 800 years on the basis of a continuous series of historic Muslim dynasties and their link to key religious rituals at various societal levels, including the monarchal.

Layne's book could have been enriched and improved, particularly for the nonspecialist reader, if she had provided more ethnographic detail in her discussion of tribalism and monarchy with respect to its manifestation in house, dress (not a single picture of the tribal *dilug* appears), regalia used on public occasions, and other artifacts that are central to her argument. This omission is all the more unusual considering the fact that she organized a splendid photographic exhibition for an international conference in Amman in 1984, composed of the impressive documentation of her own research. Ethnographic and illustrative enrichment would widen the audience for the book and encourage its reproduction in paperback for students in anthropology, sociology, comparative history, political science, and Middle Eastern studies.

RICHARD T. ANTOUN
State University of New York, Binghamton

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ROBERT B. SATLOFF. *From Abdullah to Hussein: Jordan in Transition.* (Studies in Middle Eastern History.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 251. $39.95.

Robert B. Satloff's book documents a fascinating formative period in Jordanian history, the six tumultuous years following King Abdullah's assassination in 1951. During this time Talal briefly reigned and the young Hussein established his rule. John Bagot Glubb, the British commander of the Arab Legion, was dismissed, and the Anglo-Jordanian treaty was abrogated. A new constitution was adopted and the importance of the recently enlarged parliament tested while Jordan maneuvered the treacherous ground between a pro-Western Iraqi/Saudi/Turkish axis and the pro-Soviet Egyptian/Syrian alliance.

Satloff's thesis is that these years were critical to the kingdom not only because the country survived them but also because it was during this period that the successful and enduring formula of king-government-army was established (or reestablished). In particular, he carefully chronicles the central role that a small group of royalists played in maintaining the kingdom during this singular period of weak monarchy.

The book is positivist in approach. In the preface Satloff suggests that if other archives had been available to him, he would have been able to present "the full picture . . . with complete certainty" (p. ix). Although periodically acknowledging that there are multiple indigenous versions of certain events, he adopts the traditional stance of one who believes that to be an outside observer is to be an objective observer. He shows no reflexivity either about his own position or that of the authors on whom he relies. The book, written as a Ph.D. thesis at Oxford, often reproduces the patronizing, colonialist attitude of contemporary British accounts of the period. This is particularly evident in the chapter on Abdullah's reign. There, Britain's imperial "strategy" is repeatedly contrasted with Abdullah's "scheming" to increase his domain.

A similar attitude is apparent in Satloff's conclusion that, because few Jordanians have published on the subject (a questionable assertion according to his own bibliography), "Jordanians are by and large uninformed of their own history" (p. ix) and must depend on Western historians like himself to answer their questions. Given how recent the period in question is, the small size of the country, and the continuing importance of oral history throughout the region, this conclusion is highly questionable.

Satloff's lack of appreciation of the Jordanian cultural context is evident in other ways. For example, one after another of the Jordanian politicians and kings he describes shared an approach to politics: "to avoid confrontation when circumnavigation was possible and to view adversaries as potential allies, not inevitable enemies" (p. 132). But because the book is written in the "great men of history" genre, he fails to consider the fact that this similarity may have less to do with the personalities of the individuals involved than with the culture they share. Nevertheless, anyone interested in Jordan will find this book very valuable, full of fascinating detail of a critical era in the country's history.

LINDA L. LAYNE
Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute

PAULA SANDERS. *Ritual, Politics, and the City in Fatimid Cairo.* (SUNY Series in Medieval Middle East History.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 231. $49.50.

Sources for the history of the Fatimid dynasty and period in Egypt (969–1171) are sparsely preserved. This dearth calls for novel approaches in order to give meaning to what little exists. Paula Sanders's study of court rituals and their political significance answers this call, asking the types of questions European medievalists pose to their own material while at the same time presenting interpretations sensitive to the specificities of the world of Islam.

The Fatimids, Sanders explains, adopted the ceremonial of the Abbasids but made changes in order to strengthen their claims to legitimacy, to disseminate their religious doctrine, and to impress on onlookers their concept of "the Caliph as center." Cairo, the new imperial capital built in 969 next to the old city of Fustat, was created, Sanders argues, as a "ritual city" that gave expression to Fatimid political and religious ideas. Ceremonial in the court, with its seemingly formulaic means of communication and symbolic body language (mounting and dismounting, kissing the ground, rising or sitting, proximity or distance, insignias, clothing worn and bestowed) represented an unspoken language of rank, relative prestige, and patronage. One caliph, al-ʿAziz (975–96), used processions from the palace to the site for festival prayers in order to trace a kind of "urban map" that defined the palace as center and reinforced loyalty to the caliph who resided therein. His successor, al-Hakim (996–1020), extended the ritual city to encompass Fustat. There he built (or completed) new congregational mosques. The one bearing his name displays inscriptions that assert Fatimid imperial authority, Ismāʿīlī legitimacy, and the hierarchical equivalence of this mosque with the premier mosque of Islam in Mecca.

When, in the second Fatimid century, the caliph lost much of his de-facto political power to military viziers and the city grew in size and in ethnic and religious diversity, the "ritual city" was "reinterpreted" in more inclusive Islamic terms featuring rituals with broader appeal, such as banquets and distributions of food on the festivals. An elaborate procession to mark the Islamic New Year, which Sanders describes and "maps" to show the symbolic function of its order, route, and ceremonial details, preserved the "fiction" of the caliph's centrality and headship of

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the state. It also reminded the various and often fractious elements of the military of their subordination to the caliph and his vizier.

These and other illuminating conclusions, the result of close readings of descriptions of Fatimid ceremonials, are the heart and substance of this fine study. Where other historians might be inclined to pass over these accounts, Sanders takes them utterly seriously and infuses them with rich cultural meaning. With an anthropological eye for the deeper significance of surface behavior, she shows that much that is original can be said by applying this method of research to sources of Islamic history that hitherto have not been mined for this kind of social-historical reconstruction.

MARK R. COHEN
Princeton University

BOAZ SHOSHAN. *Popular Culture in Medieval Cairo.* (Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xv, 148. $49.95.

This book explores the religious ideas and cultural practices associated with the common people of the medieval Islamic world. Boaz Shoshan is sympathetic to the recent arguments of cultural historians in other fields that it is difficult if not impossible to draw precise lines between specific cultural phenomena and clearly delineated social groups; that, in other words, "popular culture" may not be a coherent category of analysis. Nonetheless, he insists that it is possible to identify "another" Islam, one produced and consumed by those who were "socially inferior to the bourgeoisie" (p. 7) and who were, presumably, largely illiterate, and one that existed in tension with that defined by the *ʿulamāʾ*, the religious and academic elite.

The subject of "popular culture" is not new to the field of Islamic studies. The Orientalist tradition, going back to Samuel Zwemer, Ignaz Goldziher, and Edward Lane, noted a sphere of religious and cultural practice marginalized and condemned by the dominant Muslim discourse, which shaped the literary record. Shoshan's contribution is distinguished by its focus on a particular time and place. For any study of medieval Islam, Cairo is a logical focus, given the enormous literary and historical legacy of the Mamluk period (1250–1517). One of this book's greatest strengths lies in its author's impressive use of a wide array of primary sources, as well his exhaustive survey of the secondary literature.

Beyond the introduction and the concluding chapter, the book consists of a series of discrete studies. One of the most important common themes is that of the impact of Sufism on popular religious belief and practice. Although the book is not a comprehensive history of mysticism in Egypt, the chapter on "Sufism and the People" is a useful introduction to the growing influence wielded by Sufi shaykhs over the medieval Muslim population.

Perhaps the most intriguing chapter, and the one that will be of most interest to nonspecialists, is that devoted to the festival of Nawrūz, a new year celebration of uncertain origin shared by Muslim and Christian Egyptians. The Nawrūz festivities, which Shoshan describes in colorful detail, bordered on the riotous. Characterized by copious eating and drinking, the exchange of gifts, sexual games, transvestitism, masquerades, and occasional violence, they clearly draw to mind medieval and early modern European carnivals, and the author cites the historical and anthropological studies of James Frazer, Mikhail Bakhtin, Victor Turner, Natalie Davis, and others. Shoshan's analysis, however, does not fully integrate the insights which he extracts from those earlier studies. Having raised the comparative issue and cited (quite rightly) the theoretical models derived from European examples, Shoshan is content to take note of a few parallels and pose a number of questions concerning the Egyptian Nawrūz. Beyond noting that "in medieval Cairo, at least for one day every year, ordinary people 'turned' their universe 'upside down'" (p. 49), the author stops short of a full-fledged explanation of the social meaning of Nawrūz and similar festivals. Much more could be done to ferret out the precise social, religious, and political significance of the festivities in their Cairene context, for example, by considering the peculiarly Islamic characteristics of the relations between religious and secular authority in medieval Egypt.

The author is much more successful in combining a theoretical model derived from European history with the distinctive features of medieval Egyptian society in his analysis of "the politics and 'moral economy' of the Cairene crowd." His success here may stem in part from the fact that he has a useful general model to shape his questions, in the form of Ira Lapidus's groundbreaking *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (1967). Adopting Lapidus's analysis of Islamic urban society, Shoshan draws on the work of E. P. Thompson on eighteenth-century Britain to argue that the grain riots of the Cairene masses suggest that they possessed a deeper political vision than others, including Lapidus, would allow. Shoshan's argument is persuasive, but it also confirms the enduring value of Lapidus's book in providing a comprehensive model that can be tested against specific conditions. With these informative studies, Shoshan provides considerable detail and valuable insights on which future historians can draw in shaping an analysis of religious culture of similar general scope, but much work remains to be done.

JONATHAN P. BERKEY
Davidson College

BETH BARON. *The Women's Awakening in Egypt: Culture, Society, and the Press.* New Haven: Yale University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 259. $27.50.

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Women have been publishing their own journals in Egypt for more than a century. This book examines the first two and a half decades of this history, specifically from 1892 to 1919. At this time women of the minorities, mainly Syrian Christians and to a lesser extent Egyptian Copts, predominated; after the turn of the century a few Egyptian Muslims founded journals. Although most of the journals were short-lived (many lasting only a year or two), fresh journals kept appearing to sustain the tradition. The principal language of the new women's journals was Arabic.

Drawing on the expanding scholarship on the history of women in Egypt and culling the collection of extant women's journals in Dar al-Kutub, the national library in Cairo, Beth Baron has composed a detailed account of the production, consumption, and content of the new women's journals. She illuminates the ingenuity and drive of these pioneering women who carved out new roles for themselves. Putting their educations to work, they catered to a readership that was increasing with the expansion (albeit only slowly under colonial rule) of education for girls in state schools, where they were instructed in Arabic. Baron claims that the journals "set out to educate middle- and upper-class women" (p. 66). Yet most upper-class women of the day were fluent in French but did not read Arabic. Writers produced articles designed to enhance the domestic and family roles of middle-class women (the lives and households of upper-class women were very different). Baron does not point out that at that same moment, when middle-class women were increasingly taking up new work, especially teaching posts, outside the house, the colonial state sought to restrict the entry of Egyptians into teaching positions to protect the monopoly of British women in the state schools. The exaltation of women's domestic roles was thus a conservative project from the perspective of both gender and nation.

Baron places the incipient women's journalism in the context of technological transformation, social change, and the currents of expanding nationalist political cultures. But she fails to situate this new tradition in the context of women's broader literary production, begun two decades before the rise of the women's press when women started publishing books of prose and collections of poetry and contributing to male-run papers and journals. This leads her to assert wrongly that: "This [the generation of the pioneering women journalists] was not only the first generation of literary women, but also the first generation of literate ones" (p. 43). She claims, also incorrectly, that it was with the new women's press that women started signing their names, and that Syrian Christians "probably started using their own names sooner" than Egyptian Copts and Muslims, suggesting a correlation between unveiling and name-signing (p. 47). Before the rise of the female press—and before unveiling began—women such as Muslims Aisha al-Taimuriyah and Zainab Fawwaz signed their names to the books they published and the articles they contributed to male-run journals. Such women were also more radical, calling for an end to domestic seclusion, advocating work outside the house, and even declaring suffragist sentiments. The Egyptian and/or Muslim identity of these women emboldened them to shape a literary culture that demanded change rather than one that endorsed the wider conservative culture with which minority women felt safer.

It is to her credit that Baron recuperates the all-but-forgotten names and pursuits of editors and writers in the women's press of the 1890s and 1900s. She puts it well when she speaks of "the constant hum by a variety of lesser-known and sometimes unknown writers [who] chipped away at certain conventions" (p. 190). But to insist that these women "formed the vanguard of an Arab female intellectual elite and set in motion the women's movement" (p. 193) is to make a claim that neither these women themselves nor the feminists of the 1920s–40s ever made and that an analysis of their movement does not sustain. Pioneering journalists' roles in improving and modernizing the everyday lives of other women of their class, their steadfast championing of female education, and their sustaining of the quotidian literary culture that Baron so sedulously documents is a contribution to the recuperation of middle-class women's gradually expanding everyday lives worthy of historical attention. It is misleading to claim more.

MARGOT BADRAN
Oberlin College

KATE ZEBIRI. *Mahmūd Shaltūt and Islamic Modernism.* New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. vi, 200. $42.00.

A revised version of her doctoral dissertation, this monograph by Kate Zebiri comprehensively treats the religious ideas of Mahmūd Shaltūt (1893–1963), the Egyptian 'alim and Shaykh al-Azhar in the time of Gamal Abdal Nasser.

The primary audience for the book is students of Islamic studies interested in if not partial to Islamic modernism; the Egyptian context of the subject's life and career is alluded to but not developed. What emerges is a discussion on the rising importance of Qur'an commentary in the twentieth century as more people learn to read, its changing character as it finds a mass audience and speaks to their needs. Shaltūt's thematic (as opposed to verse-by-verse) approach to commentary becomes a special focus. Zebiri is also interested in establishing and justifying Shaltūt's importance as a moral force in Egyptian life rather than making claims for the originality of his ideas. The tone of the work is one of nostalgia, as modernism in the Azhar has been so severely challenged and compromised during the Sadat and Mubarak periods following Shaltūt's death. The book might have two other possible audiences, one interested in modern

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Egyptian cultural history, the other in the comparative study of religious modernism.

For Egyptian history, Shaltūt is another example, following that of the great reformer Muhammad ʾAbduh, of a religious intellectual arising in the north of the country, embodying the interests of the more capitalist region against those of the more feudalist south. Shaltūt emerges as a national figure because he was able to function within the idiom of the Qurʾan, which is acceptable to both. Thus, he could discuss but dismiss various tribal practices of retributive justice, which actually exist in Upper Egypt, in the name of his own region's more bourgeois norms. At the same time, by controlling tradition, Shaltūt avoids for the most part becoming a pawn of the pure secularists. Nasser tried to control him, but ultimately dealt with him bureaucratically, making him in his capacity of Shaykh al-Azhar a subordinate to the minister of Awqaf (wills).

The ultimate failure of Shaltūt and his generation, which Zebiri notes, can be explained not so much as a rejection but rather a redefinition of modernism by the ruling class and much of the society along tribal lines as an adjustment to the new world order. The Shariʾa was going to be defined from Asyut and not Alexandria. Shaltūt's region no longer had a clear ascendancy. The middle-class woman of the Nile delta and the Christian community resident in Cairo no longer had the same status that they had in the years before 1970. Looked at in terms of these changing internal dynamics, what one finds is that the old exploitation of the south by the north seemed to be giving way, regardless of whether there was military repression, in the post–1970 period. Here, the comparative dimension—which might bring in Mexico, India, Italy, Brazil, or Spain—could be interesting as these countries have experienced some similar changes.

PETER GRAN
Temple University

KIRK J. BEATTIE. *Egypt during the Nasser Years: Ideology, Politics, and Civil Society.* Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1994. Pp. x, 260. $60.00.

Kirk J. Beattie's book, one of the best studies yet of Egypt's political elite under Gamal Abdul Nasser, builds on previous works that variously emphasized Nasser's personality, cultural factors, class analysis, or combinations thereof. His thesis is that Nasser's "transitional authoritarian" regime, like its old regime predecessor and its modified successor since 1970, failed to establish a Gramscian hegemony (in which other classes accept the legitimacy of ruling-class ideology). Such a "civic hegemony" might have enabled Nasser to lead Egypt to prosperity and independence with only a minimal amount of coercion.

Beattie's main primary sources are the Arabic press and interviews conducted between 1981 and 1993 with over 100 members of the political elite. Many were interviewed more than once, and seven checked his manuscript for accuracy. The author sees four ideologies competing for Egyptians' allegiance from the 1920s to the present: liberal democratic, "Islamic fundamentalist," Marxist, and "transitional authoritarian."

Unable to maintain its balance above these competing camps, the bankrupt monarchy succumbed to a military coup in 1952 (chap. 2). Meanwhile, the Free Officers and their civilian contemporaries had been socialized, in varying degrees, into the competing ideological camps (chap. 3).

Chapters 4 through 7 follow conventional periodization: 1952–54, 1954–60, 1960–67, and 1967–70. In the first period Nasser established his "transitional authoritarian" regime: in the second, he ousted the British-obtained Soviet arms, championed pan-Arabism, and promoted industrialization through free enterprise; in the third, he nationalized large businesses in the name of Arab socialism, deepened his dependence on the Soviets, and continued to champion pan-Arabism. Staggered by the defeat in 1967 by Israel, he spent his last three years rebuilding the army, shoring up his power base, and putting out ambiguous signals about a possible major change of strategy.

Beattie moves surely and systematically through the four periods, with attention to foreign and domestic affairs, military-civilian relations, and the endless maneuvering by which Nasser balanced, coopted, or repressed Marxist, liberal democratic, and "Islamic fundamentalist" alternatives to his regime.

There are a few minor mistakes and misleading statements, mostly on historical background. The Arabs invaded Egypt in A.D. 639, not 696 (p. 18). "Albanian-born" Muhammad Ali, although reputedly of Albanian extraction, was born in Kavala on the Aegean Sea (p. 18). Kamal al-Din Hussein was made minister of education to purge the universities in September 1954, not 1956 (p. 140; the source quoted is in error). The pre–1952 Lawyers' Syndicate did witness serious challenges to Wafdist dominance (p. 138); in 1924, 1937, and 1938 strong-arm governments installed anti-Wafdist heads. "From the Greek invasion in 332 B.C. until 1952, no pure Egyptian had led the country" (p. 18). This formulation, popular with Egyptians and Westerners alike, anachronistically projects twentieth-century nationalist interpretations onto the past; no Egyptian alive in 1000 or 1800 could have understood it.

A more nuanced treatment of Islamists would be helpful. "Islamic fundamentalists" are labeled such without discussion (p. 2), and by implication such actors follow "the reformist Islam of Muhammad ʾAbduh" (p. 140). As in most elite studies, views from below and outside are largely missing. What were peasants, Copts, women, provincials, lower-class urbanites, and most of the *ulema* doing and thinking?

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Nevertheless this is a fine book that greatly enhances our understanding of the Nasser regime.

DONALD MALCOLM REID
Georgia State University

AFRICA

WESTON F. COOK, JR. *The Hundred Years War for Morocco: Gunpowder and the Military Revolution in the Early Modern Muslim World.* (History and Warfare.) Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1994. Pp. xix, 332. $45.00.

The events treated in this book—the overthrow of the Marinid dynasty by the Wattasids and their own subsequent ouster at the hands of the Saʿadians, occurring against the backdrop of Portuguese, Spanish, and Ottoman intervention in Morocco—have been well described in the past. What makes the book nevertheless deserving of attention is the context developed by a scholar who is at once a North Africanist and a military historian. Weston F. Cook, Jr., provides a new perspective by situating the violence that plagued Morocco between roughly 1460 and 1580 in the theoretical frameworks of the "gunpowder revolution" and the "military revolution" that flowed from it.

A practitioner of the new military history, Cook does not confine his attention to the armed forces but utilizes warfare as a prism through which to view, and so better comprehend, other aspects of societal change. Thus, he not only scrutinizes the transformation of the Moroccan army through the Saʿadian adaptation of new weaponry and tactics but also shows how, and with what consequences, Morocco was transformed from a gunpowder state to a gunpowder society. In due course access to the tools of coercion employed by the rulers allowed estranged social groups to press their own demands more effectively. Gunpowder, Cook insists, was the single most decisive factor in this scenario.

Cook's account reveals the inaccuracy of several widely accepted beliefs about this era. Moreover, by explicitly linking events to his theoretical paradigms, he situates them in contexts that suggest new interpretations. Rather than embracing the traditional negative characterization of the late fifteenth century as a depressingly chaotic era of internal strife and disorder, for example, he casts it in more positive terms as a time of invigorating military innovation (accompanied, to be sure, by considerable instability).

In discussing the rise of the Saʿadians as a military power, Cook stresses their predisposition to wrest power from other Moroccan Muslims rather than to challenge the Portuguese. This discredits the view, promoted by Saʿadian propaganda and accepted by many later historians, that Moroccans enthusiastically flocked to the sharifs' banner in appreciation of their proclamation of jihad. Similarly, his demonstration that opposition to the Saʿadians persisted even after their conquest of the Portuguese fortress of Santa Cruz in 1541 indicates that Moroccans did not regard this victory as the landmark later historians made of it. Finally, there can be no doubt, in light of Cook's meticulous review of the diffusion of gunpowder warfare in Morocco, that the concept had Hispano-Maghribi roots definitively putting to rest the argument that the Saʿadians copied this method of fighting from the technologically more sophisticated Ottomans.

The bibliography cites a wide array of primary sources in Arabic and European languages and chapter notes attest to their extensive use. At the same time some relevant secondary works—Mohamed Kably's *Société, pouvoir et religion au Maroc à la fin du Moyen-Age (XIV^{e}–XV^{e} siècle)* (1986) and Pierre Berthier's *La Bataille de l'Oued el-Makhazen* (1985) come to mind—are not listed. A more serious criticism concerns the book's poor editing. The repeated use of "expatriots" when "expatriates" is meant (pp. 6, 199, and 263) illustrates a problem that extends to the improper formation of possessives (pp. 30, 276, and 286), too many misspellings to catalogue, and numerous sentences that are either grammatically incorrect or make no sense as written. These flaws do a great injustice to an otherwise commendable study whose innovative focus enhances our understanding of early modern Moroccan history.

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DOUGLAS H. JOHNSON. *Nuer Prophets: A History of Prophecy from the Upper Nile in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries.* (Oxford Studies in Social and Cultural Anthropology.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xx, 407. $59.00.

"The example of the Nuer suggests that no society is so bounded as to be incapable of producing its own prophets; that where religion incorporates the visions of a prophet, it can be said to be a revealed religion; and where there is prophecy, there is also history" (p. 356). Thus Douglas H. Johnson concludes his long-awaited study of the Nuer, a Nilotic people of the Sudan. His conclusion reveals much about the strengths of the book and the weaknesses inherent in the method premodern Nuer history requires of its practitioners.

What little the outside world has known of the Nuer comes mainly from nineteenth-century travelers' accounts and twentieth-century anthropologists. To all of these, including E. E. Evans-Pritchard and historians of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium (myself included), Johnson provides a corrective. A premise of this book is that ignorance led earlier investigators, writers, and governments to depict Nuer prophets as usurpers or as figures thrown up by crisis; Johnson tries to see the Nuer through their own eyes. His main arguments and narrative reconstructions are convincing. He has marshaled the few flawed published

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sources, the more copious but unreliable archives of the Condominium, and an array of oral sources to produce the most detailed study of Nuer history to date.

The book is carefully constructed in three parts. "Prelude" deals with the nineteenth century and, very tentatively, earlier history. Part 2, "Prophets," focuses on the careers of Ngundeng, Deng Laka, Guek Ngundeng, Dual Diu, and other prophets. Part 3, "Prophecy," deals with prophets and prophecy in the late-colonial period and since the Sudan's independence and analyzes their continuing role in Nuer society. Appendixes provide population data and lists of Nuer divisions and age-sets. There is an extensive bibliography.

A short review precludes detailed comment on Johnson's findings. It may be appropriate to raise and illustrate a general question about methods. The conclusion quoted exemplifies Johnson's careful phrasing, which reliance on oral sources requires. It is sadly ironic that, as a bibliographic note confirms, much of the material Johnson himself collected and deposited in the Southern Records Office in Juba may now have been lost.

Even after the greatest care has been taken in collecting, recording, and analyzing oral sources, however, the historian must strain to extract information from them. Johnson states, for instance, that "We can expect to find something of the essence of what was said, and what was understood, as well as, perhaps, what was misunderstood" (p. 33). A great range of reliability is encompassed in that "something." If "linguistic evidence *suggests* [my emphasis] that there has been a considerable overlaying of peoples and languages," "must" the "most recent movements of Western Nilotic societies . . . be recognized as modern representations of a far older pattern" (p. 37)? If oral traditions only "*suggest* [my emphasis] processes of amalgamation" (p. 40), can we conclude that these occurred even before the nineteenth century (p. 45)? How do we know that Garang Ngundeng was "not senile when he spoke" (p. 34)? The problems posed by the fact that sources for Ngundeng's life are "exclusively oral" (p. 73) are evident in Johnson's tentativeness about, for example, the number of the prophet's wives and the significance of that number (p. 110). Again, in a few sentences we have a range of qualifiers: "According to the Lou . . . apparently there were some . . . The story was never told to me by Gaawar, though some must have known it . . . The Gaawar stories . . . suggests [*sic*] . . . Deng Laka did essentially the same thing, but this implies . . . It is uncharacteristic of all else we know . . . but it is evidence of the rivalry that is implicit" (p. 151).

It is not timidity but the sources themselves that require such hedging. And when arguing "if a, then b, and therefore c," Johnson is usually careful to admit that "a" cannot be proved. But when others' research, also based on oral sources and perhaps less careful than Johnson's, forms the basis for discussion, we are left on softer ground: "if x is correct in asserting a, then b, and therefore c" (see, for instance, after p. 52). It is the dilemma of the unverifiable source, and thus the unreproducible result, that attends so much use of oral sources. Johnson's persuasiveness depends partly on his own meticulous use, here and previously, of documentary sources.

Although even the most pedantic disciple of Leopold von Ranke might not today argue that the Nuer, or any other people, have no history, questions remain about what methods are used to examine it. Reluctance to approach African history has not been entirely dismissive or even simply lazy but has stemmed in part from the lack of sources that have at some point been rendered in a definite form and been made available to check; archival history reveals its own means of correction. Although Johnson's admirable work has done more than anyone else's to explain Nuer history to the world, its limits are tantalizing, for there is so much that cannot be known.

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Patrick Harries. *Work, Culture, and Identity: Migrant Laborers in Mozambique and South Africa, c. 1860–1910.* (Social History of Africa.) Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann or Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg, or James Currey, London. 1994. Pp. xxiii, 305. Cloth $50.00, paper $22.95.

This book makes a welcome contribution to the labor history of southern Africa. To a greater extent than any previous author, Patrick Harries examines both the rural and urban ends of the migrant labor system that has underpinned the economy of South Africa from the late nineteenth century to the present. African workers, impoverished by a combination of colonial land alienation and taxation, and in the case of Mozambicans subjected to the even more overtly forced labor policies of the Portuguese, have labored for over a century in South Africa's mines and cities, have been discriminated against throughout on the basis of their color, have been paid meager wages, and have been treated as ascriptive criminals by a police state. Given the harshness of these conditions, Harries's achievement lies in illuminating the reasons why people engaged in migrant labor, demonstrating how they used what limited power they had to structure the worlds in which they lived and worked, and assessing the impact of migrant labor on their home communities.

Harries argues that Africans in southern Mozambique at first regarded migrant labor "as a new and welcome resource in the struggle against nature" (p. 226). Living in an environment beset by seasonal food shortages and cyclical famines, they migrated initially to hunt and trade, but, from the 1860s onward,

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increasingly to labor in South Africa's growing economy, first in the sugar plantations of Natal, later in the diamond mines of Kimberley and the gold mines of the Witwatersrand. In an extended discussion focusing on such matters as the adoption of new names and styles of clothing, conversion to Christianity, and, above all, the development of new forms of ethnic identity, the author describes vividly how migrant workers in the industrial towns of Kimberley and Johannesburg "appropriated, mobilised, forged, and assembled a variety of cultural symbols and markers in their attempt to construct a world that was both familiar and secure" (p. 49). The wages repatriated by these workers to their rural homes initially set in process "a certain prosperity" (p. 81) in southern Mozambique, marked by agricultural innovation (especially the adoption of hoes), increased productivity, and the development of a money-based system of exchange.

Yet such relative prosperity and social autonomy did not endure. Beset by rapid inflation and increasing consumerism, southern Mozambicans invested more and more of their time and energy in migrant labor at the expense of their agriculturally based export economy. At much the same time—the late nineteenth century—mine employers and politicians in South Africa successfully undercut the bargaining strength of migrant workers, particularly through the institution and enforcement of racially discriminatory laws and employment practices. In southern Mozambique, the Portuguese extended through conquest the area under colonial rule and paid for their endeavors by entering labor contracts with the South African gold mines to sell "Mozambican labor at bargain-basement prices" (p. 226) with the costs of this labor being borne by the miners (through low wages) and the homestead economy (with the loss of profits repatriated by the miners). The legacy for the twentieth century was rural impoverishment and real wages that were lower eighty years after the inauguration of mining than they had been at the beginning of South African industrialization.

Harries's work is based on extensive research. His chapters on Mozambique depend more on archival research in Europe and South Africa (although none in Mozambique itself), while his discussion of Kimberley and the Witwatersrand uses mainly published primary sources and secondary works and makes little use of archival materials. He makes some use of oral interviews with old mine workers, but these are relatively few and far between. Given recent political changes in South and southern Africa, other researchers might well be able to make greater use of oral evidence in carrying on Harries's task of reconstituting the "mental world" (p. 16) of migrant workers.

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JOSHUA N. LAZERSON. *Against the Tide: Whites in the Struggle against Apartheid.* Boulder, Colo.: Westview or Mayibuye, Bellville, South Africa. 1994. Pp. xvii, 289. $39.95.

Joshua N. Lazerson tells the story of radical whites in the struggle against apartheid from 1948 to the early 1960s, concentrating on the Communist Party, the Springbok Legion, the Congress of Democrats, and Umkhonto we Sizwe. Unfortunately, he fails to place these bodies in the context of the whole white opposition to apartheid as the title requires. In a study of radicals, liberals have to be included because the conflict with them is important, but the material on liberals here is an undocumented characterization of most of them as co-opters and segregationists (pp. 19, 29). In the 1950s, the Liberal Party was, it seems, slow to see its duty: "Only in 1960 did it move to an acceptance of the unqualified franchise" (p. 7); it was also "rabidly anti-communist" (p. 8). Later in the work, however, the author deals with liberals and the Liberal Party in a more even-handed way (pp. 205–17).

Liberals and radicals joined together in the 1960s but many faced the difficulties of whites in escaping from habits of command over blacks. In "A Collective Biographical Sketch" of "Jews," "Afrikaners and Other Heretics," and "British Immigrants," Lazerson gives us a great deal of biographical material, but he draws no historical conclusions from it. He writes of the "British Immigrants," Helen Joseph and Trevor Huddleston: "If there is a commonality that binds them, it is the process by which each was revealed to him or herself in the process of serving others" (p. 111). "Ultimately," he writes, "South Africa's white radicals were liberating themselves" (p. 239). Nonracialism was achieved by "living it" (pp. 145–55, 262). This psychological thesis is alluded to several times but never established by disciplined use of evidence. At the end of this work we are no nearer to knowing what made some whites radical and others liberal than we were at the beginning.

There were important substantive issues between liberals and radicals. Lazerson deals with the radical position on African majority rule at length, but he gives virtually no attention to communism or to the Soviet Union. The liberal refusal to join an alliance that included communists was not simply a matter of political aversion. In the aftermath of the collapse of communism we might say that the liberals were making the right choice and may have had some influence in the African National Congress' retention of a non-Marxist position.

There are serious technical weaknesses in this book. The sources used are overwhelmingly from the organizations he has chosen, and there is no use of newspapers, parliamentary debates, or minutes of public bodies; events are frequently undated. There are also serious mistakes that make one uneasy as to the author's knowledge of South African history: the

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"Left Book Club" (p. 86)—later (p. 124) the "Left Club" without explanation—was not merely a Johannesburg body; Standerton was not a "liberal district" of Johannesburg (p. 35); there was no "Tembuland African representative seat" in 1929 (p. 16); Margaret Ballinger makes an unexplained move from "left-liberal" in the 1930s (p. 18) to "a leading Liberal Party conservative" in the 1950s (p. 166).

This is not an authoritative narrative of "Whites in the Struggle against Apartheid"; it is a readable and partisan account of a group of radical whites who deeply impressed a generation of African nationalists, including Nelson Mandela. These radicals and their successors play a significant role in the new South Africa, and will do so in the future, but that role will not be uncontested by liberals and by others. The history of the early days of that contest has still to be written.

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ASIA

D. E. MUNGELLO. *The Forgotten Christians of Hangzhou.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 248. $36.00.

Scholars have usually concluded that the Jesuits had a limited impact on China, in part because Christianity met with insurmountable cultural barriers to its assimilation. D. E. Mungello acknowledges the limitations of the Jesuit enterprise in China, but he takes issue with the conventional view. This book is his rebuttal, a work that, despite its economy, describes a heretofore hidden world of fruitfully interactive Chinese-Jesuit relations.

Mungello's book represents a different order of scholarship from the works of his predecessors. Instead of concentrating, as most historians have, on the first generation of China-based Jesuit missionaries, and especially Matteo Ricci (1552–1610), he focuses on the activities of two representatives of the second generation, Martino Martini (1614–61) and Prospero Intorcetta (1625–96), and one of their Chinese converts, Zhang Xingyao (1633–ca. 1715). Moreover, whereas most scholars have chosen Beijing as their primary geographical locus (because it was Ricci's), Mungello fully establishes the importance of the overshadowed Jesuit center of Hangzhou, a city that was nearly Beijing's southern equal at that time.

Mungello further departs from convention through his expressed aim, "to retrieve these forgotten Christians of Hangzhou from their obscurity" (p. 9), and the stylistic devices he adopts to achieve it. His book consists of seven chapters composed of two dissimilar forms of writing. The first form is more or less straightforward historical discourse, but informed by unconventional sources of data. Chief among these is the store of manuscripts housed at the former Jesuit library of Zikawei (Xujiahui) in Shanghai, a resource that has only become available to Western scholars in the last decade. He has also incorporated references to many extant sites and artifacts associated with his subjects. The equally engaging second form of writing consists of Mungello's own impressionistic elaborations on the meditations attributed (although unverifiably) to his three central figures. Cognizant that this is a risky strategy, he exercises considerable care in distinguishing this form and restraint in the extent to which he employs it. Consequently, these "imaginative reconstructions" (p. 9) are employed to great advantage and effect.

Ultimately Mungello attempts to construct a narrative by interweaving the threads of his subjects' three lives. The only problem is that his construction too often presents us with the forced intersections of the lives of three men whose paths hardly crossed. Predictably, the Chinese Christian Zhang Xingyao was most remote from the others. As Mungello himself observes, Zhang "displayed a remarkable lack of interest in Jesuits as individuals" (p. 111). The danger in this and similar observations is that they jeopardize the fundamental contention, the argument for "inculturation," or the absorption of Christianity to such a degree that it led to cultural transformation (a Jesuit theory of the 1970s in itself). It would seem instead that the Jesuit promotion of Christianity in China after Ricci was hampered precisely by the failure of its adherents—both European and Chinese—to fully bridge the cultural chasm as individuals. Although Zhang's efforts were considerable (Mungello goes so far as to designate him as one of Chinese Christianity's founders), he neither understood the motives of nor engaged in any genuine dialogue with the emissaries of his faith. Zhang's Chinese church, like many others, was a congregation in isolation. One fateful consequence was that, from the mid-seventeenth to the early eighteenth century, China as a whole remained as impervious to the influence of the Christian movement as Zhang was to the earnest men who brought their faith to his very gate.

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MARIE-CLAIRE BERGÈRE. *Sun Yat-sen.* Paris: Fayard. 1994. Pp. x, 543. 160 fr.

This is a welcome addition to a popular French series of biographies that has otherwise given scant attention to the non-Western world. The only other East Asian leader who has received recognition in the collection, which to date numbers almost 150 volumes, is the Japanese unifier Hideyoshi Toyotomi. The publishers could not have come up with a better choice to contribute a biography of Sun Yat-sen to the series than Marie-Claire Bergère, whose previous work on the Chinese bourgeoisie during and after the Revolution of 1911 is well known to scholars in the English-speaking world.

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Bergère's biography stands up well when compared with the two other relatively recent studies of the figure, C. Martin Wilbur's *Sun Yat-sen: Frustrated Patriot* (1976) and Harold Z. Schiffrin's *Sun Yat-sen: Reluctant Revolutionary* (1980). First of all, Bergère's study is a third longer than either of the other two. This additional length has allowed her to treat Sun's often complicated life more leisurely and in greater detail than they; for example, she devotes several pages to the scandal surrounding his marriage to Song Qingling in 1914, when he was already married and she was less than half his age, whereas Wilbur and Schiffrin each spent no more than a paragraph discussing Sun's personal life. Bergère's study is also more evenly paced than the other two. Schiffrin paid somewhat greater attention to Sun's early years, culminating in the formation of the revolutionary Tongmenghui in 1905, while Wilbur overwhelmingly focused on Sun's later (specifically, post–1917) years, leading to his collaboration with the Communists. Bergère, however, divides Sun's life into three periods (1866–1905, 1905–20, and 1920–25) and gives equal weight to each.

Moreover, Bergère is more balanced and judicious than her two recent predecessors in her treatment of Sun. She is not so harshly critical as Schiffrin, nor so respectful as Wilbur. She takes Sun seriously not only as a man of action but also as a man of ideas; indeed, she explicitly deplores the widespread disinterest among most Western scholars in his thought. Thus, she devotes an entire fifty-page chapter to an explication and analysis of Sun's famous lectures of 1924 on the "Three Principles of the People." Schiffrin, however, spent only five pages on the lectures and dismissed them as tedious, disorganized, and full of errors and inconsistencies.

To Bergère, Sun was more than the hapless adventurer and impractical dreamer most Western scholars (unlike, it should be noted, most Chinese scholars on both sides of the Taiwan straits) have portrayed him in the past. Bergère, writing from the perspective of post-Mao China, sees Sun as a prescient anticipator of Deng Xiaoping's "Four Modernizations." Like Deng, Sun had grandiose plans for China's economic development, and he often went to shameless lengths to solicit foreign assistance to try to bring those plans to fruition. Sun's plans, like those in present-day China, emphasized the development of the coastal regions of Guangdong and Shanghai at the expense of the interior. Under Deng Xiaoping, in short, Sun Yat-sen has achieved a historical relevance that he lacked during the era of Mao Zedong.

Bergère's biography is largely a work of synthesis rather than a product of fresh archival research. She draws most heavily on a wide range of European-language monographs, including the above-cited works of Schiffrin and Wilbur and her own earlier work. The major Chinese-language source she cites throughout is Sun's *Complete Works*, which she uses primarily to trace the evolution of his thought. The only references to unpublished materials are French diplomatic and military archives concerning Sun's dealings with the French from 1902 to 1906. Nevertheless, although the book may contain little new information, Bergère's is now the best Western-language account of Sun Yat-sen's life.

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ODORIC Y. K. WOU. *Mobilizing the Masses: Building Revolution in Henan.* Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1994. Pp. viii, 477. $49.50.

Odoric Y. K. Wou's treatment of the Chinese Communist movement in Henan province sets a high standard for scholarship in the field. This book has many merits: meticulous use of a variety of understudied archives, effective and knowledgeable deployment of theoretical ideas that have come to shape current thinking about peasant mobilization, and an admirable ability to weave together an account of this twenty-five-year period that makes sense of the story.

Wou begins his treatment of the mobilization that led to the Communist revolution with the May Thirtieth Movement in 1925. Focusing on Henan, he attempts to uncover the complex set of factors that permitted the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) to mobilize mass support for its program. He emphasizes organizational and political factors in his account: the strategies and organizational resources through which the CCP was able to move ordinary workers and peasants from concern with local interests to adherence to a national program. Wou provides fascinating detail concerning Communist efforts to mobilize miners, workers, Red Spears, bandits, and peasants in Henan.

The book makes plain the daunting challenges that confronted Communist cadres in their efforts to mobilize support at the village level: mistrust of outsiders, the entrenched political power of elites, and the localism of peasant interests in the region. Wou describes a social-political environment in the countryside that is reminiscent of Philip Kuhn's account (*Rebellion and Its Enemies in Late Imperial China: Militarization and Social Structure, 1796–1864* [1980]) of the processes of local militarization during the Taiping rebellion, in which elite-dominated militias evolved as an institution of self-defense against bandits and sectarian organizations. One of Wou's most interesting and surprising findings is his contention that mobilization in Henan was not centered in remote and backward border areas but rather included both remote areas and commercialized peasant villages (p. 129).

Wou makes an effort to crack the riddle of peasant mentality in China. Are peasants inherently conservative? Are they latently revolutionary, awaiting only the clarion call of revolution? Both and neither, appears to be Wou's assessment (p. 161). He notes a popular

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equalitarianism in Chinese peasant culture that provides a basis for Communist mobilization around an ideology of redistribution (p. 151), but equally he finds an entrenched hierarchism in Chinese popular culture that made subversion of elite power more difficult for Communist cadres (p. 135).

The second half of the book treats the substantially changed political environment created for the CCP by the Sino-Japanese War. Guomindang power virtually collapsed in Henan, and the Japanese occupied the eastern portion of the province in 1938. The three-way struggle between the Japanese, the Guomindang, and the Communist Party gave the party new opportunities for mobilization against both its enemies. Here again, however, Wou makes the important point that structural circumstance—military fragmentation of society in this case—only provides the opening to successful mobilization, not its sufficient condition. The organizational and strategic competence of the CCP was needed to make effective use of these new opportunities for mobilization. Successful play of the game of coalition politics gave the Communists important advantages during this period and created a position of strength that contributed substantially to the postwar success of the movement.

A central tenet of Wou's analysis is the importance of Communist efforts to improve material conditions of life for the populations it aimed to mobilize. Famine relief, formation of production cooperatives, and the revival of the silk industry represented efforts by the party to demonstrate its ability to provide tangible benefits for local communities (pp. 314–26). These efforts had at least two beneficial effects: they provided material incentives to prospective followers, and, less tangibly, they enhanced confidence among villagers in the competence and endurance of the party.

In short, this is a highly successful book. Wou does an admirable job of drawing together a wide range of sources to construct a narrative of the process of revolutionary mobilization in Henan province. Along the way he illuminates many of the issues of collective action and revolutionary politics that have enlivened much of the recent literature on peasant politics. This book is a singularly capable contribution to our understanding of the century's most enduring revolutionary movement.

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EUGENE WILLIAM LEVICH. *The Kwangsi Way in Kuomintang China, 1931–1939.* (Studies on Modern China.) Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe. 1994. Pp. xx, 363. $55.00.

Eugene William Levich's work adds to the number of much-needed studies of Chinese provinces in historical contexts. The book provides a trove of facts showing a multifaceted Kwangsi that was poor in 1931 and, although reorganized efficiently by its military triumvirate, economically still "an underdeveloped province within an underdeveloped country" in 1939. To focus on reform and reconstruction in the period from 1931 to 1939 is especially challenging because historians must account for the disruptions caused by Japanese aggression, obstacles that were also faced by the Nanking regime and China as a whole. Although Levich excuses the inability of the regime of Kwangsi Generals Li Tsung-jen, Pai Ch'ung-hsi, and Huang Hsu-ch'u to meet goals as a consequence of the war and the world depression, he accepts General Li's blaming of China's failures on the corrupt administration of Chiang Kai-shek. Similarly, Levich accepts Li's questionable self-praise for his role in decisive victories in the Northern Expedition and against Japan.

Levich incorporates a wide range of details into this book, organizing the material topically with sections treating the militias, education, and mass mobilization in the reformed provincial system, especially at the rural village level. He asserts that during less-violent times the Kwangsi way might have been a model for rural China. The complexities Levich presents in this one-province study are, perhaps like China itself, fraught with inconsistencies.

Although the Kwangsi generals mouthed the slogans of Sun Yat-sen's Three People's Principles in criticizing Nanking, in practice they followed their own Three Policies of Self-Reliance. The Kwangsi way, the leaders claimed, followed more closely Sun's ideal of people's democracy than did Chiang Kai-shek, who "did not know how to obtain the support of the masses" (p. 52). The oligarchs used the corporationist groupings derived from ancient models, however, to speed their plans and orders downward from the state center through district, village, and *pao-chia.* Furthermore, according to Levich, the clique could negate any bills passed by elected district assemblies (p. 95), although he presents no evidence of peasant spokesmen persuading the rulers to meet particular peasant interests.

Although self-government was espoused for rural townships and villages, their headmen were appointed from above. Provincial officials did graduate from a new militia academy, and some of them entered through a competitive entrance exam, but others came recommended by local officials in the manner of the Han dynasty. Levich states that the Kwangsi Clique "remained democratic, reasonable, enlightened, pragmatic and anti-obscurantist" (pp. 52–53). Numerous pre-Sung political traditions that Levich says inspired their militias and village institutions contradict this vision of the Kwangsi regime as a modernizing force.

Was the clique more successful in economic modernization? The "Basic Program for Kwangsi Reconstruction" of 1934, translated as appendix A, sets forth its goal to "mutually advance agriculture and industry" toward "full industrialization." It is difficult to evaluate the results, however, when, on the one

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hand, the reader is warned against concluding that the clique desired an independent autarkic agrarian economy (p. 228) and, on the other hand, is told that it chose an economic policy that included "protectionism" and "autarky," which reduced Kwangsi imports dramatically (p. 229).

The province-run Nan-ning Spinning and Dyeing Works, a cotton textile factory, should have provided evidence of the extent of self-reliance and industrialization, because cotton cloth and yarn dominated imports before the reforms. After the reforms the mill appears as the largest provincial industry, its female employees among the highest paid Kwangsi workers. Whether the replacement of imports with Nan-ning factory's cotton cloth and yarn succeeded in making Kwangsi self-sufficient, however, is left unanswered, and Levich does not present data on vital raw cotton in either his description of the province-wide agricultural co-ops that increased rice and sugar production or an analysis of imports. Officials, militia members, and well-fed peasants are merely described as dressed in gray cottons, some of which were factory-produced.

If steering researchers toward such topics is Levich's goal, then the book heightens awareness of a lesser-known province that was something other than a model for modernization.

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JAMES HAYES. *Tsuen Wan: Growth of a "New Town" and Its People.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xx, 227. $49.95.

Tsuen Wan is a small bay lying just north and west of Kowloon in Hong Kong's New Territories. Before the British acquired their ninety-nine-year leasehold on the New Territories in 1898, it was a sparsely populated subdistrict by Guangdong province inhabited by about 3,000 people. The largest settlement was a fishing and market village surrounded by Hakka lineages living in compact settlements; pineapples were the dominant commercial crop. Today Tsuen Wan designates a much smaller district that became a working-class suburb of Kowloon in the 1950s, complete with its own factories. In the 1980s, after construction of the northwest terminus for the Hong Kong subway, the inhabitants became much more middle class. The press for land led to filling much of the old bay and it now boasts dozens of high-rise office and apartment towers. The hills seem to place limits on how far urbanization can penetrate, but the subway and multilane freeways make the lives of most of Tsuen Wan's 720,000 inhabitants an extension of crowded, vibrant Hong Kong.

James Hayes writes the history of Tsuen Wan district in the well-established tradition of Dutch and British colonial officer scholars. As a Hong Kong civil servant, Hayes worked in the newly established district office in the late 1950s and from 1975 to 1982 directed all the governmental affairs of the area as Tsuen Wan's District Officer and Town Manager. Over the years, he took a great interest in historians and social scientists who studied the Hakka communities and history of the area. He contributed several articles to academic collections on the history of Qing administration in Guangdong and early British governance of Hong Kong. This volume draws on those studies, and he adds a great deal of personal experience with local inhabitants, although these fall short of the classic account by Austin Coates, *Myself a Mandarin* (1969), who served as Special Magistrate in Tsuen Wan area before the district was created in 1957. Hayes discusses at length the problems of removal and relocation of existing factories, homes, and farms during the development of various phases in the New Town plans and is generally at his best when giving voice to the style of the soon-to-end Hong Kong colonial government. Because of the magnitude and rapidity of change in Tsuen Wan and its life as an appendage of Hong Kong, there is no real coherence to the place as a community, although Hayes does show how elements of the old culture survive. The volume provides a case study for comparison with similar transformations of exurban lands around urban cores in Singapore and Taiwan, as well as with the enormous transformation of cities in the People's Republic of China that has begun only in the last decade.

DAVID D. BUCK
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ANTHONY SWEETING. *A Phoenix Transformed: The Reconstruction of Education in Post-War Hong Kong.* (East Asian Historical Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. viii, 283. $49.95.

The Hong Kong school system provides an interesting contrast with the American system and, as Anthony Sweeting points out, it is necessary to understand its complexity in order to appreciate the history of education in Hong Kong. During the decade from 1945 to 1954 one educational stream consisted of government schools and grant schools, both of which received funds from the government but maintained their own administration and individuality. These schools were highly academic, Eurocentric, and largely male-oriented. A second stream included subsidized schools, which were funded at a lower rate and were predominately rural, and private schools, which were mainly urban, profit-making ventures. Chinese was ordinarily the medium of instruction in the second stream and, although these schools provided primary education for a high proportion of the Chinese pupils, they were often substandard and poorly equipped.

Sweeting's focus is the process of policy making in the reconstruction of Hong Kong's educational system during the decade after the devastation of World

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War II and Japanese occupation. In addition to the multifaceted school system, there were numerous agencies and individuals participating in the planning process: the Hong Kong governor, the director of education, the board of education, the British Colonial Office, Sir Man Kam Lo of the Legislative Council, Bishop R. O. Hall and Father T. F. Ryan (who spoke for the prestigious grant schools), the Chinese constituency, and the Hong Kong Teachers' Association, among others.

Other factors also came into play. For example, Sweeting notes the overwhelming influx of mainland refugees, initially considered as temporary residents, for whom the Hong Kong government had little responsibility. Only gradually did they become accepted as permanent citizens requiring housing, medical care, and schooling. The Cold War impinged on educational policy, and Sweeting includes a revealing chapter on attempts to eliminate politics in the schools, first on the part of the Guomindang but increasingly by the Chinese Communist Party. Worldwide decolonization and uncertainty regarding Hong Kong's future were ever-present shadows. Above all, financial considerations imposed constraints that were more often than not decisive. Crisis management, more than long-term planning, characterized the educational scene. The dramatic improvements, both qualitative and quantitative, between 1945 and 1954 nevertheless justify this book's title.

Although Sweeting has relied heavily on official documents, he supplements these with oral sources and detailed case studies. Certain problems remain, however. Sweeting's organization leads to considerable repetition, with separate chapters on control of education through fees, scholarships, assistance, and examinations, and "Findings" at the end of each chapter that repeat his thesis and even some data concerning the multiple influences on policy making. It is somewhat surprising that Sweeting mentions only briefly the changes in Hong Kong's economy during the decade and their relation to education. Also, he spells out in detail the mechanics of his research methodology and interpretive process; some scholars will doubtless appreciate this, but some may find it a bit tiresome.

Sweeting's conclusions are important for anyone interested in Hong Kong's education, past or present. He argues convincingly that the basis for Hong Kong's school system for the remainder of the twentieth century was laid down during the crucial postwar decade. He illustrates London's declining role and the growing significance of the Hong Kong environment in policy formation. Centralization, tighter government control, and a trend toward amalgamation of the Chinese and Anglo-Chinese streams characterized the period. With bureaucratization came tension between claims of autonomy and pressures for accountability. Those who desire information on the present concerns and possible problems with the approach of 1997 and the union of Hong Kong with China should read Sweeting's work.

Jessie G. Lutz
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E. Bruce Reynolds. *Thailand and Japan's Southern Advance 1940–1945.* New York: St. Martin's. 1994. xvi, 334. $49.95.

The pedestrian, even dreary chronicle in this book's early chapters effectively camouflages a major new history of wartime Thailand, one with broad implications for our assessment of Japan's impact on the whole of Southeast Asia. After a dutiful recitation of Thai-Japanese relations in the sixteenth century, E. Bruce Reynolds fast-forwards to Thai-Japanese relations in the 1930s, with the sort of obligatory quotations from cable traffic that can make diplomacy seem soporific. Once we reach late 1941, with war on the horizon, the book comes alive as a fascinating account of Thai political maneuvering during World War II. Drawing on rich archival sources in Washington, Tokyo, and Bangkok, Reynolds provides us with the fullest account to date of Thailand's illusory wartime diplomacy. Rejecting the image of Premier Phibun Songkhram, Thailand's wartime leader, as a Siamese Quisling and Thai policy as simply opportunistic, Reynolds instead dissects the country's successful "bamboo diplomacy." Whereas powerful nations had the luxury of principle, Thailand proved remarkably supple as it shifted by necessity from British protection to Japanese empire to American alliance.

Indeed, Phibun emerges from this account as a skillful diplomat who assayed every eddy of history's flow to preserve his country's autonomy and advance his own peculiar vision of its destiny. Even after using Japan's mediation to extract "lost territories" from French Indochina, Phibun was reluctant to support Japan's southern advance into Southeast Asia and pressed the British to guarantee Thailand's security. When Japanese troops entered Thailand on December 8, 1941, Phibun allowed armed confrontations that made his later alliance with Tokyo seem ambiguous, even forced. After the war turned against Japan in 1943, Phibun distanced himself from Tokyo, embracing a chimerical "Petachabun strategy" that would first withdraw the capital to an inland redoubt and then launch a revolt against the Japanese occupation. In this shift, the premier abandoned his deputy finance minister, Wanit Pananon, to a corruption investigation that ended when the most pro-Japanese of Thailand's senior officials hanged himself in prison.

Outraged at Phibun's betrayal of Thailand's closest ally, the Japanese prodded his main rival, the regent Pridi Phanomyong, into toppling the premier from power, even as Pridi himself was actively plotting espionage and uprisings to take his country into the Allied camp. Although Phibun had won great power

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as both premier and supreme commander, Bangkok politics remained fluid and kaleidoscopically complex in ways that eluded the Japanese militarists. In the last year of war, Bangkok's leaders, with thespian flair, acted out a "charade" that extended generous war credits to feed the 100,000 Japanese troops in Thailand and simultaneously sought links to the Allies. While preserving public amity with the Japanese, Pridi sent the Thai army's chief-of-staff to Ceylon on a British seaplane for a secret meeting at Allied headquarters and constructed clandestine runways to receive U.S. arms for anti-Japanese guerrillas.

Throughout the war senior Japanese officials in Bangkok, like their superiors in Tokyo, behaved in ways that "demonstrate the falsity of claims that Japan went to war to liberate Asia" (p. 233). As master of Southeast Asia in early 1942, Japanese emissaries in Bangkok imposed harsh terms on their nominal allies in negotiations over wartime finance and developed plans for their permanent dominance of the Thai economy. In December such arrogance toward the Thai finally erupted in a bloody incident at Ban Pong, near the Burma-Thai railway line, where mobs of Thai laborers armed only with sticks and knives battled Japanese infantry. Subsequent defeats in the Pacific war forced some humility on the Japanese in Thailand, but relations were still tense and the two armies remained at the edge of armed confrontation for the rest of the war.

Through this account, richly documented and carefully argued, we gain valuable new insight into the complexities of politics in wartime Thailand. In sparse yet eloquent prose, Reynolds gives us vivid descriptions of the Japanese invasion, deft analysis of Bangkok's wartime intrigues, and thoughtful reflections on their implications for Japan's larger role in wartime Asia. This careful critique of Japan's arrogance and ambitions toward a close Asian ally should give pause to those who would treat Japan's wartime occupation of Southeast Asia purely in terms of pan-Asian idealism.

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JAMES FRANCIS WARREN. *Ah Ku and Karayuki-san: Prostitution in Singapore 1870–1940.* (South-East Asian Social Science Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xvii, 433. $65.00.

James Francis Warren's work explores the lives of the "little people" who built modern Singapore: the men who gave their labor as coolies and the women who sold their bodies as prostitutes. The second of his two volumes on this subject is an exhaustive study of the two largest groups of prostitutes in the booming Singapore of 1870–1940, when the city quadrupled in size: the larger number of Chinese prostitutes (*ah ku*), reflecting the magnitude of Chinese in-migration, and the much smaller number of Japanese prostitutes (*karayuki-san*). Together, they transformed the entertainment districts and back alleys of Singapore.

To study these women's experience "from the inside" (p. 20), Warren, who styles himself a new social historian (despite his silence on postmodernism), attempts to combine the methods of the historian, especially the use of "prosopography" or collective biography, with the tools of the ethnographer and the sociologist to develop what he calls a "microdynamic approach." He uses an impressive array of sources, particularly coroner's records (with their rich historical "epitaphs") and oral histories, as well as police and government reports, census lists, newspapers, fiction, and photos, to trace these women's paths, from their origins in the poor communities of southern China and western Japan, to their lives, and frequently, deaths, in the brothels of Singapore.

The book is divided into two sections. The first, "Brothel Prostitution in Singapore," purports to focus on the institution and the city (with chapters on migration, patriarchy, hierarchy, procurement), while the second, "Ah Ku and Karayuki-san: Their Lives," supposedly shifts the focus to the individuals and their stories (with chapters on the brothel "family" and the life cycle of the prostitutes). In reality, like so much else in this confused and confusing book, the division is never clear-cut. Instead, a number of major topics are strewn throughout the manuscript: ethnicity and emotion, patriarchy and poverty, violence and venereal disease, and the same stories and life histories are told repeatedly.

Rather than focusing on the fascinating story of Singapore, Warren continually overreaches, trying to describe and explain prostitution in all of East and Southeast Asia. In the process, he fails to clarify his central questions: whether the women he describes were victims of poverty and patriarchy or "avaricious" (p. 328) harlots, filial daughters sold by greedy, desperate families, or independent entrepreneurs who defied both family and convention and moved in and out of the flesh trade. Straining to show Singapore as an extension of China and Japan, he misuses my work (and that of Gail Hershatter and Mikiso Hane) and, in the process, misses the originality of his own research. His own material, particularly his description of the mixed cultural style of Japanese prostitutes, who wore obi and kimono with sarong and spoke Malay better than Japanese (p. 248), points the way to the opportunity he missed. With the current focus on "Greater China," the Chinese "diaspora," and a renewed Japanese sphere in Asia, a crucial lesson from Singapore history is that the migrations led to subsequent transformations of both institutions and individuals. Singapore may have contained Chinese *ah ku* and Japanese *karayuki-san,* but it was neither China nor Japan.

Hopefully, Warren will once again tackle the fascinating subject of Singapore. Next time, however, I hope that he has careful editors who will allow neither sentence fragments nor digressions (like the three

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chapters on the Contagious Diseases Ordinance, which really form a separate book), and who will reign in Warren's tendency to drift across tense and time. Hopefully, he will also add to his impressive archival work the recent theoretical work of Southeast Asian anthropologists on colonialism and sexuality and historians on the links between imperialism and gender. By incorporating their work, he might avoid the journalistic and even voyeuristic tone that too frequently intrudes. Until then, this book is useful more as an old-fashioned description of Singapore than as a model of the new social history to which Warren aspires.

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IQBAL HUSAIN. *The Ruhela Chieftaincies: The Rise and Fall of Ruhela Power in India in the Eighteenth Century.* New York: Oxford University Press or Centre of Advanced Study in History, Aligarh, India. 1994. Pp. xii, 253. $16.00.

Among the multitude of ethnic groups that immigrated into the subcontinent of India were Ruhela Afghans (people from the Roh region of Afghanistan). From the sixteenth century on, individual Ruhela Afghans entered India both as dealers in horses and other merchandise and as soldiers in search of fortune in the armies of the Mughal empire. For their part, Mughal emperors incorporated these immigrants into their armies and as payment assigned some of them landholdings in a disturbed region at the center of the North Indian Gangetic plain (what is today part of western Uttar Pradesh). The emperors intended these Ruhelas as a counterbalance to rebellious indigenous elites. Particularly during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, these loosely allied Ruhela leaders recruited their own kinsmen and followers to join them in the region. Eventually, the Ruhelas ejected the indigenous landholders and so dominated the region militarily and politically that it became known as Ruhelkhand after them. In the late eighteenth century, however, other powers combined to crush these divided and conflicting Ruhela chieftaincies.

Through meticulous research in the largely Persian-language histories produced by and about these Ruhela leaders, Iqbal Husain has assembled a detailed historical narrative. As the Mughal empire lost control over events, various Ruhela chiefs rose and fell at the imperial court and in Ruhelkhand. Although the book's final thirty pages touch on the administration, economy, and culture of the Ruhelas, it largely reflects the elite perspective and content of Husain's sources. A welter of names of chiefs and commanders appear as he narrates the political maneuverings and shifting military alliances and confrontations that marked this region over the eighteenth century.

One of the contending parties for political and military advantage in North India during the second half of the eighteenth century was the English East India Company. The company's extensive records and the personal narratives of its European and Indian officials enable Husain to recount in particular detail the complex sequence of events that led up to the final destruction of Ruhela power: the Ruhela War of 1774. For the East India Company, this war eventuated from an imperfect strategy. The company rented out one-third of its sepoy army to one of its allies, the Nawab of Awadh. Although it thus shed one-third of its military expenses, it also lost some degree of control over these forces. When the Nawab used these troops to crush his neighbors, the Ruhela chieftaincies, the company felt itself inadequately recompensed by the spoils and territory captured. Thereafter, the Company ensured itself a dominant hand in allied military operations and political settlements.

As a synthesis of the existing sources in Persian, English, Marathi, and Urdu on the political and military activities of the Ruhela Afghans, this work stands unmatched. Husain provides only limited discussion, however, of the larger context and implications of his work. He rarely addresses the analyses of other historians of this period explicitly. Nevertheless, specialists in this period of Indian history and comparative historians seeking a detailed case study will find this work comprehensive and valuable.

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Oberlin College

RAJNARAYAN CHANDAVARKAR. *The Origins of Industrial Capitalism in India: Business Strategies and the Working Classes in Bombay, 1900–1940.* (Cambridge South Asian Studies, number 51.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xviii, 468. $69.95.

Rajnarayan Chandavarkar's book furthers our understanding of the evolution of Bombay from an insignificant settlement on swampy, inhospitable islands to its current position as the financial capital of India. The book traces the evolution of the textile industry in Bombay and its significant role in consolidating the city's position as India's major commercial center. It describes the social, political, and economic realities that shaped the life of Bombay's working class, highlighting the specific case of labor and its organization in the textile industry from 1900 to 1940.

Drawing on detailed documentation about mill workers, Chandavarkar comes to some fundamental notions about the working class in emerging industrial capitalism in India. Prevailing conceptual frameworks, including the currently ubiquitous deconstructionist approach, with which the working class has been analyzed, are reviewed in chapter 1. The author convincingly argues for grounding in the facts of the case the analysis of the role of labor in capitalist development in the Third World. This approach, he argues, has the potential to make a valuable contri-

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bution to recasting social theory and social history. The result is a rich case study that allows a critical assessment of the prevailing theories about the working class from a non-Western, non-European perspective. As such, it makes a needed and valuable contribution. Yet, although it raises critical questions about existing theories about the working class, it does not forcefully and evocatively develop alternative conceptual notions.

Chandavarkar lays out the details of the textile industry in Bombay as follows: chapter 2 places the growth of indigenous capital investment in Bombay's textile industry in the context of the colonial posture and prevailing shifts in international trade. Chapters 3, 4, and 5 provide a portrait of the relationship of the city and its economy with its hinterland with particular reference to city labor. In chapters 3 and 4 migration streams, the nature of the sending areas, and the linkages with and impact of migration to and from the hinterland are related to the structure of the labor market in Bombay. Chapter 5 provides a description of the social organization of Bombay's working-class neighborhoods. These chapters provide an engaging overview to the complex social, religious, cultural, political, class, and caste-based forces that shape the power dynamics of society in Bombay's working-class areas. This process affected and shaped the spatial layout and class-based segregation of the city fabric as well. But there is a paucity of maps documenting the relationships of the city with its region or of districts and wards within the city. Graphics providing images of physical, spatial impacts that demonstrate the ways in which social dynamics translated to tangible "on the ground" realities of life for the working classes would have enhanced the message.

Chapters 6, 7, and 8 focus on the workings of the textile industry. In chapter 6 the development of the cotton-textile industry is described. Chapter 7 delves into the divisions in the working class in the city, which are identified as resulting not only from the traditional divisions of caste and kinship but also from the specific economics of the textile industry. In chapter 8 the widely held discussions about rationalizing the industry, which started in the 1920s, are reported, as is the lack of comprehensive programs to define and implement various models of rationalization. In the epilogue Chandavarkar shows how the role of class actions (in the form of general strikes), national movements, and caste and religious identities interacted to shape worker politics and social formation.

With its meticulous attention to a breadth of literature on Bombay's textile industry, Chandavarkar's book is a valuable addition to the historical literature on the city. It will become an important reference for those working on historical and current aspects of the city's economy and polity. The strength, and to some extent the weakness, of the book is the richness of the descriptions of processes and historical events within and related to the industry. The book fails to develop from this a forceful alternative framework for thinking of the working class in non-Western industrial development. It does point out the inconsistencies in prevailing formulations.

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PEGGY BROCK. *Outback Ghettos: Aborigines, Institutionalisation and Survival.* (Studies in Australian History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. x, 180. $49.95.

This book is an impressive contribution to the burgeoning field in Aboriginal history that tries to track the formation and impact of missions and reserves on the Aboriginal peoples of Australia. Until the publication of Bain Attwood's controversial study, *The Making of the Aborigines* (1989), the establishment and effects of Christian missions had received scant attention by historians or anthropologists. My own research in 1969 on the Moravian, Presbyterian, Church of England, and Lutheran missions to the Aborigines of Cape York, which attempted to demonstrate that this type of institutionalization possessed some benefits to inmates as it offered a physical refuge and a possibility to reestablish new communities, ended a promising career as an anthropologist. To even suggest that Christian missionaries were not unilateral destroyers of Aboriginal culture was a heresy at that time in Australian academic circles.

This is not altogether surprising. Anthropologists like to investigate "pristine" cultures that have been untouched by other cultural formations. They also tend to view missionaries as cultural vandals who interfere with religious, ceremonial, and sexual practices. Furthermore, the work of Charles Rowley, Henry Reynolds, Raymond Evans, and Lyndall Ryan on the devastating consequences of the frontier did not emerge until the early 1970s. Therefore, a more measured assessment of the effects of missions could not be undertaken until the late 1980s.

Clearly, Peggy Brock is an inheritor of these major shifts within Aboriginal studies that have occurred in the past twenty-five years. She focuses on several missions located in South Australia, namely the United Evangelical Lutheran church's mission, Koonibba, and the Church of England's Poomindic mission. She compares these to the settlement of Adnyamathanha in the Flinders Ranges, which offered protection without direct institutionalization. Each mission presents a different response to the devastation of British colonization that began in that colony in 1834.

Poonindie was initially established in 1850 by the generous benefaction of Archdeacon Mathew Hale, who witnessed the destruction of the peoples along the Murray River and set about to establish a refuge in a "safer" location. This meant transporting peoples

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from various tribes into a new institution and attempting to infuse a sense of identity. Koonibba, located on the rugged west coast, was founded in 1898 after considerable experimentation in other colonies. It was specifically prompted by the Lutheran church's attempts to redress the effects of European agriculture, which proved more debilitating than the previous intrusions of the pastoral industry on the Wirangu, Kokotha, and Mining peoples. Only Adnyamathanha, established by the nondenominational United Aborigines Mission (who lacked the resources and trained personnel of the Church of England and the United Evangelical Lutheran church), allowed its inhabitants to maintain their own identity rather than imposing new derivative visions of community effected at Koonibba and Poonindie.

Brock demonstrates that these missions must be seen as vehicles by which Aboriginal peoples survived the rapaciousness of European settlement and how they assisted in a transformation of identity from dispersed clan to a wider concept. Unlike the missionary perspective, which views "success" in terms of the number of devout converts, "success" for these people must be viewed in terms of their own definitions of cultural survival and how they realigned the new institutions to their own advantage. In this regard, Brock succeeds splendidly. Where she is less effective is in locating these particular missions in one colony within the larger framework of other Australian developments. A more extensive coverage of the processes of institutionalization both by the state in the form of reserves and by the churches in the form of missions was needed. Nevertheless, this is an important addition to an important issue that today has political ramifications as Aboriginal autonomy and rights are widely debated and contested.

KAY SAUNDERS
University of Queensland

RACE MATHEWS. *Australia's First Fabians: Middle-Class Radicals, Labour Activists and the Early Labour Movement.* Foreword by GOUGH WHITLAM. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 284. $59.95.

The Fabians have usually attracted capable historians, and this book is no exception. It is thoroughly researched, well written, and well produced. It should interest students of English Fabianism as well as Australian Fabians, because it documents the intellectual traffic—mainly one-way—between both countries. It traces the influence of English Fabians and other émigrés in establishing one Fabian society in South Australia in the 1890s and three more in Victoria between 1895 and 1908. It also records the contributions of Harry Champion and Tom Mann in helping to break as well as make their respective organizations.

Although all four Australian ventures were fairly small scale and had disappeared by 1909, arguably they provided some kind of starting or reference point for the reformist style of social democracy, first championed by Gough Whitlam in the 1960s, that later informed his government between 1972 and 1975. The key word is "arguably." Fabianism reemerged in Australia briefly before World War II but its influence was slight before the later 1950s. The Fabian Society in Victoria (which became the Australian Fabian Society in 1984) certainly provided the vehicle through which Whitlam developed and transmitted his visions for social reform, but the links between Fabianism, socialism, and Whitlamite social democracy are more complex than suggested here, notwithstanding Whitlam's own endorsement in the preface.

The book describes the origins and vicissitudes of the four societies and the people associated with them. It is less concerned with exploring ideas, perhaps because there is little more to say about Fabian socialism. Its strengths lie in the areas of political biography and organizational history, but the study is by no means dull. It captures something of the strange political atmosphere of the Edwardian era. In Australia as in England, it was a time of new faiths and strange and competing creeds. It was often difficult to distinguish the credentials of believers in rational socialism from those of theosophists and vegetarians. The book deals clearly with the welter of competing enthusiasms. It also shows the greater problems facing middle-class socialist intellectuals in Australia in getting their ideas accepted by the emerging Labor Party. The latter quickly became a trade-unionist or workers' party that disassociated itself from currents of intellectual socialism in favor of laborism (or workerism). After 1910, the eclipse of both Fabian socialism and Deakinite liberalism—a first cousin of the New Liberalism in England—led to an unhappy situation in which a brand of proletarian chauvinism opposed an equally crude and unthinking kind of conservatism. The consequences of this conflict were major causes of Australia's serious social and economic problems that became steadily more visible in the 1970s and 1980s.

This account of why Fabianism and related liberal ideas failed to take hold in Australian political life is therefore part of a larger story concerning why Australia, an advanced society in several respects in 1910, in effect took a wrong turn and regressed economically and politically. It adds to an impression that has been growing in recent years: there was more depth and urgency to public debate and intellectual life in Australia before 1914 than for many years after. There were more public intellectuals and a greater interest in political ideas than accounts of modern Australian politics imply. Increasingly, it looks as though the period between about 1918 and 1972 may be the oddity rather than the norm in the development of modern Australia.

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PETER CROCKETT. *Evatt: A Life.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. iv, 388. $45.00.

"Herbert Vere Evatt," begins Peter Crockett, "was a controversial Australian lawyer and Labor politician who was prominent during the early and middle decades of the twentieth century" (p. 1). This is an understatement.

A justice of the High Court of Australia at thirty-six years of age, federal attorney general and minister for external affairs in the 1940s, ablest of the statesmen of the smaller powers at the founding conference of the United Nations in 1945, culminating in his election as president of the General Assembly in 1949, leader of his party, and a champion of civil liberties in his strident opposition to the dissolution of the Communist Party before the High Court and during a referendum campaign (1950–51), Evatt was without question one of the most important Australian lawyers of this century and, arguably, one of the most remarkable of all Australians ever. Only the prime ministership eluded him. In any case, is there any wonder that this is only the second real attempt—the first was Kylie Tennant's *Evatt: Politics and Justice* (1970)—to come to terms with this accomplished and complex man so admired by the Australian Left?

In the space of 305 pages and eighteen tightly written chapters—the rest of the book turned over to notes, bibliography, and an adequate index—Crockett gives it his best shot. Essentially, Crockett has undertaken a character study of Evatt, showing him to be ambitious, difficult, and brusque toward colleagues and subordinates. In fact, he was a first-class curmudgeon. To explain away the contradictions between ideals Evatt espoused and his political practices—such as his adherence to civil libertarianism and the internment in 1942 of the leaders of the Australia First Movement, including writer P. R. "Inky" Stephensen—Crockett turns from politics to psychology. Working off Evatt's childhood relationship with his widowed, hard-working mother, "an idealised, distant mother who was loving and good," Crockett speculates: "Evatt's remoteness induced an attraction to ideas rather than people . . . The humans in whom he was interested and for whom he felt greater compassion were, in effect, the subject of ideas" (p. 38).

Still, the problem remains of how one reconciles Evatt's apparent genius with his apparent inability to save the labor movement from falling into an abyss of division and recrimination in which it would be stuck for more than a decade. Evatt's long and brilliant career ended in the bathos of the Petrov Royal Commission in 1954 and his final year as chief justice of the Supreme Court of New South Wales. Evatt himself knew his time had come. Socrates's final speech to his judges was recalled by Evatt: "His final decision was that if he could not be free to debate important public questions affecting the citizens of the state, life would be unendurable. And so he went to his death" (p. 303). So, Evatt reminded Australians, once again, the life that is unexamined was indeed not worth living.

Crockett eases his subject off stage with the observation that Evatt would have been misplaced in a more liberal climate, "for he would have been denied the antagonistic conditions in which his spirit thrived . . . An outsider but not an individual out of his time, he was appropriate to his era as an unappreciated visionary" (p. 305). The problem with the analysis of a political career as a manifestation of personality is that it never seems to go far enough.

To begin with, Crockett ignores the significant relationship between the intellectual milieu in which Evatt operated and the subject himself. Perhaps a bit too bright—Australians do not like their politicians too bright—the former doctorate in law had to contend with the coming of totalitarianism, the very real wartime threat the Japanese posed to the island continent, and the hysteria of the Cold War. Add to this the political threat posed by his longstanding rival, Robert Menzies, who played on Evatt's character flaws like a flamenco guitar, and one does not have to look for the loss of mother's milk to explain Evatt's failures.

Crockett's biography will not end the debate surrounding Evatt's reputation and legacy, an important fissure line in Australian historiography today, but it will be the place to begin.

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UNITED STATES

NANCY A. HEWITT and SUZANNE LEBSOCK, editors. *Visible Women: New Essays on American Activism.* (Women in American History.) Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1993. Pp. 415. Cloth $47.50, paper $18.95.

These essays were assembled to honor Anne Firor Scott, who, as Nancy Weiss Malkiel's biographical profile makes clear, not only reconceptualized the connections between women's lives and U.S. history but also used her well-deserved influence in the profession to encourage and promote the work of a whole generation of scholars of women's history.

Linda Kerber's account of Alice Mary Baldwin, a dean of women at Duke University before it became coeducational, reminds us of the silencing of women intellectuals throughout U.S. history and provides a useful template for charting middle-class white women's progress in literacy, education, and intellectual empowerment from the colonial period to the present. Baldwin's career is a bone-chilling reminder of just how recent is the legitimacy of the woman as scholar and underscores the political importance of Scott's interest in younger scholars, whose work is well represented here.

William Chafe, on the connections between progressivism and the policies of the New Deal, and Sara

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Evans, on the theoretical possibilities of a feminist approach to public life, explore the extent to which the modern liberal state represents a triumph of decades of women's social activism but continues to render a feminist perspective peripheral to formal politics.

Ellen Carol DuBois, LeeAnn Whites, and Dolores Janiewski establish important links between citizenship, race, and gender following the Reconstruction amendments and the Dawes Act of 1887. DuBois reclaims the intriguing decade of the 1870s, when women radicals committed civil disobedience by attempting to vote, and argues that "while many of my contemporaries emphasize the abstract and 'male' character of such universalistic categories as 'person' or 'citizen,' I have chosen to stress the many costs . . . of moving away from such frameworks, . . . which helped situate women's emancipation in the larger context of humanity's freedom" (p. 19). Whites's account of Rebecca Latimer Felton, a Georgia suffragist and white supremacist, and Janiewski's of Alice Fletcher, who worked for the U.S. government in dividing communal lands of the Nez Perce into family farms, demonstrate the tortured paths often taken by late-nineteenth-century feminists who sympathized with women beyond their own milieus but used notions of gender difference to reenforce race-constructed ideas of women's "protection." Protection was a double-edged sword that often promoted the confinement of women to the home and the depiction of Native American and African-American men as uncivilized and unproductive citizens.

Mari Jo Buhle also explores nostalgia for a preindustrialized world along the thin line between middle-class prosperity and poverty during the frequent panics of the antebellum years in the urban northeast. Sewing became the double symbol of a lost pastoral order in which women engaged in home production and the domestic arts, and a new, ruthless urban system that could toss native-born women into wage-earning through the machinations of an economy dependent on the vagaries of finance and banking. As immigrants flooded the eastern cities looking for work as well, the task of sorting out the deserving from the undeserving poor became a hopeless task for women's aid societies; the result was that seamstresses shifted between garment producers and aid societies and earned sufficient income from neither.

African-American women's struggles to form viable voluntary associations in the guise of Housewives' Leagues, Colored Women's Clubs, colored branches of the YWCA, and women's auxiliaries of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church are imaginatively explored by Darlene Clark Hine, Deborah White, Marion Roydhouse, and Mary E. Frederickson. All draw on Elsa Barkley Brown's notion of "womanism": that any attempt at women's betterment in the African-American community necessitated struggling for the race as well. White looks at the underlying tensions in a women's club movement that struggled to fight against the enormous injustices and physical violence aimed at black men while reminding those men of the condescension and sexual slurs directed at black women by whites and blacks alike. Frederickson shows how African-American women in the Methodist Episcopal church, whose congregations often had roots in the antebellum period, used the technique of "dissembling" to negotiate more resources from white women and thereby to "transform" their communities. As many gains made by African Americans in northern cities during the 1920s disappeared in the catastrophe of the Great Depression, Hine shows how urban communities such as Detroit rallied behind the power of women as consumers to "stabilize the economic status of the Negro through directed spending" (p. 224). Combining elements of the union label, the race boycott, and the cooperative consumer movement, African-American housewives in Detroit bridged the gap between Progressive-era styles of organizing and the civil rights movement of the 1950s. Roydhouse's work on the southern YWCA portrays that agency, in contrast to its male counterpart, the YMCA, as a national agency genuinely interested in assisting industrial workers, including some African Americans, in southern cities. Along with Suzanne Lebsock, who contributes a pithy summary of the Virginia woman suffrage debate, Roydhouse suggests that woman suffrage, combined with growing industrialization and urbanization, was instrumental in breaking down some of the shibboleths of southern racism in the 1920s.

In exploring the intertwined labor, race, and gender questions in Tampa, with its rich history of cigar making, and Atlanta, center of the New South, Nancy Hewitt and Jacquelyn Dowd Hall bring both cities into the mainstream of U.S. urban and labor history. Hall profiles O. Delight Smith, railroad telegrapher, photographer, and labor organizer, set adrift with resolute purpose in Atlanta, and Hewitt looks at the conjunction of a major strike, ethnic ward politics, city charter reform, and woman suffrage in Tampa in 1920.

While all of these essays are worthwhile, some are the products of their authors' older work or may have been already delivered as papers at conferences or as public lectures. Despite their artful arrangement into four parts with separate subtitles, there is no disguising the fact that some of them are widely disparate from each other in time period and theme. All, however, have a point of view stressed by Scott in her fruitful career: expanding the definition of the public and of politics to include voluntary associations, making biography an integral part of historical analysis, and working at the margins between classes and ethnicities where middle-class women so often found it difficult to separate self-interest from philanthropy and cultural hegemony from deeply felt empathy and in so doing, sometimes subtly, sometimes dramati-

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cally, altered the course of both gender and race relations in many U.S. communities.

SHARON HARTMAN STROM
University of Rhode Island

MARGARET LAMBERTS BENDROTH. *Fundamentalism and Gender, 1875 to the Present.* New Haven: Yale University Press. 1993. Pp. x, 179. $22.50.

Margaret Lamberts Bendroth is to be congratulated for her study of a subject that is often misrepresented. Her clear prose and richly suggestive, nuanced storyline make this book well worth reading.

Bendroth demonstrates that fundamentalism is more complex than either its critics or its apologists generally allow. Confused signals from fundamentalists about gender in general and female leadership in particular often puzzle scholars of American Christianity. Women predominate in fundamentalist churches even as fundamentalists carry on endless debates over women's roles. Undeterred by fundamentalism's complexities, Bendroth argues that gender is an essential part of the larger fundamentalist agenda to maintain a tradition that is at once distinctive and socially relevant.

Gender, Bendroth claims, is a crucial issue for conservative Protestants, both within their own constituencies and in their relationship to the larger culture. A vast popular literature documents long and heated debates that fuel deep animosities and nurture strong convictions in a vast segment of popular Christianity. Bendroth offers a compelling way to make sense of all of this by posing historical rather than worn out theological or practical questions. She ably wends her way through the theological discourse and pragmatic considerations that have informed fundamentalist practice, pointing the reader to clear explanations without minimizing the complexities and contradictions that give her story its rich texture.

Bendroth is attentive to the larger cultural context and its interplay with fundamentalist views. Tensions between evangelical pragmatism and doctrine are central to her story. Ambivalence about masculine status—and evangelicalism's failure to address both masculinity and the implications of feminism for men and women—impede real progress in the time-worn debates about women's roles. Bendroth intimates that some of the problem inheres in the social fabric of fundamentalism, especially in its independent, extra-ecclesial character and its reliance on personalities and print media. Bendroth suggests in her epilogue that grappling with authentic masculinity might be a step toward healing historic divisions. Her analysis of the fundamentalist and evangelical rejection of contemporary feminism concludes that, despite extensive polemics, the fundamentalist and evangelical subcultures have yet to deal with gender roles.

The assumption that the search for order and ordered relationships is inherent in fundamentalism gives coherence to Bendroth's five chapters. The notes and bibliography make a valuable contribution to scholarly explorations of the centrality of gender in the fundamentalist and evangelical subcultures.

This book offers a way of organizing and making sense of vast popular sources and intricate networks. It is not the final word but, rather, an arrangement and interpretation of a complex of materials that invites and facilitates amplification and reinterpretation. Bendroth is a serious scholar who has done careful work with productive results. Her book is essential reading for scholars in the fields of American religion and gender.

EDITH L. BLUMHOFER
Wheaton College
Wheaton, Illinois

G. EDWARD WHITE. *Intervention and Detachment: Essays in Legal History and Jurisprudence.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 309. Cloth $39.95, paper $19.95.

G. Edward White is one of the most productive and provocative practitioners of American legal history writing today. He has produced eight books on topics ranging from Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., through the development of tort law in America, to the history of American jurisprudence. Thousands of students have profited from reading the insightful essays that comprise his *The American Judicial Tradition,* now in its second edition (1976; 1988). White's *Earl Warren: A Public Life* (1982) is easily the most perceptive biography of its subject, and his *The Marshall Court and Cultural Change* (1988) is certainly the most readable of the volumes (many of them ponderous reference works) that comprise the *Oliver Wendell Holmes Devise History of the Supreme Court of the United States.*

His latest book is designed "to provide scholars and students who lack easy access to law journals with a reference for research and classroom use" (p. vii). It consists entirely of essays that were originally published in legal periodicals. All of them are based on research in secondary works and published primary sources; White does cite some manuscript material, but when doing so, he invariably acknowledges a printed work that previously quoted his source or reproduced it in full. Some of the essays he includes in this collection were written as articles, whereas others are printed versions of public lectures. Two are book reviews of a type familiar to readers of law journals: article-length essays devoted more to expounding the author's own ideas than to evaluating the books supposedly being reviewed. All of these essays appeared subsequent to the publication of White's collection, *Patterns of American Legal Thought* (1978), and he views this book as a sequel to that one.

As White points out, however, the emphasis of this book is quite different from that of its predecessor. Here he seeks to explore the implications of the historical perspective that a scholar adopts. Accord-

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ing to White, the "organizing theme" of this collection is "an inquiry into the process by which a person whose scholarship concerns the past 'intervenes' in the debates in which he or she becomes engaged in the present" (p. 3). White believes that how historians relate to contemporary culture influences both what they choose to study and how they interpret those facets of the past that they investigate. Although inspired by the "impulse to intervene," he argues that historians must also struggle to achieve "detachment" by immersing themselves in the mores and thought patterns of the past. White says he ascertained his own way of resolving the tension between intervention and detachment while looking over the essays he has included in this volume. It will probably be less apparent to many of his readers than it was to him what some of these pieces have to do with that issue. The essays are divided into four sections. Those in the first section deal with historical methodology, but part 2 consists of two articles on Holmes and three on New Deal lawyers. Part 3 focuses on judicial review, and part 4 consists of two essays on Critical Legal Studies. White seems to have tried, with less than complete success, to impose a unifying theme on a group of articles selected less because they had much to do with that theme than because of their own inherent merit.

He does, however, set forth his ideas on intervention and detachment in a challenging introduction. This essay would be well worth reading even if it were not part of a book. So would the articles White has brought together in this collection. A couple of them would be more effective if the author's ideas were not obscured by quite so much pretentious jargon. But all of them are extremely insightful. Although this is not a case where the whole is greater than the sum of its parts, the essays White has assembled do add up to a very substantial contribution to the literature of American legal history.

Michal R. Belknap
California Western School of Law

Mary Ann Mason. *From Father's Property to Children's Rights: A History of Child Custody in the United States.* New York: Columbia University Press. 1994. Pp. xvi, 237. $29.50.

This book by Mary Ann Mason is a chronicle of the legal history of child custody in the United States. In the colonial period and the early nineteenth century the custody of children typically went to the father because of the common law rule that he was entitled to the fruits of their labor. As the United States began to modernize, however, American courts developed new rules, "the best interest of the child" and the "tender years" doctrine, to justify their custody decisions. In 1847 a New Jersey court said that the common law rule could be modified if the father were unfit or if children were very young ("of tender years") or female. Similar rulings articulating a best interest standard could be found in Ohio in 1855, Alabama in 1860, and New Jersey in 1869.

Mason also documents the rise of state activism in child saving and child custody in the Progressive Era, the growth of the modern child welfare system in the middle of the twentieth century, and the recent entrance of the social and behavioral sciences into custody issues. In the Progressive Era, "for the first time the state took seriously its role as child protector" (p. 101), frequently acting to sever parental relationships and applying the doctrine of *parens patriae* (the idea that the state is the ultimate parent of every child). In the middle of the twentieth century "the presumption that the interests of a child of tender years is best served in the custody of the mother was legally abolished or demoted to a 'factor to be considered' in nearly all states between 1960 and 1990" (p. 123). This doctrine was largely replaced by the concept of joint custody. In the recent past the doctrine of the best interest of the child came under attack from social and behavioral scientists, who argued that a child's "psychological parent," whether biological kin or not, should be given preference in custody determinations.

The reasons for these changes, Mason contends, is that, during the periods of modernization and urbanization, middle-class families no longer regarded their children as economic assets, and in those families women's roles and status had begun to change. Mason does not probe the reasons for the changing role and status of women and children in the nineteenth century; nor does she look very closely at the expansion of child protection activities during the Progressive Era. Her analysis of the interrelationship of social and legal factors in the late twentieth century is, by contrast, much more extensive, indicating her greater command of the social welfare literature pertaining to the recent past.

Mason's work is not a comprehensive history of child custody; it is a survey of changing legal structures and rationales. The consequence of this narrow focus is that what might have been a useful overview of the entire problem of child custody becomes instead a treatise on laws, cases, and legal reasoning. Most annoyingly, she frequently refers to cases in her text without using proper style and without indicating their dates. Historians interested in the evolution of legal reasoning of child custody will find Mason's work helpful—especially for the numbers of cases and the wealth of material from legal journals—but they will find her narrow focus and the conflation of cases from widely disparate periods frustrating.

Joseph M. Hawes
University of Memphis

Charles R. King. *Children's Health in America: A History.* (Twayne's History of American Childhood Series.) New York: Twayne of Macmillan. 1993. Pp. xvii, 217. Cloth $26.95, paper $14.95.

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In this inaugural volume in Twayne's History of American Childhood series, Charles R. King presents a sweeping overview of the history of children's health in the United States from the colonial era to the present. Drawing from a wide array of sources (including historical, sociological, legal, medical, educational, and psychological studies, as well as child-rearing manuals, diaries, and letters), the author asserts that the history of the health care of America's children includes far more than the study of medicine and scientific advances.

Noting that prior to the twentieth century nearly one-half of all children died before reaching adolescence, King describes how parents, educated laypeople, the clergy, midwives, and physicians played important roles in the health care of children during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Not until the latter decades of the nineteenth century did "pediatrists" achieve recognition as medical specialists responsible for the care of infants and children. Yet King establishes that even Abraham Jacobi, the pioneering nineteenth-century pediatrist, acknowledged the importance of social, as well as medical, factors in determining children's health.

King shows how the emergence of pediatrics as a science was coupled with the evolution of the nineteenth-century child-protection movement that promoted the establishment of orphanages, foundling homes, and hospitals for poor, orphaned, delinquent, and sick children. Led by reform-minded white, middle-class women, proponents of the child-protection movement called for both private institutions and the government to expand their efforts in behalf of protecting the health care and well-being of the nation's children.

Although King emphasizes that both social and medical factors have been responsible for children's health in America, he also recognizes the important role that science has played in improving medical standards for twentieth-century infants and children. He demonstrates that the pasteurization of milk supplies, widespread vaccination programs, better nutrition, improved prenatal and obstetrical care, the development of antibiotics, and a variety of other scientific advancements have led to dramatic strides in the health care of the nation's children.

King maintains that the recent expansion of pediatric practice to include social problems, such as child abuse, delinquency, and behavioral issues, has resulted in the acceptance of "the biosocial model of pediatrics that Abraham Jacobi . . . championed at the dawn of the twentieth century" (p. 144). In addition, he persuasively argues that the solutions to the problems of children's health in the United States in the late twentieth century, including the persistently high infant death rate, incomplete immunization programs, and malnourishment, "are based as much on addressing poverty, limited education, and social disadvantage as they are on promoting the advance of medicine" (pp. 162–63). He concludes by admonishing the American citizenry to find the "moral resolve . . . to ground present solutions to the problems of children's health on equity, accountability, foresight, and social justice" (p. 163).

This volume provides a solid introduction to the history of children's health in America. Politicians and policy makers who continue to insist that funds for child-welfare programs be cut would benefit from a careful reading of this work.

JUDY BARRETT LITOFF
Bryant College

JUAN GÓMEZ-QUIÑONES. *Roots of Chicano Politics, 1600–1940.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 540. Cloth $40.00, paper $19.95.

The emergence of Chicano history as a serious field of inquiry in the late 1960s spawned a voluminous monographic and journal literature, making it possible a quarter of a century later to synthesize the Chicano experience in a much more comprehensive fashion than previously done in textbooks such as Rodolfo Acuña's *Occupied America* (1981) and Matt S. Meier and Feliciano Rivera's *Mexican Americans/American Mexicans* (1993). One of the first scholars to specialize in Chicano history, Juan Gómez-Quiñones wisely waited for the literature to accumulate and for his interpretations to mature before producing works of synthesis. The result is impressive. This volume follows the publication of its companion volume, *Chicano Politics: Reality and Promise, 1940–1990* (1990). Another work, *Mexican American Labor 1600–1990* (1994), has recently been published.

In the present book, Gómez-Quiñones surveys in four long chapters prevailing political conditions that shaped the Chicano community. He first examines the period 1600 to 1822, emphasizing the formation of a mestizo society on the northern fringe of New Spain. Next he covers the Mexican period, from 1822 to 1848, with the focus on the challenge of making republicanism work. The post–1848 subordination of Mexican Americans under U.S. rule constitutes the principal theme in the ensuing chapter, while a variety of twentieth-century issues, topics, and events are examined in the final chapter. Throughout Gómez-Quiñones ranges widely in his coverage by discussing many subthemes, weaving rich analysis and interpretation into traditional narrative. The text reflects an impressive mastery of the subject acquired over many years of careful study and serious thought.

Gómez-Quiñones corrects superficial notions and stereotypical views about the Mexican-American experience by uncovering new information and examining events and processes in their proper context. For example, in discussing political conditions in Mexico's far north after 1821, he points out that the situation "was neither better nor worse than the politics practiced in the Jacksonian United States." Each experience was a product of its own unique environment (p. 92). Contrary to popular perception,

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Mexican women were often involved in political activity in a substantive manner. In New Mexico, for example, they played an important role in the suffrage movement (pp. 356–58). More than any other work, this book ties Chicano history to the history of Mexico. One example is the author's discussion of prominent Mexican educator and politician José Vasconcelos and his influence on Mexican Americans.

In sum, this is a landmark work in Chicano history, and its influence will be felt in the field for many years to come. Comprehensive footnotes and an excellent bibliography are additional attractive features, but regrettably no illustrations are included.

OSCAR J. MARTÍNEZ
University of Arizona

FREDERIC COPLE JAHER. *A Scapegoat in the New Wilderness: The Origins and Rise of Anti-Semitism in America.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1994. Pp. viii, 339. $29.95.

Frederic Cople Jaher's study, like a number of recent books dealing with anti-Semitism in American history, reflects an important historiographical shift, away from sociological explanations and back toward what most nineteenth-century Jews considered the root of the problem, Christianity.

Jaher argues that anti-Semitic attitudes, inherited from Europe, were endemic in early America, and that they intensified between the 1830s and the Civil War, creating a "mid-century crisis" that "forged modern American anti-Semitism" (p. 170). The story ends with the 1860s, but an epilogue sketches the religious anti-Semitism of the 1920s and 1930s as proof that christological views remained the fountainhead of anti-Semitism "long after religion had ostensibly been replaced by racism as the main inspiration of anti-Jewish attitudes" (p. 246).

The book does not offer a dramatically new interpretation, but it gives greater resonance to an important theme. Specialists will recognize significant overlaps here with the work of scholars like Naomi Cohen, whose excellent analysis of nineteenth-century anti-Semitism in *Encounter with Emancipation* (1984) is inexplicably not drawn on, and Jacob Marcus, whose *United States Jewry* (1989) presented a similar survey of philo-Semitic and anti-Semitic attitudes in successive eras. In the manner of Marcus, although more pessimistically, Jaher balances the abundant documentation of anti-Semitic attitudes with the evidence that Jews in America suffered less than some other minorities. He also clarifies, with real sophistication, how much less extensive and intensive anti-Semitism was in the New World than in Europe, and why. In the end, however, these vital facts are peremptorily marginalized, for Jaher concludes with the logically flawed and historically skewed syllogism: "Christianity has a powerful anti-Semitic impulse, America is a Christian country," therefore, "America is anti-Semitic" (p. 249). Rather than work out a more intricate argument about the relation of philo-Jewish and anti-Jewish perceptions, the author sometimes relies on hasty or rhetorical conclusions.

Despite this, and a distractingly long (over one-fourth of the book) prelude on the roots of European anti-Semitism, Jaher's account is expansive and enlightening. It reminds us of the brute pervasiveness of anti-Jewish images and stereotypes in early American culture. Whites and blacks alike sang ballads about blood libels; both the widely distributed *Union Questions* of the evangelicals and the Worcester Catechism of the Unitarians hammered home the message of eternal Jewish guilt for the crucifixion; elementary school spellers and McGuffey's readers routinely expounded on Jewish avarice, sinfulness, and cruelty; writers as high as Herman Melville, as middle as Harriet Beecher Stowe, and as forgotten as Emma Southworth plied their readers with debased portraits of Jewish people; the phenomenally successful *Mother Goose* kept alive such mantras of popular verse as: "Jack sold his egg to a rogue of a Jew," who "cheated him out of / The half of his due" (p. 240). By the Civil War, when anti-Jewish sentiments peaked both North and South, traditional religious prejudices had merged insidiously with mundane indictments of Jews as crude "old clo' " men, sharp swindlers, usurers, and parasites.

The sheer weight of documentation makes this book an important contribution to the literature on anti-Semitism. Beyond this, Jaher highlights for us the irony of an American nation that boasted its transcendence of medievalism while nursing the most monstrous of medieval prejudices.

ANDREW R. HEINZE
University of San Francisco

PAUL SALSTROM. *Appalachia's Path to Dependency: Rethinking a Region's Economic History, 1730–1940.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1994. Pp. xxxvi, 204. $30.00.

Paul Salstrom, making imaginative use of the work of such theorists as Raúl Prebisch and W. Arthur Lewis, offers a comprehensive explanation for the persistence of economic dependency in southern Appalachia. Dividing the region that stretches from the Virginias to northeastern Alabama into three subregions according to the sequence of settlement, he focuses primarily on Newer Appalachia (the Plateau), which passed the frontier stage of development only after the Civil War. By 1880 demographic pressures on the land and declining returns from agriculture made it increasingly difficult to sustain a traditional way of life based on a "subsistence-barter-and-borrow" (p. 51) system. Yet paradoxically this very system allowed lumbering and especially coal mining to grow rapidly on the Plateau during the last two decades of the century. Many people were willing to accept very low wages because they regarded the mines mainly as a way to supplement their meager income from

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farming. An increasingly marginalized agriculture thus subsidized a low-wage industry that could effectively compete with the more capital-intensive midwestern mines, but since profits were largely siphoned off to investors outside of Appalachia, sustained economic development was cut short.

Salstrom places much of the blame for these developments on government policy, beginning with the national banking legislation during the Civil War and culminating in the New Deal during the 1930s. In 1865 Congress gave national banks effectively the exclusive right to issue bank notes, but few banks in capital-poor regions, especially the war-ravaged South, could meet the more stringent federal requirements. Because Appalachian farmers had little access to credit, they had no choice but to persist in labor-intensive methods on increasingly marginal land. The New Deal finally destroyed a way of life that had persisted, however precariously, in symbiotic relationship with mining. Declining demand hit the coal industry hard, but government-enforced wage increases induced the technologically backward Appalachian operators to invest in new equipment that further reduced demand for labor. New Deal agricultural policies, by benefiting larger, more capital intensive farms and encouraging reforestation, and abetted ironically by relief payments and Works Progress Administration employment, delivered the last blow to the barter-and-borrow economy. The consequence was massive emigration from the region.

Salstrom's argument depends on plausible inference from limited data. Much of the basic research with respect to migration patterns, family size, inheritance practices, market penetration, credit networks, and much else remains to be undertaken. Even so, Salstrom's use of census data in tracing the changing structure of Appalachian agriculture between 1840 and 1880 is more limited than it needs to be. (He fails, for instance, to distinguish improved from unimproved acreage or to account for tobacco's growing importance after 1850.) He ought to have been aware of research that contradicts his assertion that before the Civil War "almost all" Appalachian farmers were "independent producers" (p. 123). Finally, Salstrom's sympathy for the people of Appalachia may lead him to place too much blame for their woes on exogenous forces. This is nevertheless a provocative book that should stimulate further debate.

FREDERICK A. BODE
Concordia University

ERIC LOTT. *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class.* (Race and American Culture.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. 314. $24.95.

Eric Lott is not the sort of fellow to go to a show simply for a good time. What happens on stage carries too much cultural weight. So it is with antebellum blackface minstrelsy, the subject of Lott's inventive and sometimes frustrating book. For Lott, blackface minstrelsy's coded messages of costume, gesture, and verse offered more than mere entertainment and cheap racial stereotyping. Rather, studying blackface minstrelsy, "the most popular entertainment form of the nineteenth century," in connection "with its characteristic audience" promises "perhaps the best way to understand the affective life of race in that time and in ours" (p. 4).

At one level, Lott relates the history of blackface minstrelsy from its early performances in the 1830s through the Civil War, with some attention to its later nineteenth-century corrupted forms and with many allusions to twentieth-century parallels, such as jazz and rock-and-roll, which brought shades of "blackness" to a wider America. He looks at production, advertisement, and exhibition to suggest how the producers and performers kept minstrelsy attuned to popular tastes and interests. Minstrelsy depended on currency as much as high stepping and banjo plucking to bring in paying customers.

At a deeper level, Lott plumbs the powerful tug of black images, language, music, bodies, and culture—however much grotesquely caricatured and counterfeited—that pulled white working-class men to the shows. Despite (or perhaps because of) their often contentious relationship with blacks in their daily lives, white working-class men, more than anyone else, crowded into the theaters to hoot, cheer, and sometimes brawl over the "blackness" paraded before them. Blackface minstrelsy, Lott reminds us, grew up with the white working classes of northern cities, and it drew heavily on whites' imagined and real views of northern blacks. Contemporary political issues figured prominently in minstrelsy, but the "politics" of performance was more than a referencing of public concerns debated in Congress. Workers feared the insidiousness of race. Slavery might turn all work, and workers, into "Negro labor," just as one could become "black" by smearing on the greasepaint and playing a jig. Workingmen had to protect free soil and "whiteness." Blackface minstrelsy thus was both mask and manner for its performers and audience, a way of simultaneously hiding and engaging the riddles of race and manhood in a fast-changing urban environment. Racy language, cross-dressing, bawdy spoofs, and other jabs at middle-class conventions and racial ordering marked performances and let white men define "blackness" and masculinity on their terms.

Lott has combed minstrel songsheets and books, performance bills, burlesque sketches, skits and plays, reviews, literary representations and allusions, contemporary illustrations and descriptions of shows and minstrels, and remembrances of performers to unravel, as no scholar has done so fully, the complex interlacings of culture, class, race, and even psyche that made blackface minstrelsy so compelling. From his readings, Lott concludes that the leitmotif running throughout blackface minstrelsy was antebellum

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white America's profound ambivalence about blackness, which both fascinated and disgusted them.

No short review can summarize Lott's many subtle arguments or suggest how original are his readings of such works as *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (more the plays than the book) and *Huckleberry Finn* in light of blackface minstrelsy. All this said, Lott's book has problems. He claims too much for audience involvement in shaping American blackface minstrelsy. Lott makes a few bows to Boston and Philadelphia, but almost all his examples come from New York. One wonders how performers adapted their shows when they went on the road. And Lott does not know the particular mixes of prejudices, beliefs, and interests that audiences brought to the shows anyway, because the white working-class audiences do not say. The sources only describe their behavior, from which Lott ascribes motive. More troubling, Lott loads multiple, complex meanings onto every word, look, and stance. Sometimes a rose is a rose. Lott also confuses, even disguises, his arguments with numerous asides and qualifications and with obscure prose. His theoretical scaffolding is so intricate that it hides the basic narrative, as Lott tacks on references to Karl Marx, Antonio Gramsci, Sigmund Freud, Theodore Adorno, and a host of others. Lott cheats his argument, and his subject, by trying too hard to "complicate" (his boast) the story. He risks losing his audience. Lott's book deserves serious attention from students of race, culture, and literature, but it demands strenuous effort to appreciate its many virtues. And as any successful blackface minstrel producer would tell you, that's no way to run a show.

RANDALL M. MILLER
Saint Joseph's University

JULIUS H. RUBIN. *Religious Melancholy and Protestant Experience in America.* (Religion in America Series.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 308. $35.00.

Julius H. Rubin has set out to complete Max Weber's portrait of the fate of the Protestant ethic. Although Rubin builds on and covers much the same ground as John Owen King III (*The Iron of Melancholy: Structures of Spiritual Conversion in America from the Puritan Conscience to Victorian Neurosis* [1983]), Rubin's account is not really redundant of King's. King was still looking for the American character, using structure and textuality. Rubin, as a sociologist, is interested in the subjective experience of religious melancholy, and much of the book consists of "thick description" and case studies of that phenomenon, showing, for example, that suicide is a not illogical outcome. Moreover, Rubin is interested in the persistence of religious melancholy, which he can still identify in evangelicals of the Fourth Great Awakening of the late twentieth century. Finally, Rubin has the advantage of being able to rely on Stanley W. Jackson's *Melancholia and Depression: From Hippocratic Times to the Modern Times* (1986), which furnishes a context of the whole Western tradition of dysfunctional depression.

Rubin's argument is that religious melancholy is a "culture-bound syndrome" (pp. 10, 83). It grew out of Puritans' understanding of, and taking seriously, their theology. Rubin does not necessarily repudiate a bodily cause for melancholy/depression, but he does insist that culture shaped the symptoms of religious melancholy. Medieval thinkers described one version of depression—acedia—as sinful. In Enlightenment times, melancholia typically affected "men of letters." With the coming of Puritan versions of melancholy, men—and now women—could accuse themselves of not only unworthiness but also of offenses against the Almighty. This war against the self typically, with faith, ended with a sense of salvation.

Like King, Rubin finds that nineteenth-century secularization turned the frequent incidence of attacks of religious melancholy into neurosis and Victorian invalidism. The religious content of depression became delusion. But looking closely, Rubin finds that despondency continued in the 1990s to be part of many Americans' religious experience. Repeatedly, they lose faith, sense that they are forsaken by God, and then are born again.

In addition to extending the story of religious melancholia to the present, Rubin's special emphasis is showing the place of self-starvation—a significant part of religious melancholia—as a persistent cultural thread through many generations of evangelicals. Whereas King described the development of the modern split self, Rubin emphasizes the way in which religious people experienced their wars against themselves, urging his readers to take reports of subjective perceptions seriously.

Rubin does convey the power of religion in history to shape lives by providing cultural forms. Other of Rubin's contentions may not engender such a full assent. He does not confront the overwhelming physical factors that are observable so strikingly in people labeled clinically depressed. Like journalists, he assumes that life incidents tend to cause exaggerated despondency. Indeed, Rubin describes in his cases (but does not comment on) the classic alternation of depression and elation that have such vivid counterparts in what passes for doctrinaire salvation.

It is not clear that historical accounts of subjectivity vindicate what other Americans in the past saw as clearly deviant. Rubin does leave open, without really discussing it, the continuing question of the uncertain nature of melancholia, even highly rationalized or modernized religious melancholia. However much one can empathize with those undergoing religious experiences, Rubin's accounts reveal the narcissistic core of depression, the overwhelming concern for self alone, that can be read as an irresponsible perversion of Puritanism. It was sometimes so read in the past. To

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read religious melancholia as physical illness might therefore be a kindness.

JOHN C. BURNHAM
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R. BRUCE DOUGLASS and DAVID HOLLENBACH, editors. *Catholicism and Liberalism: Contributions to American Public Philosophy.* (Cambridge Studies in Religion and American Public Life.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xv, 352. $59.95.

This volume is a collection of essays presented at Georgetown University seminars from the spring of 1989 to the fall of 1990. Its underlying premise is that Catholicism and liberalism are today enjoying their greatest acceptance and influence, especially in the United States—Catholicism since the changes of Vatican II (and perhaps the election of John Kennedy) and liberalism since the defeat of the fascist powers in World War II and the decline of communism in the 1980s—and greater harmony and cooperation between the two now seem both possible and desirable.

The most historical of the fourteen essays are those of Peter Steinfels, Philip Gleason, Paul Sigmund, Joseph Komonchak, and R. Bruce Douglass. In "The Failed Encounter," Steinfels studies the relationship between Rome and European liberalism in the nineteenth century and concludes that the possibility for understanding and acceptance was present until the church closed that window of opportunity with the Syllabus of Errors in 1864. Turning to the United States, Gleason surveys "American Catholics and Liberalism, 1789–1960," and notes periods of both harmony (early Catholic respect for Constitutional guarantees of religious freedom and patriotic participation of Catholics in America's wars) and of controversy (fears generated by waves of Catholic immigrants and disputes over public funding for parochial schools). Sigmund sees both monarchist and democratic trends in church government from New Testament times to the present and states that "the formal commitment of the official Church [Vatican II] to democracy and human rights as well as to religious freedom meant, in effect, the abandonment of the long-standing opposition between the Vatican and liberal democracy" (p. 229). Komonchak also analyzes the decrees of Vatican II and acknowledges that the church today has in fact accepted many of the liberal political structures of modern democracy while continuing to reject the liberal ideology of unchecked individualism, exemption from external restraint, and the secularization of the political sphere. Douglass agrees that liberalism has triumphed over other ideologies but suggests that it may now be facing its greatest challenge. Few Americans seem confident that the next generation will live in times as prosperous and comfortable as today, and liberalism, the reigning ideology, may well be held responsible.

Three of the essays examine whether the church's attitude toward individual rights, women, and the family can be harmonized with liberal ideology, and others investigate what the theories of Jacques Maritain, John Courtney Murray, John Rawls, Alasdair MacIntyre, and others might contribute to a possible rapprochement.

The essays are scholarly, thought provoking, and challenging. Whether or not they are convincing will depend on the reader's own understanding of liberalism and Catholicism. Is it a limited government liberalism of Thomas Jefferson or an activist government liberalism of Franklin Roosevelt, a liberalism of personal liberty, material well-being, and what else, and is it a Catholicism of Pope Pius IX and the Syllabus of Errors or of Pope John XXIII and Vatican II? And how desirable is a reconciliation between the two? A major contribution of the essays is that they prod the reader to rethink his or her assumptions and definitions carefully. This is an excellent compilation, a serious, positive, and, for many, persuasive contribution to the important discussion of America's public philosophy.

THOMAS E. BLANTZ, C.S.C.
University of Notre Dame

VIRGINIA SCOTT JENKINS. *The Lawn: A History of an American Obsession.* Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution. 1994. Pp. x, 246. $14.95.

The suburban lawn is almost mythic in its iconic status and its ability to elicit animus or derision. Extending from coast to coast, regardless of climate or annual rainfall, some forty-five million plots of cultivated grass provide a remarkably homogeneous domestic landscape for a suburban nation. One of the merits of Virginia Scott Jenkins's book is its delineation of how modern and how staggeringly expensive, financially as well as ecologically, the lawn is. Thirty million acres, totaling roughly 468,750 square miles, are devoted to American lawns, an area more than twice the size of the United Kingdom, whose lush greensward has inspired imitators across the ocean over the last two centuries. The cost of maintaining the aggregate American plot of grass consumed $5.3 billion in 1988, a sum that exceeded the gross domestic product of a number of developing nations, as well as uncounted hours of household labor.

Jenkins argues that the lawn is the product of cultural attitudes: the desire for grass as ground cover, the symbolic significance of the lawn, and the implicit yet clearly gendered space it represents. Equally important has been the ability to grow grass in the varied climates of the nation, which has been the product of a collaboration between the U.S. Golf Association, the U.S. Department of Agriculture, and an industry that has evolved to provide seed, fertilizer, and care for the domestic turf. Analysis of this alliance among institutions promoting culture, scientific research, and marketing, the most original and sig-

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nificant part of the book, amply demonstrates the degree to which government and private industry have championed the ideal of a carefully manicured, weed-free lawn as a mark of suburban, indeed American, respectability. In so doing they have effected a "radical change in the ecological makeup of America" (p. 5), launched an unwinnable but relentlessly hi-tech war on nature, and unleashed millions of tons of pesticides and other chemicals into the nation's soil, streams, rivers, and water tables. Unsurprisingly, the author hopes that the hegemony of the American lawn will soon give way to "alternative landscapes that are less costly in terms of resources and pollutants" (p. 5).

This argument would be more persuasive if the book were about lawns in general rather than the front lawn, which functions as a kind of formal parlor, one of a number of "expensive but seldom used symbols of a proper middle-class home" (p. 185). By focusing on such a conspicuously wasteful space, the author neglects the grass that is utilitarian, the back yard that is heavily used by families, especially those with small children. For such parents the lawn may retain certain attributes of gendered space—the male serving as principal laborer, the female as supervisor of children—but this is a play area, a private domestic landscape, not a neighborhood dumping ground for pesticides and other dangerous lawn chemicals. In addition, the author seems too willing to accept the validity of articles published in trade magazines; the historical research, especially on the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, is surprisingly thin; and the writing is needlessly repetitious. Despite these reservations, the book is an intriguing and often entertaining book about a topic that reveals much about us as Americans.

DAVID SCHUYLER
Franklin and Marshall College

ROBERT B. GORDON and PATRICK M. MALONE. *The Texture of Industry: An Archaeological View of the Industrialization of North America.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 442. $49.95.

There is an urgency in this volume. The authors note that "The rate at which Americans created an industrial society was slow compared with the rapidity with which they are now dismantling it" (p. 3). From the east coast to the Rocky Mountains and beyond, mine buildings, factories, railroads, and other relics are disappearing, making it difficult for Americans to understand what once transpired on these sites. Using a well-structured marriage of archaeology and history, this book introduces the reader to industrial America from the colonial days to the 1930s, with some discussion into the 1990s.

To explore the industrial experience in North America the authors "draw evidence from artifacts and landscape features, as well as documents" (p. 5). They use cartography, art history, archaeometry, and architectural recording, along with other disciplines, to supplement the historical record.

Robert B. Gordon and Patrick M. Malone have researched and written an exceptional volume, one that needs to be slowly read to savor all the material they have crowded into its pages. They combine not only history and archaeology but also on-site investigation for a well-balanced, scholarly study that deserves to become a key reference to the study of industrial America.

The first chapter sets the stage and must be meticulously studied to understand thoroughly what follows. The authors examine industrial archaeology and components of industry, making an observation that all historians should weigh carefully: "artifacts are a particularly stimulating link with the past" (p. 14). They repeatedly come back to that point as they carry the reader on through the rest of the chapters that cover such varied topics as wood and water as power, hard rock and coal mining, factories, and industrial environmental impact. They are keenly aware of the environmental impact and point out that even this has much to tell us about the past.

Although many examples used are from east of the Mississippi River, if not the Northeast, this is understandable considering the scope of the study. Yet there is something from all sections of the country and definitely everyone may gain, whether they are interested in preservation, history, or simply a better understanding of a vanished America.

The chapter endnotes in this well-researched volume need to be read along with the text. There are fascinating tidbits buried in them along with a clear indication of the scope of the research. Weaving a variety of photographs, past and present, into the text adds immeasurably to the book's significance. There is also a clear warning about what may be lost in the abandoned sites and even in the preserved parks, and reconstructions that dot the American landscape. One word of warning: the index is split into place and subject sections. The book comes recommended for the serious scholar and anyone interested in preserving or gaining a scholarly understanding of industrial America. The volume will encourage others hopefully to follow in Gordon's and Malone's footsteps.

DUANE A. SMITH
Fort Lewis College

LARRY R. FORD. *Cities and Buildings: Skyscrapers, Skid Rows, and Suburbs.* (Creating the North American Landscape.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 304. Cloth $55.00, paper $19.95.

Larry R. Ford's study brings together geography's large-scale overview, generalization, and abstraction with architectural history's material specificity and concreteness and social history's concern with different peoples' experienced reality. This is an ambitious aim, and Ford often succeeds in integrating "theo-

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ries, methodologies, models, and data" with real buildings and neighborhoods in the United States.

Ford wants this book to correct twentieth-century social science's tendency to be abstract by inserting the physicality, the visual order, and the uses of architecture into that discourse: "Scholars could tell if housing was 'substandard' or 'overcrowded,' but we could not tell if a building was a bungalow" (p. 2). His chapters investigate the evolution and spatial order of downtowns, focusing on the skyscraper, transition zones that encircle downtown, and shopping spaces. He then moves to residential landscapes: the single-family house and the multi-unit. Commercial thoroughfares or "strips" and recent "megadevelopments" that disperse the old functions of downtown complete the book's geographies.

Combining the views of several disciplines allows Ford to achieve new insights out of familiar materials. For example, his study of the black ghetto (pp. 182–83) matches the movement of African Americans out from the city core with specific house types, showing that the "ghetto" is varied and provides an unacknowledged range of house forms and quality. His study of the skyscraper includes real-estate history, city core development, and office building form and distribution. He thus can show how ideas of exclusion and segregation were promoted by the skyscraper, a building type that also transformed city morphology by encouraging lot assembly (p. 36).

The book is illustrated with photographs of individual buildings and streetscapes, but no building plans or maps. Ford stays away from the slick, context-free photographs often used to show famous buildings, and also stays away from famous buildings in favor of showing views of the built world familiar from daily life.

Ford's writing is generally accessible and engaging, and the book could be a good introductory text for students in urban history, architecture, or planning departments. But Ford's home base in geography comes through in his continued use of initials as names for things: CBD, PLVI, SMSA (many, but not all of which, are defined opposite p. 1). As a historian, I found these slowed my reading; surely the words themselves could have been used instead, making the text comfortable for a larger audience.

Because Ford tries to synthesize information from several disciplines, he inevitably says things that a specialist would question. Architectural historians would disagree with his use of the term "Greek Revival" (p. 19). He locates the plazas used to set off major urban buildings in the Renaissance (p. 14), but many such open spaces (as in Paris or Vienna) date from nineteenth-century efforts. He defines a railroad tenement (p. 189) as rooms "along a narrow corridor," whereas the problem with railroad flats is that there is no corridor: circulation flows directly through rooms.

Nevertheless, Ford's overviews are persuasive, and he brings together theories, buildings, and people in an integrated discussion. Ford provokes thought with insights that any one discipline's view rarely provides.

ELIZABETH C. CROMLEY
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HARRY C. SILCOX. *A Place to Live and Work: The Henry Disston Saw Works and the Tacony Community of Philadelphia.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1994. Pp. xix, 231. $35.00.

"The story of Henry Disston and Sons is living proof of what both benign and ruthless capitalism can do to a community" (p. 195). Harry C. Silcox should know. He grew up in Tacony, a company town created by Disston in the late nineteenth century. His acquaintance with the place and many of the participants enables Silcox to write an intimate account of the rise and fall of what was once a world leader in the production of steel saws.

Disston typified the nineteenth-century entrepreneurial firm. Henry Disston put his stamp on the firm he founded in 1840 by commanding the technology of steel tool manufacture, aggressively marketing his product lines, and pouring earnings back into additional plant and equipment. His sons and grandsons were expected to carry on the family firm; all but one were trained by in-plant apprenticeships before they were made partners. Disston & Sons grew to considerable size, but it did not experience the economies of scale or scope that facilitated the rise of big business elsewhere. Instead it remained a classic flexible producer, producing high-quality tools, often on special order by a highly skilled labor force.

To attract and retain these workers, Henry Disston built an industrial community in the 1870s. Buying up huge tracts of Tacony, he constructed worker housing, funded gas and water utilities, and donated land for parks, churches, and schools. The workers received good wages, free medical care, and illness and death benefits. To encourage long job tenure, Disston avoided layoffs for the more skilled and promised their male children apprenticeships.

Whereas the first two generations of Disstons built up the firm, the next two presided over its dissolution. Seeking dividends to satisfy their burgeoning numbers, they refused to invest in new capital, to bring forth new products, or to pursue new markets. The close cooperation with workers evaporated with the advent of New Deal unions. Racking up impressive losses in the early 1950s, Disston & Sons was sold to H. K. Porter. Porter then seized its worker pension funds, sold off machinery and plant, and moved most of its production to Virginia and Mexico. Today only a rump operation remains in run-down Tacony.

Unearthing rich primary resources, including some superb photographs, Silcox skillfully re-creates the late-nineteenth-century world of work and community. Although Tacony may have been a good place to live and work, it was not benign capitalism. In his

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industrial community, Henry Disston banned taverns and broke unions. And it was not ruthless but inept capitalism that explains the decline of the business. From the 1940s forward, the family run firm squandered numerous opportunities. I doubt that William Leeds Disston, who supplied the author with much of his material for the 1940s and 1950s, could have resuscitated the company even if it had pursued his schemes for a gas-powered chain saw.

DIANE LINDSTROM
University of Wisconsin, Madison

KAREN ORDAHL KUPPERMAN. *Providence Island, 1630–1641: The Other Puritan Colony.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xiii, 393. $59.95.

Comparative study of the organization and settlement patterns of the English diaspora of the seventeenth century has received less attention recently than it did up through to the early 1970s. Such an approach, however, throws light on many issues of central concern to historians of the 1990s. Providence Island, located just over 100 miles off the coast of Nicaragua, was one of fifty-eight places overseas—apart from New England—for which the English crown issued a settlement charter prior to 1660. It ranked with the Chesapeake, Barbados, Bermuda, and even New England as a recipient of English capital and people from late 1629, when it was first settled, down to 1641, when, on their third attempt, the Spanish finally overran the settlement. This fate was related to the fact that what began as a plantation quickly became a base for piracy. The relatively rich documentation available on its history has remained unexploited since A. P. Newton's work before World War I.

Karen Ordahl Kupperman's book, ostensibly about the temporary occupation of a tiny, hitherto unoccupied island, never significant subsequently in the history of the Atlantic, restores the settlement to center stage. This is possible, in part, because many of the investors, organizers, and, indeed, migrants associated with the New England colonies were also involved in the Providence Island settlement. The author can thus draw fascinating comparisons and develop paradoxes that will be of interest to a wide range of readers.

Puritan grandees designed the settlement as a conscious attempt to avoid what was perceived as a central mistake in the colonization of New England and the Chesapeake: permitting the migrants too much economic, political, and religious decision-making power. That propertied Puritans struggled against the centralizing tendencies of the crown at home without apparent awareness of any parallel is presented not just as an irony but also as a prime reason for the failure of the colony. Local economic and political power is presented here as axiomatic to successful colonization, although African slaves might question the extent of decentralization that existed in some successful colonies. Providence, in fact, qualifies as the first English slave colony with over half the population of the island African shortly before the Spanish conquest. Tobacco rather than sugar cultivation provided the basis for a slave economy a decade before Barbados embraced sugar and slaves together, and half a century before tobacco began to sustain slavery in Virginia. As this suggests, few Puritans objected to slavery. The tensions inherent in preaching liberty and attempting to maintain control over all details of colonial life are well laid out in a chapter on religion. Business historians will also find much of interest here.

Kupperman's examination of Providence Island thus presents an unusual and hitherto largely hidden case in the wide-ranging experimentation of the English in the early settlement of the Americas. It will contribute to fresh assessments of Puritanism, slavery and the burgeoning market economy, and the English political situation to that process. This is a model work of scholarship built not only on wide ranging primary sources but also a sure and unpretentious grasp of a number of specialized secondary literatures.

DAVID ELTIS
Queen's University Kingston, Canada

FRANCIS J. BREMER, editor. *Puritanism: Transatlantic Perspectives on a Seventeenth-Century Anglo-American Faith.* (Massachusetts Historical Society Studies in American History and Culture, number 3.) Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society; distributed by Northeastern University Press. 1993. Pp. xvii, 300. Cloth $45.00, paper $15.95.

This collection of essays does not suggest a single "new way of looking at the Puritans" (p. xi), at least not the one claimed, for most of the essays restrict their attention to only one side of the Atlantic. If anything, they share a concern not to reduce Puritan "faith" to the product of social or economic interests; in other words, the contributors want to take Puritan religion seriously.

The most interesting essays are revisionist: they argue that Puritanism was not as revolutionary, factious, or elitist as commonly thought. Carol G. Schneider argues that Puritans in pre–Civil War England resisted innovations that seemed to challenge both theological and established ritual practices of the English church. In the most learned and suggestive essay, Patrick Collinson challenges the stereotype of Puritanism as naturally and inevitably fissiparous. Many Puritans resisted Brownist separatism, some separatists changed direction and wound up in the arms of the bishops, and the Puritan movement as a whole grew only "by subjecting scattered and disorganized elements to a process of church formation, albeit the formation of a church within the Church" (p. 151). Finally, Ann Hughes takes on Christopher

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Hill and John Morrill's charge that mainstream Interregnum Protestantism was elitist and unpopular. Instead, she claims, pamphlets from public debates reveal considerable common ground between orthodox and radicals. Thus, Interregnum Puritanism displayed something of the radical, popular edge seen among zealous New England Protestants.

Charles L. Cohen's reflections on Amerindian conversions to Puritanism is the most original piece in this set. He proposes that the relative paucity of conversions was due not only to Puritan hubris but also to limitations of Amerindian culture. The American coastal tribes could not conceive of a god of love, since their own deities were at best distant. One wonders how comparative anthropology would have enriched this analysis: what about other cultures that also (p. 242) "possessed no psychological equivalent to the new birth"? Have they had a similar difficulty when confronted with the Christian god of love?

The volume's other essays break little new ground. Peter Lake and Stephen Foster debate the meaning of Puritanism; Margo Todd mines Samuel Ward's diaries for the routine observation that Puritans constructed self-identities that were oriented toward community; John R. Knott shows how John Bunyan was influenced by John Foxe's historiography and martyrology; Sargent Bush, Jr., makes the unremarkable claim that letter-writing provided inner strength to non-conformists; Keith W. F. Stavely tries, unsuccessfully, to view Roger Williams as a social visionary. Finally, in a paper that is significant for historiography on the Great Awakening more than Puritanism, Charles Hambrick-Stowe shows that the revival's promoters intended to revive the spirit of the old Puritan writers (Shepard, Stoddard, Owen, Baxter, and others), thus supporting recent claims (by Jon Butler, Marilyn Westerkamp, and Leigh Eric Schmidt) that the Great Awakening was less innovative than usually suggested.

Despite its uneven character, this volume is a fine guide to the work of leading interpreters of Puritanism. It will be helpful to students of Puritanism, sixteenth and seventeenth-century England, and the American colonial period.

GERALD R. MCDERMOTT
Roanoke College

LLOYD ULTAN. *The Bronx in the Frontier Era: From the Beginning to 1696.* Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt, in collaboration with the Bronx County Historical Society. 1993. Pp. xi, 236. $30.00.

A local history seemingly written for a popular audience, this volume possesses both the strengths and weaknesses of its genre. Drawing heavily on primary sources, Lloyd Ultan has written a readable, fact-filled, chronological narrative of the Bronx's early history, but only in his final chapter does he attempt to discern the main themes of his story. Even then, he ignores the wealth of scholarship on colonial communities that could provide an analytical context for understanding the Bronx and its significance. Instead, Ultan leaves his readers to wonder whether the Bronx experience was representative or atypical, even among New Yorkers. In so doing, he misses an opportunity to contribute to the increasingly rich historiography of New York and the middle colonies.

Ultan's thesis is that, throughout its entire history, this area that became one of five New York City boroughs in 1898 was never self-governing and that decisions made by outsiders—Dutch merchants, English governors, or Manhattan politicians—"had a profound effect on [its] development" (p. viii). Although Ultan rarely returns to this theme in the course of his narrative, lack of autonomy was the essence of the colonial experience. In seventeenth-century New Netherland/New York, where governments changed frequently, factional rivalries were bitter, and favored officials grabbed huge tracts of land, communal autonomy was especially tenuous.

Ultan's narrative begins with the arrival of the first natives in the area around 5000 B.C. and describes the gradual incursions of European settlers into the region. Examining the process of farm formation, he nicely explains how Jonas Bronck, the area's namesake and the Swedish proprietor of its first white settlement, procured livestock and Dutch, Danish, and German labor to improve his 650-acre tract on the Harlem River. But most of Ultan's accounts of the founding of farms, manors, great patents, and towns are heavily biographical. Readers learn a good deal about the men who became the area's most prominent inhabitants but relatively little about the social structure of the communities they dominated.

Those communities were multiethnic from the outset. Ultan discounts ethnicity as a source of social conflict, but ethnic and religious differences apparently influenced the area's response to the Glorious Revolution and Leisler's Rebellion, its New York manifestation. In his strongest chapter, Ultan argues persuasively that a local land dispute, pitting the Dutch Reformed church against the town of Westchester, helped determine the inhabitants' reaction to the Leislerian upheaval. Because Nicholas Bayard, a member of the deposed governor's council and a prominent anti-Leislerian, represented the church's interests, Leisler's cause won much support in predominantly English Westchester. In Manhattan, Leisler's Rebellion was primarily a Dutch revolt against the English regime, but in the Bronx the rebels were largely English townspeople who opposed the enrichment of a powerful Dutch institution by virtue of its collaboration with English authorities.

In the Bronx as elsewhere, the factional divisions of the Leislerian era shaped the politics of subsequent decades. Men with ties to the English regime increasingly acted as liaisons between their communities and the central government. Imperial placemen and aspiring aristocrats, such as Caleb Heathcote and Lewis Morris, displaced local leaders like John Pell and Richard Ponton, who had cooperated with Leisler.

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The Bronx, like New York generally, was entering an era dominated by such ambitious anglicizers.

CYNTHIA A. KIERNER
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RICHARD P. GILDRIE. *The Profane, the Civil, and the Godly: The Reformation of Manners in Orthodox New England, 1679–1749.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 242. Cloth $35.00, paper $16.95.

This book by Richard P. Gildrie is an account of reformation in New England, from the Reforming Synod of 1679 through the Great Awakening, especially as it applied to three ways of life (or "conversations," as seventeenth-century discourse would have put it). "The godly" were those who conformed to the New England way; "the civil" observed the same respectable public behavior as the godly, but from secular motives; "the profane" were persons indifferent or hostile to both godliness and civility.

These ways of life were not, of course, mutually exclusive: the social behavior of the godly was in many respects indistinguishable from the civil; the civil might convert to godliness; both the godly and the civil might feel the attractions of the profane way of life and on occasion yield to them, especially in their youth.

A second historical dialectic overlies the first, that between popular and learned culture. These also overlap and compete, both with each other and with the three "conversations." New England reformation, for Gildrie, may be read as the clergy's attempts to guide these dialectics.

Gildrie has dug far more deeply into popular culture than most historians. He begins from Peter Burke, but has extended and refined Burke in a number of ingenious ways. He makes an occasional error; the elaborate May ritual, complete with "a communion in bread and beer" (p. 130) that he finds in Samuel Sewall's *Diary* took place near Salisbury, England, not Salisbury, Massachusetts. But an occasional error is unimportant in comparison with the mass of accurate data assembled here, data that suggest that New England had a popular culture as extensive as its learned culture, and as worthy of scholarly attention.

The book covers an extraordinary amount of ground and as a consequence is somewhat loosely organized, but it has two clearly defined climaxes. The first is the chapter on the Salem witchcraft trials. Gildrie distinguishes between popular and learned witch lore, and he regards the events at Salem as a temporary triumph of the popular over the learned. In that he is surely correct. If one examines the surviving legal documents one is struck immediately by the folkloric character of the contents. One might notice also the ways in which evidence is attested. Some documents are signed by officers of the court. Some are unsigned. Others are attested by the phrase "*Jurat in Curia*" or "Sworn in Court" or by the names of witnesses written in the clerk's hand. But with those documents attested by the witnesses themselves, one discovers that the majority of participants in the Salem trials were not only unlearned but also illiterate: they made their mark rather than signing their name.

The second climax is the masterly final chapter on "Augustan Civility and the Great Awakening," which pulls together a remarkable number of themes: popular individualism and egalitarianism, Whig politics, and congregational nonconformity; Augustan civility and the civil conversation; Augustan wit and popular parody; reformation and revival, among many others. The argument, for all its complexity, is for the most part convincing. In brief, Gildrie sees the Great Awakening as "a popular challenge to clerical authority" (p. 231) and the New England leadership's response to it as maintaining "the vitality of the Puritan tradition while absorbing and refining elements of folk aspiration and expression" (p. 236).

This is an important book, both for its own sake and for the possibilities it opens to future scholarship. It occurs to me, for example, that the long and varied history of New England congregational singing (an important part of civil as well as godly ritual, as Gildrie reminds us) might well be written as a dialectic between learned and popular modes of musical expression.

CHADWICK HANSEN
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MATTHEW DENNIS. *Cultivating a Landscape of Peace: Iroquois-European Encounters in Seventeenth-Century America.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 280. $37.95.

Not so long ago, we historians were in the habit of writing about Europeans as colonizers and natives as colonized. In that barbarous age, the driving force of the narrative nearly always originated with the European impression of things (with exceptions, of course, such as Anthony F. C. Wallace's *Death and Rebirth of the Seneca* [1970]). But all that has happily changed, and Matthew Dennis's book is a powerful and compelling example of the new approach (as is Daniel K. Richter's *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* [1992]). Natives, now, are allowed their own errand in life, on equal terms with everyone else commanding the stage of colonial North America.

The stage here is the Northeast, as Dennis provocatively begins the story not with Jacques Cartier or Henry Hudson but with the founding of the Great League of the Iroquois—a commonwealth of peace among the feuding Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, and Mohawk. A most extraordinary state,

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based on the power and obligations of kinship and the need to console and requicken those mourning the death of a loved one. Wampum, not legal documents, propped up the words of this novel constitution. This truly "Good News of Peace and Power" (p. 85) was brought to the Iroquois by the Peace-maker, a fifteenth-century Huron visionary who went by the name Deganawidah.

Dennis's thesis is that the Iroquois tried to adopt their commercially driven Dutch and French neighbors, together with various surrounding native tribes, into the symbolic longhouse that Deganawidah had constructed; literally, that is, adopt them as fully functioning relatives into the social structure of the league. Dennis has given the transcripts of treaty sessions between the Five Nations and the Europeans a meticulous and creative reading, and he has found adoption to be the guiding force of Iroquois diplomacy throughout the majority of the seventeenth century—and we bid adieu to that old chestnut of Iroquois war-mongering. There was of course no way that these Europeans were going to allow themselves to be absorbed so absolutely into a native mindscape; they had a different errand in mind for their sojourn into the wilderness, an errand that Dennis ably describes for both the Dutch and the French. Despite such resistance, the Five Nations pursued their goal with tenacity and grace.

Eventually, however, the combined witchery of disease and factionalism (mostly over the French Jesuits and their Christianity), of famine and of warfare all conspired to confound the goal of the Great Peace. Thus, by the turn of the eighteenth century the Iroquois were surrendering their remarkable vision of an extended lodge of kinship for, now, a less remarkable Covenant Chain of cooperation between autonomous peoples.

The irony, of course, is that Christ (the spiritual fount of Western civilization) and Deganawidah are nearly indistinguishable. Each was a super-normal individual who crystalized out of the vast cosmic ether, carrying a profound, even startling message of peace and healing. And each would have his message yoked to a political and social agenda, with unhappy results in both cases.

At one level it would appear as though there were two very different paradigms at work here, contesting with each other. At another level, as I have just said, it seems as though there was no appreciable difference between a Jesus Christ and a Deganawidah. Should we conclude that the power of peacemakers is not easily, if ever, incorporated into the jurisdiction of the state? Here is an immense paradox in metaphysics, one by no means unique to the Five Iroquois Nations and the French and Dutch. One encounters it along the entire rough edge of the Western-native dialogue; I witness it among the Yup'ik Eskimos with whom I am presently living. And despite what are widely advertised as the beneficial "lessons of history," I can see no way of resolving it.

CALVIN LUTHER MARTIN
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EDWIN J. PERKINS. *American Public Finance and Financial Services, 1700–1815.* (Historical Perspectives on Business Enterprise Series.) Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 433. $49.50.

Edwin J. Perkins is best known to early American historians as the author of *The Economy of Colonial America* (2d ed., 1988), a relatively brief overview of an enormous topic. In his current book he turns his attention to a far more specific aspect of the early American economy: the role that financial institutions played in the development of the economy from the early eighteenth century to the early republic. Here Perkins displays his ample knowledge of financial institutions during their formative period in America, providing more detail about such matters as banks, capital markets, insurance, and currency than virtually any other historian. Yet the book, in spite of all of the information presented, is not as effective as it could have been.

The book will be of use to certain historians, especially those interested in the development of banking and insurance in the United States. The early chapters treat an issue of great importance to colonial Americans: who should control the supply and flow of currency in society. Colonial Americans needed money and, at times to the consternation of British officials, provincial legislatures often issued fiat currency, "a form of government-issue paper money unconvertible into coin at fixed exchange rates" (p. 3). The issuance of such currency occurred everywhere in the colonies, and Americans became so accustomed to using it that nine colonies issued it in spite of British prohibitions during the 1770s. Until the practice was banned by the Constitution, seven states also issued their own money in the 1780s. By recognizing the significance of such currency to colonial Americans, historians will better understand protests against the Currency Act of 1764. Although the issuance of fiat currency was perhaps the most notable aspect of colonial monetary history, the fact that colonists everywhere felt the desire to issue it signaled a decisive moment in American economic history: Americans wanted local control over finances, a feature of economic thought that would survive, in different form, into the nineteenth century.

Perkins devotes substantial attention to the financing of the American Revolution, with chapters devoted to Robert Morris and the Bank of the United States; a state-by-state analysis of debt obligations during the 1780s; and Massachusetts and Shays's Rebellion. Here Perkins makes perhaps the boldest of his claims: the rebellion could have been avoided if the state had tried to maintain interest payments on

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its debt instead of trying to pay it off quickly. The last section of the book deals with the development of financial institutions in the early republic, with a particular focus on the national debt. Here Perkins trots out the familiar antagonists: Alexander Hamilton and his followers, who wanted to maintain the debt and use it to develop the nation's finances, all the while enhancing the economic might of the federal government; and Thomas Jefferson and his allies, who wanted to decentralize economic decision making and to retire the debt and thus avoid the problems that indebtedness created. In the end, the economy reflected both interests: the debt was not retired but the national government did not have exclusive control over finances; by 1815, states had chartered over 200 commercial banks.

All of these developments were important, and Perkins's attention to them is commendable. But in spite of the utility of the findings, the book suffers in various ways. First, the manuscript needed more careful copy-editing. Some chapters contain conclusions, others end abruptly; at least one table (p. 215) lacks a source for the information listed in it; in three places Perkins notes the "irony" of Shays's Rebellion (p. 8, 185, 366). Second, the text contains too few links between financial institutions and important areas of early American economic history such as growth and recruitment of the population, the role of family labor, and agriculture; slavery and indentured servitude do not even appear in the index. There is insufficient attention to the fact that the vast majority of Americans inhabited rural areas where their access to financial institutions was less important in most instances than their relations with storekeepers. Third, this is a history of finances that virtually ignores people, even those crafting the policies. The text contains few quotations, even though statements by major participants could have enhanced it. Finally, the text contains relatively few notes. Surely this book—given its length and the nature of the subject—is intended for a specialized audience. Why, then, provide so few clues about the source of the information? I do not doubt Perkins's accuracy, but the absence of detailed notes for each point of the argument reduces the efficacy of the volume. I cannot imagine why a university press issuing a book on such an abstruse topic would forego standard scholarly conventions in this respect.

These flaws limit this potentially useful volume. As a result, I fear that its store of information will reach a more limited audience than it should. That is regrettable given the author's admirable efforts to describe a vital segment of the early American economy.

PETER C. MANCALL
University of Kansas

KATHERINE M. J. MCKENNA. *A Life of Propriety: Anne Murray Powell and Her Family, 1755–1849.* Buffalo, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 327.

Katherine M. J. McKenna's biography of Anne Murray Powell—niece of the redoubtable Boston businesswoman Elizabeth Murray Inman and wife of Massachusetts Loyalist William Dummer Powell—is significant and frustrating in equal measure. Its greatest significance lies in the author's organization of the biographical material she wishes to develop; the failure to realize its promise arises from a reliance on the paradigm of "true womanhood" to explain a complex life.

In the first section of the book, McKenna narrates the life of Anne Murray Powell as it unfolds in time, from her childhood in England to what Powell saw as a humiliating experience working in her aunt's millinery shop through her marriage, exile, and the difficult task of establishing a new life in Canada. McKenna is a skilled writer and expertly weaves together Powell's personal story and the larger story of revolution, exile, and resettlement. There are no surprises here, and the biography cannot be said to break new ground in our understanding of the Loyalist experience or of the genteel circles of prerevolutionary New England. But it does add depth and texture to what we know, largely because of McKenna's attention to revealing detail and her ability to pace her narrative.

The linear account of Powell's life takes up only a small portion of the book. As McKenna makes clear in her introduction, she believes that a feminist biography must be structured differently from traditional biographies of men and women in order to explore aspects of a woman's life—especially the web of familial relationships—that are treated marginally if at all in standard biographies. McKenna is not, of course, the first scholar in women's history to recognize the need for an alternative organization of biographical material; but her solution to the problem is perhaps the most successful one I have seen.

Although McKenna picks up the chronological thread in a short final section of the book detailing Powell's old age and death, the bulk of the book lies in two middle sections, which are organized topically. Here McKenna examines Powell's complex and overlapping relationships—first, in gender sets of husband-wife, sister-brother, and mother-sons, and second, in same-sex sets, especially mother-daughter. The emphasis is on gender roles and expectations, their origins, and their centrality in shaping individual identities, especially of the Powell women. There is much that is laudable, as McKenna reconstructs the tensions and burdens of the role of "proper wife" and, for that matter, proper male protector and provider. The identity problems facing the Powell sons and daughters—who all seem to suffer from the constraints of gender roles too rigidly inculcated by their mother—are particularly engrossing.

The frustration with this biography arises, however,

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from McKenna's insistence on using the "cult of true woman" as an explanatory *deus ex machina* each time interpretation is called for. Despite some scholars' conviction that true womanhood was in place in late-eighteenth-century America, this is not a widely accepted view. More to the point, women's historians are now debating whether this is a useful paradigm at all. Certainly, we have all come to qualify it as a bourgeois gender ideology and no longer talk of it as the only gender ideology shaping American women's lives. McKenna ignores such refinements and challenges. She explains the totality of Powell's actions, emotional responses, and inner conflicts with reference to the demands and restrictions of true womanhood and she sees Powell's life as representative of American women of her era. The innovation reflected in the book's organization is diminished by this.

CAROL BERKIN
Baruch College
City University of New York

JOSEPH S. FOSTER. *In Pursuit of Equal Liberty: George Bryan and the Revolution in Pennsylvania.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1994. Pp. xv, 197. $35.00.

Born to Irish Protestant parents of some means in the early 1730s, George Bryan immigrated to Philadelphia in the early 1750s to set himself up there as a merchant. He married a local woman, began to raise a family, and prospered during the Seven Years' War. But in the 1760s Bryan's initial success began to turn sour, partially as a consequence of changes in imperial policy that were to lead to the American Revolution. Bryan experienced difficulty in adjusting to new circumstances and took refuge first in church and subsequently in revolutionary politics. Forced into bankruptcy in 1771, he did not emerge as a prominent member of the political coalition that framed Pennsylvania's constitution of 1776 until after the implementation of the new government. In 1777 he was elected to a three-year term on the executive council where he served as vice president and briefly during 1778 as its acting president after the death of Thomas Wharton. In October 1780 he accepted appointment to the state's supreme court on the eve of an electoral defeat that marked the beginning of the constitutionalists' progressive decline in power. Bryan's position on the court largely immunized him from the consequences of the waning power of his faction and he lingered on as their spokesperson as well as leader of the state's Antifederalists until his death in 1791.

Bryan's one unqualified claim to fame derives from his role in drafting and securing the passage of Pennsylvania's statute of 1780 that provided for the gradual abolition of slavery. Aside from that laudable achievement, his career is principally significant in reminding us of how the revolution might have gone wrong. The constitutionalists emerged to dominate Pennsylvania's revolutionary government through most of the war not because of a broad popular mandate but because the province's provincial elite had allowed itself to become immobilized at a critical moment in 1776, permitting political scavengers to fill the void. Bryan's confrontational style was admirably suited to defending the ground his fellow constitutionalists had seized. He had received his political education in the bitter struggle between Old and New Side Presbyterians in the 1760s. During the revolution he became a vigorous advocate of penalizing those who refused loyalty to the new regime as well as of embargoes and price regulations. He also refused to heed a petition signed by more than seven thousand people requesting that the lives of two men convicted of treason be spared. The constitutionalists' mismanagement of the economy undermined their electoral power and quickly narrowed Bryan's political options. Nonetheless he remained a force to be reckoned with until after the successful revision of Pennsylvania's constitution in 1790.

On reading an account of his life one cannot help asking what kept men of his ilk from doing more harm than good to the revolution. Because Joseph S. Foster's biography of Bryan is sympathetic in its approach, it fails to confront this issue directly. But the author's scrupulous respect for his subject supplies readers with ample material with which to address the problem.

RICHARD BUEL, JR.
Wesleyan University

HAL T. SHELTON. *General Richard Montgomery and the American Revolution: From Redcoat to Rebel.* (The American Social Experience Series, number 29.) New York: New York University Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 245. $45.00.

To his contemporaries Richard Montgomery was a martyr to the revolutionary cause. Similarly, he is best known to historians for his death in the disastrous assault on Quebec on the last night of 1775. Although Montgomery demonstrated remarkable ability in organizing his disparate array of untrained and ill-equipped soldiers, his death overshadows his life as an intimation of the limitations of a democratic military. Montgomery had no choice but to attack, for most of his soldiers' enlistments expired on the following morning, and they had every intention of going home.

Hal T. Shelton's brief biography tells the tale again with few surprises. Shelton is notably sympathetic to his subject, but his work remains rather limited. More space is devoted to Montgomery's ancestry than to his career in New York prior to the revolution. Most disappointing is the book's failure to discuss Montgomery's intriguing, and rapid, transition "from Redcoat to Rebel." Montgomery did not leave the British military until 1772, coming to New York shortly thereafter. Montgomery's wife wrote that it was not until the middle of 1775 that "my hero would listen to

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any argument contrary to his loyalty" to Britain (p. 57); his first known patriot statement appeared in a private letter of June 3. Yet within the month he was appointed a general in the new Continental Army. Although there is a chapter titled "Decision for the Patriot Cause," we never actually discover the roots of that resolution; it is simply assumed to be the product of Montgomery's marriage to a Livingston. For Montgomery's private life, Shelton relies uncritically on Janet Livingston Montgomery's "Reminiscences," not bothering to note anywhere that this memoir was written in 1820. Conversations recorded forty-five years later are presented as fact, while Janet Montgomery's idolatry remains unquestioned.

As a history of the Canadian campaign of 1775, Shelton's work excels. Shelton does an excellent job documenting the difficulties facing the new army as its commanders sought to prevent revolutionary ideals from going too far and undermining discipline. Montgomery faced one crisis after another: a shortage of every type of supply, from munitions and armaments to food and boots; conflicts between New Englanders and New Yorkers; troublesome and jealous officers such as Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold; extended lines of communication and political infighting; and, most devastating, short enlistments. With all these troubles facing Montgomery, the British forces seemed of no real significance, and they could probably have been driven from Canada had Montgomery been confident of the commitment of his forces. As it was, the whole campaign, and the results of a series of remarkable victories gained in 1775, collapsed with his death.

While the limitations imposed by a scarcity of sources is well known to every historian, the sort of imagined motivations with which Shelton packs his book are not generally admired. His conclusion that the British lacked the will to seek victory in America because of their admiration for Montgomery will strike many as profoundly bizarre. Scant sources justify caution, not such outrageous assertions.

MICHAEL A. BELLESILES
Emory University

RONALD HOFFMAN and PETER J. ALBERT, editors. *Religion in a Revolutionary Age.* (Perspectives on the American Revolution.) Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia for the United States Capitol Historical Society. 1994. Pp. xvii, 350. $39.50.

The eleven essays comprising this book had their genesis in a conference sponsored by the United States Capitol Historical Society in 1988. Presenters had an opportunity to revise and expand their essays for publication with the added benefit of knowing what each other was discussing. All of the contributors are recognized historians, either of American religious history or of the late-colonial and early republic periods. Thus, all of the essays are provocative and substantive, a rarity among collections.

Taken together, these essays highlight the intricate and subtle ways religious forces interacted with other social and political currents at a pivotal point in the nation's history. The analysis of previous generations that sought to give priority to evangelical currents or to liberal currents will no longer do. If anything, these essays suggest that the religious dimensions of the revolutionary epoch have a richer texture than once assumed.

Jon Butler and Patricia Bonomi open the book with essays looking back on colonial religion. Butler is struck by the understanding of authority and coercion that undergirded religious institutions that wielded social power, while Bonomi reminds us that those institutions were at the same time rooted in the heritage of English Dissent. But the paradox they highlight remains today: the nation's passion for order has made it difficult to deal with dissent, religious or otherwise, in the centuries since the revolution.

Elaine Crane, Sylvia Frey, and Ronald Schultz draw attention to those today classified as marginalized: women, African Americans, and the urban working class. Crane, moving into material culture, deftly shows how Faith Trumbull applied the biblical story of Absalom to the patriotic cause in a work of embroidery, while Frey reminds us of the potent role of the black church in forging a distinct cultural identity, one that readily grafted African elements onto Christianity. Schultz provides a careful study of the working class in Philadelphia in the decades after the revolution when the colonial craft system was fading. Especially intriguing is his demonstration that Universalism had offered as vital a sense of legitimation to workers as the more evangelical Methodists and Presbyterians. Evangelicalism provides the focus for Robert Calhoon's more generalized treatment that incisively probes how evangelicalism in the early republic always confronted the tension between personal experience (conversion, sanctification) and the public ramifications of faith (particularly in the growing challenge to slavery).

Three essays that probe the interplay of political and religious forces follow. Among the more revisionist is Stephen Marini's examination of the religious identification of delegates to the state conventions called to ratify the federal Constitution. Marini demonstrates that there is no easy correlation; evangelicals, for example, both supported and opposed the Constitution. Other factors must come into view, particularly region and economic standing. Edwin Gaustad directs attention to provisions for religious tests for public office in some of the first state constitutions, along with the lack of same in the federal Constitution and Northwest Ordinance. Gaustad argues that those who omitted such tests from federal documents were motivated by more than a pragmatic awareness that no single group was dominant; as compelling was the conviction that religious matters were the proper prerogative of the states. In

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the one sometimes tedious essay in the book, M. L. Bradbury shows how federalism, both in its language and structures of organization, had varying degrees of influence on the formation of three denominations (Baptists, Presbyterians, and Episcopalians) in the new nation. While each ultimately adopted a different polity, all thought they were reflecting the revolutionary era's concerns for representation and restrictions on power.

The two concluding essays raise different themes. Paul Conkin revisits the heritage of Enlightenment religion, often too casually labeled Deism, by looking at the correspondence between and beliefs of Thomas Jefferson and Joseph Priestley. Conkin shows how emerging Unitarianism, often seen as extreme liberalism, had an intellectual appeal for Jefferson but did not destroy his conviction that a basic Christian morality was necessary for political stability. Finally, Ruth Bloch turns to facets of popular culture, the sentimental novel and advice literature, to find evidence for her contention that the continuing paradox between the liberal and the republican, the individual and the community, prevailed there. With a variant of that paradox this fine collection of essays began.

CHARLES H. LIPPY
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JOHN PHILLIP REID. *Constitutional History of the American Revolution: The Authority of Law.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1993. Pp. viii, 279. $35.00.

Was there a root cause of the American Revolution? Eighteenth-century Britons thought there was, as John Phillip Reid reminds us in this fourth and final volume of his *Constitutional History of the American Revolution.* That cause was Parliament's claim to authority to enact all manner of laws binding on the American colonies. American Whig resistance to that claim reached final, intractable form after the Coercive Acts in 1774. The argument centered on the "dichotomy of the two constitutions" (p. 4).

Scholars of the American Revolution, Reid argues, have failed to appreciate that eighteenth-century British constitutional law supported mutually exclusive principles. The essential difference between the two was the issue of law. Parliament and loyalists asserted that it was a command of the sovereign, and American Whigs argued that it was a restraint on the sovereign. The Coercive Acts asserted Parliament's supremacy so forcefully that colonials could no longer dodge the issue, as they had until then, by accepting some legislation without approving the principle of parliamentary supremacy. Reid is adept at illustrating this impasse with each of the Coercive Acts, especially the often neglected Administration of Justice and Quebec acts.

The dichotomy traced to differing interpretations of the Glorious Revolution that gave rise to conflicting dynamics of constitutional law. For Parliament, the Glorious Revolution represented liberty secured through legislative control of the crown. Its eighteenth-century problem was maintaining that supremacy. For that reason Parliament required acknowledgment of supremacy as a precondition to any promise not to enact certain kinds of laws, a promise Parliament was disposed to make. For American Whigs, the Glorious Revolution represented the triumph of rule of law securing liberty against arbitrary power. Their anxiety about arbitrary power prevented them from acknowledgement.

Two different notions of liberty developed: one that liberty flowed from restraint on government, or the rule of law; the other that British liberty depended on Parliament's supremacy over the crown. Threatened by Parliament's arbitrary power, Americans turned to the king. Their constitutional thought made them monarchists, and their notion would have subverted constitutional government and liberty as they functioned in Great Britain at that time. The dispute, says Reid, had become "too legal" (p. 143). American liberty required freedom from arbitrary power; British liberty required Parliament's supremacy over the crown. Negotiated resolution was impossible because neither party could surrender constitutional principle. In those days, at least, "Law could be as determinative of politics as politics was of law" (p. 27).

Making the American Revolution a constitutional crisis centering on law sounds old fashioned. There is only passing mention of republicanism, and that simply to note that Americans were too occupied with returning to balanced constitutional protection for rights to experiment with civic virtue. But Reid's determination to focus attention on the role of law in context is more a complement to than a dissent from interpretations focusing on the revolution's ideological origins. Consider how much richer our understanding would be if scholars had better probed the "apparent royalism of the American whigs" (p. 154).

Among the many strengths of the study are Reid's skill and care in placing arguments in the intellectual context of the eighteenth century, his impressive research and intimacy with the records, his elegant writing, and his forceful argument. It is a fit conclusion to an impressive work. After finishing it, I wanted to ask, like Governor George Johnson in the House of Commons in 1775 (p. 51), "Is there any man so ignorant, after having heard those sounding words, as not to clearly comprehend the whole of the controversy?"

FRANCIS N. STITES
San Diego State University

CARL J. RICHARD. *The Founders and the Classics: Greece, Rome, and the American Enlightenment.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1994. Pp. viii, 295. $42.50.

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Christianity and the pagan classics were the intellectual influences that contributed most to the shaping of early American thought and culture. Many studies explore Christianity in the colonies and the new nation, but the literature on the Greek and Roman classics in early America is comparatively thin.

This work is the first book-length study of the impact of the ancient classics on the founders. As Carl J. Richard shows, Clinton Rossiter and Bernard Bailyn contended that the founders used the classics as window dressing. Gordon S. Wood and Joyce O. Appleby restored the significance of the classics to the revolutionary era, but they noted a shift in the early national period from classical republicanism to liberalism. Meyer Reinhold stressed the founders' classical reading while accepting the Wood-Appleby paradigm, while J. G. A. Pocock, Lance Banning, and Drew McCoy attacked the paradigm by showing how some founders drew on both classical republicanism and liberalism.

According to Richard, the literature of Greece and Rome exerted a formative influence on the founders, both directly and through the mediation of Whig and American perspectives. The classical heritage supplied a large portion of the founders' intellectual tools. Richard marshals the evidence to support his thesis, and his knowledge of the classics enables him to evaluate the founders' views on Greece and Rome.

The first and somewhat impressionistic chapter maintains that the classical heritage was transmitted through the educational system. The author then discusses the founders' use of classical symbols and allusions in pseudonyms, architecture, and painting. Richard notes the "existence of a classical canon" (p. 39) but does not describe its contents.

These preliminaries yield to a rewarding analysis of how the founders' study of the past shaped their own identity. Americans drew on ancient history for models and antimodels of individuals, societies, and governments that helped them make decisions: for example, heroes and demagogues, free and slave societies, republics and empires, and leagues of a federal character.

The classical theory of mixed government exerted a powerful influence during the late eighteenth century. Federalists drew on it, adapting it to American conditions in fashioning the new government, whereas Antifederalists attacked the theory. The debate between them over mixed government, along with their commitment to classical pastoralism, revealed their shared environmentalism. Mixed government was unsuited to a modern commercial nation.

A chapter on philosophy that treats natural law, the cyclical view of history, and the Stoic conception of human nature lacks unity, but it makes the valid point that the founders interwove Christianity and classical philosophy. Here and in treating the myth of classical decline, Richard contends that classical republicanism persisted after the ratification of the Constitution. In the early national period Republicans justified the transition to representative democracy by attributing the success of ancient republics to agricultural society, not mixed government. Betraying some ambivalence toward classical republicanism, each political party became half classical, half liberal. Classical republicanism weakened later when reverence for the Constitution lessened the utility of the classics. An excellent conclusion summarizes the thesis.

This study reads well and is invariably interesting. Richard is silent, however, on such topics as rhetoric and aesthetics; he barely mentions science, and some chapters are apparently the product of using whatever was caught by casting a wide net. The best part of this study demonstrates how the classics provided precedents for unprecedented actions as the founders created a new nation. Richard substantiates his thesis, and the result is a significant book.

WINTON U. SOLBERG
University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

F. THORNTON MILLER. *Juries and Judges versus the Law: Virginia's Provincial Legal Perspective, 1783–1828.* (Constitutionalism and Democracy.) Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1994. Pp. xiv, 175.

At its core this book by F. Thornton Miller deserves the endorsements of eminent scholars who served as prepublication reviewers, and others whose favorable notices have already appeared in print. At the same time, it argues, dare one say, somewhat in the form of an attorney's brief, blithely ignoring circumstances that might qualify its arguments. For the benefit of students who may profit from them, this review will dwell chiefly on its considerable merits.

Most remarkable, original, and convincing is Miller's description of the conservative, locally based mind-set of the ruling Virginia gentry (with noted exceptions) concerning sovereignty, the common law, and the Constitution. Did we who dabble, however frequently, in Virginia history suppose that strict construction and states' rights came from exalting state constitutions, and state sovereignty, above the U.S. Constitution of 1787 and the claims made for the federal government by nationalists? We were wrong; the real bedrock constitution of Virginia was an unwritten and traditional one by whose standards of individual and local rights—along with determined political persistence—centralizers and reformers in Richmond as well as Washington might find their plans defeated. To keep the maximum control of affairs in the hands of local courts, and to try cases, especially those involving debt, before local juries was the "Country Party's" effective means of resisting centralization from both the state and the nation. Patrick Henry the lawyer-politician along with Edmund Pendleton the jurist preserved the localist tradition from the American Revolution until the defeat of centralizing Federalism in the election of 1800; Judge Spencer Roane fought and, so far as cases

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within Virginia were concerned, prevailed over St. George Tucker and John Marshall in the years leading up to Virginia's conservative-dominated constitutional convention of 1829.

Thus, Virginia gave to the South a legal-constitutional system vastly different from the evolving systems described by Morton J. Horwitz (*The Transformation of American Law, 1780–1860* [1977]) and R. Kent Newmyer (*Supreme Court Justice Joseph Story: Statesman of the Old Republic* [1985]), with their emphasis on centralization, professionalization, and serving the needs of nascent industrial capitalism. And the modes of constitutional reasoning associated with the defense of slavery after 1830 were already fully developed.

Yet the defense of slavery in Virginia did not begin in 1830; rather, it began in response to the early if modest successes of Virginia antislavery advocates back in the 1780s. And while Henry seemed to relish frustrating the claims of British creditors when appealing to juries of debt-ridden planters, he otherwise was in favor of resuming normal commercial relations with Great Britain after 1783. This led by quite natural steps to his supporting Federalist foreign policy just before his death, while young John Randolph, in his first term in the House of Representatives, was calling himself Citizen and admiring the ultracentralized French Republic. Miller is entirely correct that the South, led by Virginia conservatives, would later treat the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions of 1798–99—Thomas Jefferson's and James Madison's creative glosses on the Constitution—as if they were sacred fundamental law and the U.S. Constitution itself a mere contract. But southern statesmen could also affirm federal sovereignty and deny the prerogatives of local juries when it suited them; how many Congressmen from Virginia voted against the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850?

ROBERT MCCOLLEY
University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

MICHAEL G. KENNY. *The Perfect Law of Liberty: Elias Smith and the Providential History of America.* Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution. 1994. Pp. xvi, 328. $49.00.

Michael G. Kenny has written a helpful book on one of the most fascinating—if also one of the least stable—characters in American religion. Kenny does not pretend that his insights on Elias Smith (1769–1846) are entirely new. Rather, he freely acknowledges assistance from many historians—like Randolph Roth on changes in nineteenth-century rural New England, Ruth Bloch on political millennialism, George Rawlyk and Stephen Marini on anti-elite populist religion, Richard Hughes and Leonard Allen on the restorationist impulse, Gordon Wood on post-revolutionary social radicalism, and, above all, Nathan Hatch on the democratization of religion after the American Revolution. Kenny's contribution arises from his care at mining the huge corpus of Smith's own writings, his illuminating discussion of the interlocking themes of Smith's life, and his discerning interpretation of Smith's often ironic legacies. Kenny perhaps could have done more in relating Smith's highly charged political convictions to the outworking of local politics (as when he noted Smith's possible influence in New Hampshire's election for governor in 1804), and his endnotes are often substantial enough to be incorporated into the text. Beyond such details, there is very little to criticize.

Smith's career was marked by an incredibly energetic peripateticism. Yet in a life of constant movement—from Lyme, Connecticut, to Vermont and then Portsmouth, New Hampshire, later to Boston, Philadelphia, Providence, and Portland, Maine, as well as during frequent redirection of his career as minister (successively Baptist, "Christian," Universalist, and "Christian" again), physician, dentist, publisher, and merchant—one thing remained constant. Smith's anchor was an unshakable conviction in the harmony of radical Jeffersonian egalitarianism and populist trust in the Bible. Smith's career thus illuminates a conjunction of characteristics that occupied a singularly important place in the new republic: "a specifically Christian republicanism growing out of a New Light evangelical heritage, conjoined with a rapidly evolving national political culture in a climate of strident partisan conflict" (p. 260). Smith was especially important as a founder of the "Christian" churches, a radically anti-elitist movement that, while attempting to create a harmonious, unified church that heeded only the New Testament's "perfect law of liberty," attacked traditional biblical interpretations, traditional denominations, and traditional clerical authority. As demonstrated by Kenny and several other recent historians, the "Christian" movement embodied some of the deepest, but also the most utopian, popular aspirations in the early United States. It was a movement that evolved within less than two generations from condemning the payment of ministers to certifying its own pastors, and from blasting the pretensions of college-trained clergy to founding its own colleges (including Antioch in Ohio, named for the biblical city where believers were first called "Christians").

Kenny's book is enriched by brief but well-researched discussions on a number of important subjects arising out of Smith's life. Some of these include the nearly universal respect for the scriptures (however diversely interpreted) in early America, the organic world-view of Smith's Federalist and Congregational opponents, Thomas Jefferson's appeal to radical Protestants (Smith thought Jefferson's election fulfilled a prophecy in the book of Revelation), the use of anti–Roman Catholic language as a universal polemical vocabulary, the importance of dreams and visions for the early "Christian" leaders, the role of women preachers (especially Nancy Cram) in the

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movement, the openness of "Christians" to African Americans (including the Baptist Thomas Paul), the spectacular growth of religious journalism (especially Smith's *Herald of Gospel Liberty*), and the appeal of Samuel Thomson's natural and experiential medical practice in the circles drawn to the "Christians." For both biographical center and discursive margins, this is a valuable book.

MARK A. NOLL
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Wheaton, Illinois

RHODRI WINDSOR LISCOMBE. *Altogether American: Robert Mills, Architect and Engineer, 1781–1855.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. viii, 372. $45.00.

Rhodri Windsor Liscombe's book is a rich and useful biography of Robert Mills, the architect and engineer who designed the Washington National Monument. Liscombe treats Mills's most famous work as a fitting climax to a long and fruitful career. Born in 1781 in Charles Town, South Carolina, where the Union would be dissolved six years after his death, Mills would nevertheless be a staunch nationalist throughout his life. The Washington National Monument reflected his fervent patriotism and the ambitions of the young republic. The completion of the monument after the Civil War would symbolize the triumph of federal power and an expansive nationalism. But Mills should be remembered for much more. A prolific architect who scraped together a living from a variety of private and public commissions, Mills gave the antebellum capital a measure of the architectural distinction of the European capitals through his design and alteration of numerous federal buildings. His novel and experimental adaptation of the Southern Palladian architecture of his birthplace (particularly the colonnaded piazza and raised portico) to the neo-Classical architecture of the early federal period created a distinctively American style of public architecture. This style, as in Mills's masterful Treasury Building (1836–42), and its extension in the federal buildings of this century, is responsible for much of what grandeur the capital retains today.

An energetic champion of the architectural profession, Mills was also a structural engineer, an innovator in acoustical design, a prolific author of architectural studies and guidebooks among other works, and an imaginative, if often impractical, advocate of internal improvements. In all these endeavors his ardent patriotism stood out. "My object is to benefit the profession," he wrote in 1827, "and in so doing to advance the good of my country" (p. 304). Although his livelihood was often dependent on federal monies and patrons, there is little reason to doubt his sincerity. In his proposals for canals into upcountry South Carolina (he also wrote an atlas and statistical study of the state) and improved transportation and military defenses in the western territories, Mills worked for national unity and expansion. Even as an advocate of humanitarian policies in his designs of prisons and asylums, he acted as something of a good-will ambassador to the South for a reform agenda associated with the Northeast.

Wider reading in the historical literature would have improved this biography. The current debate over the role of liberal and republican ideologies in the early republic might have given greater force to Liscombe's analysis of Mills's leading role in creating an American architectural imagery. Recent work on the South Carolina upcountry might have enriched his discussion of how Mills's improvement plans in his native state ran afoul of financial entrenchment and suspicion of expansive government in the era of nullification. But students of architectural history will find here a carefully researched discussion of Mills's work and historical reputation that complements a sensitive biography. That is probably enough to ask of any single volume.

JOHN D. FAIRFIELD
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STEVEN WATTS. *The Romance of Real Life: Charles Brockden Brown and the Origins of American Culture.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1994. Pp. xviii, 246. $35.95.

As America's first professional novelist, Charles Brockden Brown (1771–1810) serves both as a prototype of the alienated American artist and as a singular example of an intellectual forging his identity in the early days of the republic. In some ways, Brown's life was stamped by the same template that shaped the careers of many authors who followed him; brilliant, erratic, with a youthful frailty that enforced his separateness from his peers, he suffered an early crisis of vocation, resolved for a time by his studying law. His unrelenting desire to write, however, led him to reject that career and devote himself to journalism, political essays, and fiction. Like many subsequent writers, he did not win acclaim for his work; eventually, he gave up fiction entirely.

Yet, as Steven Watts shows us in this thoughtful consideration of Brown's life and work, Brown was not merely an artist trying to wrest praise—and sales—from a hostile culture, but very much a son of the early republic, struggling to reconcile notions of civic virtue and independence, self-sacrifice and ambition. The new nation's efforts to shape and articulate its identity caused many individuals to question assumptions about values and behavior that had guided them in the past. "In concert with sweeping social and economic changes," Watts writes, "traditional cultural definitions of human perception, volition, and acceptable boundaries of behavior began to take on unfamiliar new meanings" (pp. 5–6).

In his novels, Brown addressed this volatility directly by creating characters whose behavior transcends the socially acceptable, or even the psycholog-

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ically sane. His most important novel, *Wieland; or, the Transformation*, focused on the melodramatic case of a farmer who, incited by religious "voices," ritually murdered his wife and four children. This macabre plot gave Brown the opportunity to present individuals as fragmented selves whose dark and evil side could spring forth at any time, if unchecked by social mores. For Brown, "an absence of meaningful authority, an isolated and brooding individualism" (p. 83) created a dangerous predicament for the stability of the community at large.

For all of its Gothic overtones, Brown's fiction had a distinctly moralistic aim. Influenced by Rousseau and William Godwin, Brown saw his task as edification for social reform. Yet Brown was no social philosopher creating a blueprint for change; instead, his questioning of political and social authority, economic forces, and religious strictures—including those of his Quaker upbringing—reflected the "fluidity and ambiguity of the age" (p. 69).

Brown's career took a sharp turn away from his unsettling fiction after he married, at the age of thirty-three, and entered a period of apparently blissful domesticity. Within five years, he was the father of four children. He joined the family business that he had rejected so fiercely as a younger man; he devoted his writing time to journalism. Not surprisingly, he "appeared increasingly in a dual role: articulator of genteel behavior and advocate of cultural stability. A code of self-controlled individualism became his moral map for both private and public endeavor" (p. 155). As husband and father, Brown was inextricably tied to his community; he was invested in the country's future in a way that he did not conceive as a troubled bachelor. But this idyllic period was cut short: in 1809 he became ill, probably with tuberculosis. He died in 1810 at the age of thirty-nine.

Brown was not a great stylist—his prose was stilted and overwrought even by eighteenth-century standards—but his sensitivity to crucial and enduring questions in American life keeps his work vital for new generations of readers. This book will serve those readers admirably, and seasoned ones as well. Watts explores Brown's work in the context of recent scholarship that focuses on gender issues, cultural identity, eighteenth-century history and ideology, and language theory. These theoretic contexts are integrated deftly into a coherent and readable narrative. The book is appended with an excellent bibliographic essay.

LINDA SIMON
Harvard University

FAYE E. DUDDEN. *Women in the American Theatre: Actresses and Audiences, 1790–1870.* New Haven: Yale University Press. 1994. Pp. viii, 260. $27.50.

Apart from biographies of a few eminences such as Charlotte Cushman and Laura Keene, American actresses of the early American theater have not received extensive recent attention from historians. This negligence has been corrected admirably by Faye E. Dudden.

Dudden mixes a combination of chapters on individual careers—including Fanny Kemble, Cushman, Keene, and manager Thomas Hamblin (whose development of stage spectacles, Dudden believes, marked a major step toward making actresses "an object of sexual fantasy")—with thematic chapters on the increasing segmentation of theatrical audiences after mid-century and the rise of burlesque, whose very name would eventually become synonymous with provocative female performers and gawking male audiences.

Dudden argues a clear and intriguing thesis: the evolving antebellum theater held two possibilities for its female performers. On the one hand, it carried the promise of an independent career as a performer (or possibly a manager), of portraying strong female (and even male) roles, and of presenting a forum for the dramatic portrayal of the early "women question." But on the other hand, these lofty ideals tended to be trampled by the "objectification" and "commodification" of actresses. Spurred by an increasingly visual orientation in the theater, managers discovered that the well-turned female ankle, or, better yet, the leg in deliciously wicked tights, drew enthusiastic spectators. Neither did male managers take kindly to women's intrusion into their ranks. Keene for a time successfully managed her own troupe, but she faced endemic hostility. Moreover, despite her desires to present quality drama, Keene discovered the commercial limits to her ambitions (ironically ending up helping fashion the new leg show).

This is a solid work of theatrical scholarship, very well researched and clearly written. Although her study focuses on actresses and women in the audience, Dudden's perceptive observations cover broader theatrical ground. Hers is, in fact, one of the most intelligent and up-to-date short introductions to mid-nineteenth-century theater now available.

Nevertheless, I remain unpersuaded about her larger argument: that the turn toward the visual in mid-century theater constituted a "mitigated disaster" for women, nurturing the still-present "body problem" for women and thus further vexing gender relations. Certainly the theater would exploit women as sexual objects. But Dudden overstates, I believe, the empowering potential for women in antebellum theater and fails to appreciate the degree to which American theater after 1870 remained congenial to actresses of ambition. Early players such as Cushman and Kemble represented what women of drive and talent could accomplish despite plain, even masculine looks. Yet the later career of Minnie Maddern Fiske as manager, star, and defier of the mighty Theatrical Syndicate showed what remained possible on the American stage for a woman of minimal sex appeal.

The turn toward spectatorial grandeur—so important in Dudden's account—clearly occurred. Good

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looks indeed became a key for much stage success, although not just for actresses; the matinee idol actor became a theatrical type as well late in the century. But the aural component of legitimate theater remained vital. Conventions of elocution persisted into the twentieth century. One might even argue that the more significant leap in theater's visual component took place toward the end of the century, when advances in lighting and a new theatrical realism reshaped drama.

Finally, one must make a judgment call. Did the opportunities for employment in a nontraditional and glamorous career at relatively good (and sometimes spectacular) wages offset the compromises to female dignity that some stage exhibitions implied? Might theater under a noncapitalist system have avoided the kind of human commodification the entertainment industry trades in? These are just two of the knotty questions bound up in Dudden's provocative work. And if I resist some of the answers she suggests, I still am indebted to her for placing the problem so forcefully before us.

BENJAMIN MCARTHUR
Southern College of Seventh-day Adventists

CAMERON C. NICKELS. *New England Humor: From the Revolutionary War to the Civil War.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1993. Pp. xvii, 277. $34.95.

American humor is coextensive with American history. Even when creators of humor have not taken aim at political figures or specific historical events, their work has revealed something salient about its times. That this was particularly true during the period between the American Revolution and the Civil War—a time of national identity-formation—is amply demonstrated in Cameron C. Nickels's admirable book, which should become the standard critical work on the humor of this period.

I say this "period" and not this "place" because implicit in Nickels's analysis is the fact that New England humor knew no geographical boundaries, certainly not by the nineteenth century. This was true not merely because the absence of copyright restrictions allowed the reprinting of a piece from a Massachusetts journal as far away as Illinois but, more importantly, because its central concerns and figures were adopted and transmuted by authors far from the New England states. The rustic Yankee figure popularly known as "Jonathan" (inspiration for the later figure of "Uncle Sam") can, for example, be seen in George W. Harris's character Sut Lovingood, who roamed the Tennessee hills in the middle of the nineteenth century. Indeed, as Nickels argues, at the heart of New England humor is the paradoxical figure of the common man, at once the hope and the danger of a democratic society. "The *humor* of New England humor," Nickels writes, "typically lies in the incongruity of the inferior, the provincial—the individual who stands outside of and in contrast to a more genteel, modern system of social and cultural values" (p. 8).

Although this book is organized in a roughly chronological fashion, its more overt arrangement is by genre, with separate chapters on print sources, humorous stage productions, and comic illustrations. This emphasis on stage comedy and visual humor serves to remind us that in a period when literacy was far from universal (relative literacy, in fact, in the form of misspellings and dialect usages, is one of the tropes of New England humor), a large public had access to the themes and forms of this humor. A final chapter on the "cracker barrel philosophers," the most popular of which was Seba Smith's Jack Downing, again forges the link between humor and historical reality, as Nickels shows how writers used these folksy sages in the battles of increasingly partisan politics.

Nickels has given us a carefully researched and engagingly written book. Extensive primary and secondary bibliographies provide valuable resources for the student and the scholar.

NANCY A. WALKER
Vanderbilt University

JOHN S. HALLER, JR. *Medical Protestants: The Eclectics in American Medicine, 1825–1939.* (Medical Humanities Series.) Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. 1994. Pp. xix, 340.

In the decades immediately preceding the Civil War, orthodox medicine came under siege. With the germ theory well in the future, physicians were hampered by their inability to understand disease causation. They classified illnesses on the basis of symptoms, then aggressively treated these symptoms by bloodletting and administering heavy doses of harsh medications. Reformers, pronouncing heroic therapeutics unsuccessful and/or repugnant, organized a number of "irregular" medical sects as alternatives. Recently, medical historians have given these groups the long overdue serious scrutiny they deserve. Ronald L. Numbers, Regina M. Morantz-Sanchez, Martin Kaufman, Susan Cayleff, and I have examined various aspects of these sects and produced detailed studies of homeopathy and hydropathy, while John Harley Warner's work on therapeutic regionalism has demonstrated that even orthodox practice was less homogeneous than was once assumed.

In this book John S. Haller, Jr., examines the eclectic, also known as the American, or Reformed, school. Utilizing an armamentarium of indigenous plant *materia medica,* eclectics borrowed all they considered useful from competing sects and rejected European influences without ever "formulating a coherent therapeutic doctrine" (p. 249). Instead, the sect's principle tenet became the doctrine of "specific medication," which employed the direct action of remedies to treat specific pathological conditions. For a time that concept suggested "a level of scientific

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exactness" (p. 182) that enabled eclectics to develop a distinctive therapeutic arsenal and significantly challenged the regulars' synthetic pharmacy. Once the conceptual foundations of medicine were drastically altered by modern bacteriological demonstrations of the causal relationship between bacteria and disease, however, the essentially empiricist eclectics found it impossible to compete. Wedded to the doctrine of specific medication, unable to embrace the germ theory or to acquire the financial resources essential to research, the eclectic school was doomed.

Yet at their height eclectics enjoyed enormous popularity, establishing two dozen medical colleges, over sixty-five journals, and introducing the principal of medical coeducation. Haller is at his best when he meticulously recounts the formation of the sect's most important college, the Eclectic Medical Institute of Cincinnati (1845–1939), and elaborates the internecine warfare that characterized it. His chapter on Joseph R. Buchanan, the school's colorful and controversial dean, is lively and fascinating.

Haller is less successful in his treatment of women practitioners. Following the admission of women at eclectic Syracuse Medical College in 1851, the sect endorsed coeducation in 1855, only to renounce it two years later. Unfortunately, Haller seems unfamiliar with much of the past two decades of scholarship on women and medicine. This book contains no cogent analysis of why the eclectics reversed their position and fails to examine the body of writings produced by women sectarians, eclectic or otherwise. By quoting Mary B. Morley's statement in 1904 that women must be satisfied with less than equality with their male counterparts, Haller seems to imply, incorrectly, that Morley's position was characteristic of contemporary women physicians in general. Moreover, the statement that "most regulars objected to women in the medical profession except as midwives" (p. 153) ignores studies of midwifery illustrating how regulars, first in the urban East and later elsewhere, mounted a deliberate and ultimately successful campaign to discredit midwives and drive them from practice.

These criticisms notwithstanding, Haller is to be commended for producing this sound, first full-length study of eclectic practice. Students of medical history and general readers will find this a useful addition to the literature.

JANE B. DONEGAN
EMERITA
Onondaga Community College

O. A. BUSHNELL. *The Gifts of Civilization: Germs and Genocide in Hawai'i.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. 1993. Pp. ix, 326. $19.95.

In this book, O. A. Bushnell, a medical microbiologist as well as a historian, authoritatively reviews the tragic decline of the native Hawaiian population following the coming of outsiders to their islands beginning late in the eighteenth century. The book is a welcome one; it can be recommended both as a substantial scholarly work and as a gripping personal lament for a people and culture that are now virtually extinct.

The scholarly strength of this collection of essays lies largely in the author's success in integrating two important types of sources. For one, he effectively summarizes and evaluates the pertinent knowledge related to his topic that is afforded by such scientific disciplines as epidemiology, demography, pathology, and microbiology. At the same time, he relies heavily on the older written historical record, especially on resources found in Hawaiian archives: these include the letters and reports of foreign missionaries, consular officials, and merchants, the logs of sea captains, and the recollections of Hawaiians themselves.

With this evidence, Bushnell has laid out a harrowing account of the cumulative processes by which this isolated race was exposed to and decimated by imported venereal diseases and other infections against which they had no natural immunity. He is factual and unromantic in his depiction of Hawaii and its people before contact with Westerners. He is objective in sorting out details of the landings of Captain James Cook and other Western naval expeditions in the 1770s as well as tracking evidence of the first infections transmitted by the foreign sailors. He understandably devotes his fullest attention to the calamitous nineteenth century: to details of the various mechanisms that facilitated the devastating spread of the various epidemic diseases through the population; to the futility of most medical measures taken to try to prevent or alleviate them; to the progressively disruptive effects of the pandemic on the native governmental, religious, social, and economic systems or institutions. Bushnell demonstrates that the bulk of the mortality and population decline occurred well before the end of the nineteenth century. But he makes clear as well that certain phases of this process continued on through the twentieth century, particularly the deepening of the psychological demoralization of the native Hawaiians and the collapse of their culture under the pressures of the dominant white population.

Bushnell is a fluent writer. He is also a persuasive memorialist of the vanished Hawaiian race, one who expresses understandable anger with the epidemiological and social injury that was suffered by that people during the past 200 years. But his forceful exposition of these matters would have gained still greater impact if he had undertaken significant cutting of the repetitions that mar his later chapters.

JAMES H. CASSEDY
National Library of Medicine

ARRELL MORGAN GIBSON. *Yankees in Paradise: The Pacific Basin Frontier.* Assisted by JOHN S. WHITEHEAD. (Histories of the American Frontier.) Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 495. Cloth $37.50, paper $17.50.

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During the 1970s the Pacific Rim nations surpassed Europe as America's leading trading partners. This development has spawned a large popular and scholarly literature on the Pacific Rim. Comparatively little attention, however, has been paid to the historical origins of America's interest in the region. This study helps to redress this neglect. Its author, Arrell Morgan Gibson, died in 1987 shortly before the book was completed. Using Gibson's notes, John S. Whitehead wrote the final two chapters of the book.

As a historian of the American West, Gibson believed that the roots of U.S. interest in the Pacific Basin should be viewed within the paradigm of the nation's westward expansion. He was sharply critical of "interpreters of the American experience [who] have allowed themselves to become so mesmerized by . . . rapid continental integration that they have overlooked the historical drama unfolding beyond the western land rim" (p. 6).

Americans first became acquainted with the Pacific Basin while serving as crewmen on British ships. The lure of trade with the Pacific Basin was such that during the confederation period merchants immediately began organizing expeditions to Canton and the Indian Ocean. By 1800 over 100 American ships cleared Canton, a number surpassed only by Britain.

The core of Gibson's book is an examination of the various frontiers that evolved in the Pacific Basin, beginning with a chapter on the maritime fur frontier and the expansion of U.S. trade relations in the region. Chapters follow on the mining, agrarian, missionary, and military frontiers. Gibson's objective is to show "how these frontier or expansion entities, primarily committed to private interests, served civic purposes" while fusing with "nationalizing currents to transform the Pacific into the 'Mar Columbiana' " (p. 8).

Gibson meticulously and convincingly documents the growth of a diverse range of American economic interests in the Pacific Basin during the nineteenth century. In an excellent chapter on the missionary frontier, Gibson argues that, regardless of their original motives, American missionaries ended up catering to American economic interests and in general "served the progress of Yankee expansion in the Pacific Basin no less than its maritime trading frontiers" (p. 263). Although he sees the military frontier as "an expansion entity unto itself" (p. 313), throughout the book he argues that the American military presence was driven by the demands of private and perceived national economic interests. Gibson draws attention to the catastrophic demographic and ecological consequences of European and American expansion in the Pacific Rim and the fierce assault on the social, cultural, and political values of native peoples by the missionaries and others.

In one of the final chapters, John Whitehead stresses the role that writers such as Herman Melville, Richard Henry Dana, and Jack London had in sustaining American interest in the Pacific Basin. This chapter is a useful contribution to the book, but Whitehead surely overstates the case when he alleges that "without Melville, American nationalizing currents might well have reached their limits on the eastern Pacific shores of California and Oregon in the 1840s" (p. 388).

Paradoxically, although Gibson hardly depicts the American pioneers in the Pacific Basin as altruists, the book is tinged in places with neo-Turnerianism—the view that American economic and cultural influence (if not dominance) was both inevitable and in the interests of the United States and even, to an extent, in the interests of those native people, who in the cases of Hawaii and Alaska, were able ultimately to benefit from America's "legacy of equality" (p. 10). On a historiographical note, although Gibson may be right in asserting that Western historians have overlooked the Pacific Rim, he does not acknowledge the extent to which such diplomatic historians as Richard Van Alstyne and William Appleman Williams documented the degree of America's involvement in the region long before the book was written.

Despite these cavils, this study stands as an excellent narrative account of the development of American interests in the Pacific Basin that will serve as a fitting memorial to one of the American West's most prolific and able historians.

DANIEL CORNFORD
San Jose State University

BRITON COOPER BUSCH. *"Whaling Will Never Do for Me": The American Whaleman in the Nineteenth Century.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1994. Pp. xii, 265. $29.00.

American whaling has long been a subject that has generated a considerable body of lore and literature. Tales, accounts, and histories dealing with the adventure and danger of the long voyages and life at sea abound. In this book, Briton Cooper Busch moves beyond the romantic literature of whaling to examine and analyze the harsh reality of life at sea for nineteenth-century American whalemen.

Viewing the whaling ship as a self-contained institution, Busch describes the difficult and harsh existence of the average whaleman on voyages that typically lasted several years. Work was demanding, discipline harsh, danger often present, pay low, conditions poor, and food marginal. Given this harsh reality, what then, the author asks, kept men in service during these long voyages? To answer his central inquiry, Busch examines the essential aspects of life at sea for the men (and a few women) who served on the whalers. Concentrating on the middle decades of the nineteenth century, the book includes chapters on discipline, racial and class divisions, work stoppages, legal appeals by whalemen, desertions, religion, sexual activity, festive events, and waterfront havens.

The author concludes that shipboard discipline was

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generally effective in maintaining order on long voyages. The central feature of the system was flogging, which was abolished in 1850 and declined gradually thereafter but was always very much feared by whalemen. A lack of shipboard solidarity among the crews was also an important factor in maintaining order on board. Typically, crews were drawn from diverse backgrounds. In particular, racially mixed crews bred mistrust and divisiveness that rendered unified action and resistance unlikely. The author points out that in addition to African Americans, significant numbers of dark-skinned Cape Verdeans and Pacific Islanders served on American whaleships.

Despite the strong system of discipline and control, whalemen sought and found ways to resist and escape their oppressive lives on board. Busch has surveyed 3,336 ship logs and finds that while mutiny was rare, 230 work stoppages, a rate of 7 percent, occurred on these whalers. Although the causes, length, and severity of these work stoppages varied, this rate is significant and indicates the level of discontent among whaling crews. One avenue open to crew members was to appeal to American consuls overseas. American whalemen, however, lost their appeals for mediation or intervention much more often than they won. Another alternative was desertion, which was "a major socioeconomic issue aboard whaleships, fear of which certainly influenced the conduct of masters, in both the rules they enforced and the overall plan of their voyages and ports of call" (p. 102). For this reason, desertion became much more difficult to accomplish as the years passed.

In addition to open resistance or desertion, religion, festive occasions, leisure activities, occasional shore leaves, and sexual activity, although infrequent, offered different outlets for the whalemen to relieve the monotony, oppression, and harshness of life aboard ship. As the author acknowledges, however, none of these alternatives provided real relief or escape. Instead, the whaleman was left with the reality of a long and difficult voyage that would likely produce only minimal financial reward.

This is an excellent study of maritime social history. It is well conceptualized and well researched. Busch knows his maritime and whaling history and has solidly based his book on the extensive secondary and primary source materials that exist. His use of sources is sound and his judgments fair. The book is also well organized and clearly written. Given these virtues, it will be useful to historians and of interest to maritime history buffs as well.

JOHN H. SCHROEDER
University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

JANET FARRELL BRODIE. *Contraception and Abortion in Nineteenth-Century America.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1994. Pp. xviii, 373. $33.95.

The radical decline in fertility during the nineteenth century that almost halved the size of American families has long puzzled historians of the family and demographers. Some historians assert that the increased care and education lavished on children meant that Americans wanted fewer of them, while others argue that women's increased power in the family led to sexual abstinence. Although numerous excellent books and articles have addressed various aspects of the birth control movement and its defenders and critics, it has been far harder to move from an examination of these leaders to the behavior and beliefs of average Americans. It is this latter difficult task that Janet Farrell Brodie has undertaken as she explores the contraceptive information and techniques available to nineteenth-century Americans.

Perhaps Brodie's most fascinating chapter comes from the small pocket diaries kept by Mary Poor, a New England matron whose husband helped found the business statistical index known as Standard and Poor's. Mary Poor eventually had seven pregnancies (including two miscarriages), but her correspondence reveals frequent "pregnancy scares" and a desire to limit the frequency of conception. In 1845, after four years of marriage and the birth of two children, Mary began to chart her menstrual cycles by adding small pluses in the margins of her diary by the relevant dates; she also seems to have had a code for sexual intercourse: an x by the date. This evidence leads Brodie to posit that the Poors consistently had sexual relations once a week, obviously an argument against any dependence on abstinence to prevent pregnancy. At times the Poors were able to go as long as three years without a pregnancy. Lacking direct evidence of their techniques, Brodie suggests that any reliance on the rhythm method must have been supplemented by other techniques such as douching with spermicides, with which Mary Poor was familiar. Moreover, Mary Poor may have deliberately induced a miscarriage in 1863 by continuing vigorous exercise when she suspected she was pregnant. Brodie cogently argues that the Poors had no specific goals about family size; instead "their attempts to control fertility resulted from many factors: Mary's health, fluctuations in their economic position and the number and health of the children already born" (p. 36).

The Poors' efforts to limit the number of their children form only a small part of Brodie's discussion of contraception. Beginning with "traditional" forms of birth control such as *coitus interruptus* and prolonged lactation, she also surveys the herbal abortifacients well known to colonial Americans. Reformers such as Robert Dale Owen and Charles Knowlton took advantage of new printing techniques in the 1830s to issue books that included contraceptive techniques. By the 1850s self-help and marriage manuals of varying accuracy, including those hawking contraceptive devices, had proliferated. Public lectures and alternative physicians (versed in homeopathy or hydropathy) formed other sources of contraceptive

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advice. An array of contraceptive devices including abortion-inducing pills, condoms, pessaries (uterine devices similar to the diaphragm), vaginal sponges, and syringes for douching all could be procured from druggists or mail-order companies.

Brodie attempts to analyze the efficacy of the available contraceptive techniques and tools. Although she admits that many nineteenth-century doctors advocating the rhythm method were mistaken about when the actual "safe" period occurred for women, she concludes that douching and vaginal sponges were helpful in contraception. Thus, by mid-century American couples had some information and devices to help in controlling the number of children, even though contraception remained controversial. This situation radically worsened in the 1870s as physicians successfully fought to criminalize abortion and the Comstock law made disseminating contraceptive information or devices across state lines a federal offense.

Interesting and important as this information about contraceptive information and its dissemination is, Brodie recognizes its limitations in answering the question of how nineteenth-century Americans managed to lower fertility. Still, she has broken important new ground and given provocative, convincing depictions of contraceptive techniques and knowledge.

JANE TURNER CENSER
George Mason University

PAUL E. JOHNSON and SEAN WILENTZ. *The Kingdom of Matthias: A Story of Sex and Salvation in 19th-Century America.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 222. $25.00.

Paul E. Johnson and Sean Wilentz have written a fascinating account of Robert Matthews, a religious eccentric whose flamboyant career captured New York City's attention in the mid–1830s. This superb book can been read as a religious melodrama that is part farce, part tragedy, and always entertaining. From the prologue, where Matthews encounters Joseph Smith, to the conclusion, where one of the central characters assumes the name by which historians know her, Johnson and Wilentz successfully anchor their narrative in the religious and economic history of the early nineteenth century.

The story revolves around the interaction of two would-be prophets. The first, Elijah Pierson, was a Manhattan merchant who had experienced a heavy dose of evangelical perfectionism and had rejected traditional religious authority. Unable to raise his wife from the dead, Pierson (who renamed himself Elijah the Tishbite) was vulnerable to a visionary with even greater self-proclaimed powers.

Robert Matthews, a frustrated carpenter, was the second prophet. Matthews was enraged over his declining fortunes, the success of bourgeois evangelicals, and the demise of the patriarchal family. Rejected by the evangelical churches, Matthews found a new direction for his religious enthusiasm. He proclaimed himself the Prophet Matthias, defender of patriarchy, and incarnation of the male spirit of God the Father. Soon after the two prophets met, Matthews absorbed Pierson and a number of his acquaintances into a small religious community. The Kingdom of Matthias was notable for its pre-commercial habits and customs, bizarre doctrines, sexual eccentricities, and obedience to the whims of its authoritarian patriarch. The kingdom lurched from crisis to crisis until the sudden death of Pierson led to Matthews's indictment for murder.

This is a fascinating tale, artfully told. But what is its significance? The Matthias case is, as Johnson and Wilentz claim, "an eccentric but dead-serious commentary on the contests over family life, sexuality, and social class that accompanied the rise of the market society" (p. 11). Matthews's frustrations were shared by many artisans who rejected the nexus of entrepreneurialism, evangelicalism, and the middle-class family. What was not typical is the bizarre cult Matthias concocted to challenge the new order. By contrast, most workingmen responded to the emerging commercial order by joining populist denominations, free-thought societies, fraternal lodges, and/or an aggressive political party.

What can be learned from a study of such an unusual character? First, this narrative reminds us that the Second Great Awakening was more than a series of evangelical religious revivals. It was, as William McLoughlin wrote in *Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform* (1978), a paradigm shift in which people sought new ways to order their lives. Matthews was no evangelical, but he certainly was a participant in the Awakening. Second, this book broadens our understanding of American religious history. Not all religious mutations survive—Matthews was a spectacular failure since his innovations challenged conventional morality as well as the new middle-class family—but unsuccessful experiments are also part of our religious past. Third, the epilogue offers a somber warning as it connects Matthews to similar leaders (Jim Jones and David Koresh) in the late twentieth century. Religion does not always ennoble and enlighten; American cults have a long history of twisting, distorting, and even extinguishing lives that fall under a prophet's spell.

CURTIS D. JOHNSON
Mount Saint Mary's College

CHARLES B. DEW. *Bond of Iron: Master and Slave at Buffalo Forge.* New York: W. W. Norton. 1994. Pp. xviii, 429. $27.50.

Charles B. Dew's book is packed with splendid insights. Yet, in a mark of mature scholarship, these insights and their historiographical implications are not suffered to distract from the tale itself. This is fortunate, for Dew's story of ironmaker William

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Weaver and his bound workforce is an engrossing account of antebellum life, one that professional historians and general readers will jointly applaud.

Like the infamous Simon Legree, William Weaver moved south before the Civil War in search of fortune and power. Unlike Harriet Beecher Stowe's fictional New Englander, however, Pennsylvanian Weaver quickly discovered that force was not the best means of motivating slave workers. From his first investment in Shenandoah metallurgy in 1814 until his death in 1863, neither Weaver nor his white assistants at Buffalo Forge are recorded as having whipped his slaves. Unreliable or rebellious slaves were sold away, not beaten, and those who remained at Weaver's establishment were motivated by a system of largely positive incentives. Slave forgemen worked to complete specified tasks each day and what they produced beyond that goal was credited as "overwork." Weaver set tasks that could be readily fulfilled by skilled men working at a reasonable pace and he paid a moderate sum for the extra production. Dew sees Weaver's embrace of the task and overwork practices as central to his success in maintaining an efficient and stable slave community motivated to quality workmanship. While the author reminds us that breaking apart slave families was an odious, if nonviolent, threat, he demonstrates that daily incentives and Weaver's relative leniency played a more significant role in guiding life and work among the blacks and whites at Buffalo Forge.

If anyone could complain that Weaver was a hard-driving Yankee it was his competitors, business associates, and even his family. In the words of one family chronicler, Weaver was "shrewd and well informed, a genial and companionable one with friends but blessed with strong prejudices, an implacable foe, tho' an open one" (p. 123). Numerous court cases testify to his ambitious nature and litigious reflexes; in Dew's skillful re-creation this contentious commentary is shaped to give insight into antebellum business practices and family relations. Readers encounter the trials and tribulations of entrepreneurship, the temptations of politics, and the calculations of the heart. Although Dew does not hesitate to reveal the shadier side of some of Weaver's machinations, he refrains from demonizing the slaveholding capitalist. This even-handed portrayal will not be easily compressed to historiographical stereotype, but the humanity of the subject is fully revealed.

Yet this is not just a book about an unusual and interesting master; it is also the story of the bound men and women who made the ironmaker's success possible. In bringing to life the elusive histories of Weaver's slave forgemen, carters, dairymaids, farmhands, and cooks, Dew imparts rich personality and voice to generations who survived in—even flourished despite—the cruel trap of chattel slavery. Compact biographies of Sam Williams, Henry Matthews, and the Garland Thompson family enrich our understanding of slave-master relationships, draw a coherent picture of the work of slave artisans, and provide a tangible context for debates over the nature of southern slaveholding society.

This book does not presume to settle all the major debates of southern history, but it will make the discourse more lively and learned. Eugene D. Genovese, James Oakes, and others will find much to excite further controversy over the paternalism of slaveholders, the degree to which capitalist assumptions motivated southern society, the differences between North and South, and the transition from slavery toward freedom. They may also discover that, in his unassuming way, Dew has provided a synthetic model for historians hoping to recapture the imaginations of intelligent readers.

JOHN C. WILLIS
University of the South

KAREN V. HANSEN. *A Very Social Time: Crafting Community in Antebellum New England.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1994. Pp. xv, 262. $30.00.

In this book, Karen V. Hansen, a sociologist, joins a host of social historians in an attempt to assess the usefulness of the categories of public and private when describing the spheres of men and women in the nineteenth century. She argues that using these categories to describe everyday life in the antebellum era is inadequate and suggests that adding a third category, which she calls "social," would allow historians to acknowledge those areas in which the individual's private and public activities overlapped, thus linking them to their neighbors and to the institutions outside the home. This kind of categorization, she argues, also provides a way of clarifying how gender, class, and race operated in the social sphere between 1820 and 1865.

With information derived from the diaries, autobiographies, and correspondence of native-born white as well as free African-American New England wage laborers, she illustrates the usefulness of this kind of categorization by addressing four areas of working-class social life: friendship, visiting, gossiping, and church-related social activities. Her analysis of friendship attempts to compare those of the working class with those of the middle class. She finds that friendships among female wage laborers were similar in intensity to those among the middle classes described by Carroll Smith-Rosenberg and others, but that, unlike middle-class friendships, they did not last past marriage. The descriptions of male working-class friendships are virtually identical in both intensity and longevity to those in the middle class described by E. Anthony Rotundo. Friendships between working-class men and women were less suspect when they fell within kinship networks.

Hansen's evidence indicates that for male and female wage laborers, visiting had both a social and economic dimension. Although it clearly helped to

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connect individuals to kin and neighbors and thus helped to create and sustain community life, visiting also provided opportunities for the exchange of goods and services in a "gender integrated environment" (p. 83). Her discussion of gossip centers around its role as a powerful social control mechanism among working-class people who cared about upholding their good names and reputations within their communities. Focusing on churches as social rather than religious institutions, she illustrates how church-related activities provided opportunities for working people to entertain themselves and cement social relationships.

She concludes that antebellum New England wage laborers were aware of the doctrine of separate spheres but did not necessarily subscribe to its tenets. All of the women in her sample worked outside of the home and many of them clearly enjoyed their work. One-third of the men she studies occasionally performed domestic tasks such as washing clothes or assumed some responsibility for child care. She also concludes that working-class men and women were more equal and had more room to express themselves in areas of social interaction than they did in either the public or the private sphere and that the social realm was characterized by gender integration rather than gender separation.

Although Hansen is successful in using her evidence to illustrate the way in which the category "social" can be used to describe effectively the gendered dimensions of antebellum social, economic, and political life, she is less successful in showing how such patterns of social experience were class specific. Part of the problem may be that her definition of working class is based solely on her assessment of economic well-being (those who worked for wages and owned little or no property) and the lack of a college education. She is therefore unable to demonstrate that there was much difference in behavior and attitude between those in her sample and many of their social betters. The private papers of middle-class Americans indicate that they also established and maintained friendships, took care of each other in illness and death, shared information and services, visited each other's homes, and attended church where they found both spiritual and social stimulation. Thus, her claim that her account "differs greatly from histories using middle class sources" (p. 170) remains unconvincing.

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University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

JOAN D. HEDRICK. *Harriet Beecher Stowe: A Life.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xviii, 507. $35.00.

Joan D. Hedrick's impressive biography of Harriet Beecher Stowe, the first in over fifty years, focuses on the significance of women's culture in Stowe's life, education, and popularity. Born in 1811, motherless at five, Harriet was nurtured in a domestic atmosphere of literary appreciation through maternal kin, and through the intellectual vibrancy of erudite teachers boarding at the active Beecher parsonage. According to Hedrick, Harriet's brilliance was early evident. Father Lyman considered her a "great genius," and "odd as she is intelligent & studious." He also lamented her gender, writing that he " 'would give a hundred dollars if she was a boy & Henry [Ward Beecher] a girl' " (pp. 29–30). Nevertheless, Beecher females received the best formal education available to women.

At Litchfield Academy, eight-year-old Harriet received unusually strong academic training. But entrance at thirteen into elder sister Catherine's female academy is viewed by Hedrick as a crucial personal and intellectual initiation into a gendered self-awakening. Hartford Female Seminary, where "young women could get an education equivalent to a young man's" (p. 35), emphasized female moral authority, independence, concern for national events, and the philosophy of each one teach one. "Catherine's careful tutelage in an all-female environment" (p. 71), says Hedrick, offered Harriet a separate identity and culture, where her predilection to become a literary woman, for "usefulness and money," was cultivated. Writing, the outlet for Harriet's quantum growth of power and confidence, was nourished at the female seminary. It extended her intellectual emancipation and allowed her to challenge successfully the dilemma of "republican motherhood."

In this age of "republican enlightenment," says Hedrick, parlor literature was "an integral part of polite society and domestic culture" (p. 77). Parlor literature, a written and oral local means of home amusement and community cohesion, gained national popularity through literary clubs. Migrating families like the Beechers (who moved to Ohio in 1832) sustained eastern continuity through exchange of recipes, family rituals, customs, and especially lengthy letters. In Cincinnati's heterosexual Semi-Colon Club, young Harriet developed her domestic literary style, her awareness of antislavery issues, and found a husband, the notable biblical scholar Calvin Stowe.

Hedrick is particularly eloquent in interpreting Stowe's personal life and womanly sorrows, implicitly recognizing Stowe's identifications with enslaved suffering, especially among females. Harriet's eighteen years in Cincinnati involved genteel poverty despite her financial supplements from writing, lengthy conjugal separations as birth control, miscarriages, deaths of children, and desperate cravings for time and space to write. But a meteoric, undreamed of rise to fame and fortune followed her return to New England and publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in 1852.

Hedrick's engaging narrative analyzes Stowe's domesticity, her efforts and successes in writing, and her warm, rich relationship with the Beecher clan and

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supportive Calvin. Provocative theoretical undercurrents of the biography examine women's culture and demonstrate Stowe's significance to social and feminist history. Hedrick views this shy, proper, " 'little bit of a woman' " (p. 239) as strategically and forcefully exploiting the national literary penchant for female culture. Stowe wrote for money, diversion, and social commentary, reflecting enlightened politics through a domestic sphere. Yet Hedrick also exposes the limitations and entrapments of Stowe's personal and literary domesticity.

The success of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, writes Hedrick, was grounded in powerful emotional nudgings from women's culture, which sentimentally framed moral, religious, philosophical, and political issues in intimate parlor literature style. It also celebrated New England ethnocentrism and paternalism draped in themes of religious intensity and Christian rebirth. In none of her writings, states Hedrick, does Stowe ever venture outside the domestic sphere or truly challenge patriarchy. No wonder that in 1859, *Atlantic Monthly*, a male bastion, willingly helped transform the popular literary woman into a professional author relegated to their "domestic" department. Hedrick maintains that Stowe traded her creative independence for second-class entrance into a "masculine literary establishment" (p. 314), even filtering parlor talk through male voices.

Throughout her forty-four-year writing career, writes Hedrick, Stowe clothed progressive themes in conservative, ultimately non-threatening outcomes. Her "woman's perspective" on slavery unveiled "inchoate politics and her tangled race, class, and sexual allegiances" (p. 216). Not an abolitionist, Stowe was internationally feted as such, receiving, in the name of the "slave," money and gifts that became her "own." Moreover, Hedrick questions Stowe's support of women's rights, which supposedly led to her decline. Stowe was pushed into the movement because *The Nation*'s literary attack on women's culture and writing threatened her popularity. But she refused to commit fully. She attempted to ride the tide of women's reform as she had antislavery, publishing in 1870 a sensational exposé of Lord Byron's incestuous sexual improprieties. Although her reputation never recovered, according to Hedrick, neither association with political women nor the Lord Byron scandal caused Stowe's decline. Here, Hedrick offers a fascinating interpretation of Stowe and insight into the late-nineteenth-century shift to a new "elite" cultural hierarchy. Hedrick believes Stowe's declension represented gendered polarization and loss of women's cultural power. The political struggle within literary circles not only led to polarization of the cultural market along social lines, as suggested by Lawrence Levine, but also "masculinization of literature" (p. 370) by a professional, male-dominated cultural aesthete headed by *The Nation*. This "institution of male power" (p. 348) and cultural authority replaced parlor literature while assaulting women writers as a class. Throughout her career, writes Hedrick, Stowe supported masculine authority and remained in the domestic sphere, thereby becoming an accomplice to her own literary demise.

This absorbing, richly detailed biography captures the historical and literary significance of Harriet Beecher Stowe, and places her squarely in feminist scholarship. The research is daunting and the interpretive narration thoroughly engaging. My one disappointment is that Hedrick does not develop fully Stowe's relationships with African Americans, particularly since *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and antislavery were her entrées to fame. Nevertheless, Hedrick's accomplishment is monumental. This book is excellent popular and scholarly reading.

MARGARET WASHINGTON
Cornell University

JENNY FRANCHOT. *Roads to Rome: The Antebellum Protestant Encounter with Catholicism.* (The New Historicism: Studies in Cultural Poetics, number 28.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1994. Pp. xxvii, 500. Cloth $55.00, paper $18.00.

Jenny Franchot has written a unique account of the impact of Catholicism, as an ideological construct, on the American Protestant imagination from 1830 to 1860. Unlike Ray Allen Billington's *The Protestant Crusade* (1938), Franchot's work focuses not so much on organized (religious and political) anti-Catholicism as it does on Protestant rhetoric. Franchot examines how a Protestant-constructed Catholicism functioned in a variety of popular and elite literary forms during the period: for example, histories, tourist accounts of Catholic Europe and especially of Rome, domestic novels, pulp fiction, poetry, correspondence, and canonical literary narrative. She argues that a Protestant-constructed Catholicism operated as a powerful rhetorical and political force during the antebellum years and that Protestant rhetoric "indirectly voiced the tensions and limitations of mainstream Protestant culture" (p. xvii). She asserts that to reduce Protestant rhetoric to a social-psychological explanation, as is sometimes done in the use of paranoia as an interpretive guide, is to miss the attractions inherent in the repulsions of Romanism. Anti-Catholic as well as pro-Catholic Protestant rhetoric contained, she maintains, attractions to elements in Catholicism (such as an incarnational approach to reality, a sacramental sense of the union of body and spirit, respect for tradition and community, emphasis on authority and order) that were absent from Protestant culture.

American Protestant encounters with Catholicism produced repulsion, voyeuristic fascination, and attraction. Franchot examines this complex and ambiguous Protestant literary response to Catholicism in four major sections of her book. The first treats historical inquiry and particularly the images of Catholicism in the American romantic historiography of

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William H. Prescott and Francis Parkman. The second section scrutinizes Protestant captivity narratives, emphasizing the issues of seduction, suspicion, and abasement as they are evident not only in the best-selling pulp fiction of Maria Monk's *Awful Disclosures* (1836) but also in the elite fiction of Herman Melville and Edgar Allan Poe. Here she focuses on gender issues and the Protestant identification of Catholicism and enslavement in convents, monasteries, and the confessionals of a licentious priesthood. The third and fourth sections center on the pro-Catholic side of the literary productions. The third section concentrates on the aesthetic attraction of Catholicism, or what David Reese has called the "attraction of repulsion," as those attitudes are evident in the literature of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (*Evangeline*), Nathaniel Hawthorne (*Scarlet Letter*), and Harriet Beecher Stowe (*Agnes of Sorrento*). The fourth section deals with four (Mother Elizabeth Ann Seton, Sophia Ripley, Isaac Hecker, and Orestes A. Brownson) of the 700,000 American Protestants who made their spiritual home in Rome between 1813 and 1893.

Franchot's work is an insightful and creative interpretation of the role of Catholicism in antebellum Protestant society, but it also provides a literary criticism that might be used fruitfully to examine American Catholic literature of the period. Franchot acknowledges that she did not give equal attention to the self-understandings of those who grew up in the Catholic church and whose own understandings of Catholicism may either have contributed to or evaded the Protestant construction of Romanism. This book tells us how important Catholicism was in the Protestant mind; perhaps it can also lead to new historical examinations of the role of Catholicism as a historical entity, as a viable intellectual and aesthetical option, and as a cultural force in American society.

The book has a valuable selected bibliography and a useful detailed index. It should be available in every college and university library and will be especially helpful to those in American literary criticism and in American political, cultural, and religious history. I know of no other book like it.

PATRICK W. CAREY
Marquette University

DANIEL J. MCINERNEY. *The Fortunate Heirs of Freedom: Abolition and Republican Thought.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1994. Pp. ix, 232. $37.50.

This book is a study of the ideology of immediate abolitionists in the antebellum North. In six topical chapters, Daniel J. McInerney analyzes abolitionist rhetoric on slavery, history, politics, religion, economics, and national cultural identity. The purpose of his analysis is to demonstrate that the abolitionist cause drew its "language, logic, and legitimacy from the familiar principles and resonant vocabulary of republican thought" (p. 1). McInerney makes clear at the outset that he does not see republican ideology as "causing" abolition; it only provided abolitionists with a "conceptually appropriate world view that helped them make sense of their experience" (p. 4). Yet in his first chapter he asserts that "the ideas and values held by abolitionists prompted them to 'make' history." Their cultivation of the republican tradition "obligated them to reform the present" (p. 24). It is unclear which of these contradictory arguments McInerney actually believes.

McInerny's volume displays most of the vagaries, confusions, and evasions typical of arguments maintaining the centrality of the republican tradition in antebellum America. This is unfortunate, since the book is otherwise admirably brief, gracefully written, and handsomely published. Despite the efforts of historians to demonstrate that ideological conceptions and the meaning of words can change over time, McInerney asserts that republican habits of thought and its distinctive vocabulary remained constant from the late eighteenth century to the Civil War. Despite the efforts of some historians to demonstrate that republicanism may never have been the central strand in American thought, even at the founding, despite others' arguments for the demise of republicanism's dominance at 1787 or 1815, McInerney asserts that it remained central right through the antebellum era. Despite the fact that republicanism has been made to mean almost anything the historian wants—McInerney himself admits that in its " 'multivalent' political language" it "spoke to both preservation and transformation, to liberty and to authority, to individualism and to corporatism"—he founds his whole argument on this "distinctive and coherent habit of thought" (pp. 16, 1).

As in most books of this type, McInerney interprets almost any suspicion of power, any belief in liberty, and any concern for morality as evidence of a distinctive ideology born in the Italian Renaissance. He never seems to consider that there could be other sources for such concerns or that there could be different ends intended by them. The capacious bounds and supple vocabulary of republicanism are capable of encompassing all, and one need look no further for explanation or understanding. The constant chanting of the mere word "republican" becomes a kind of mantra that lulls the unsuspecting reader into believing it is everywhere and that it must refer to something distinctive and potent in American life. If it is not present frequently enough, the author may simply supply it. This often-used technique can be seen in a single paragraph in which two nineteenth-century Americans are quoted (pp. 54–55). Neither uses the word republican in any form, but the author manages to supply it four times as "republicanism," "republican ideals," "republican goals," and "republican steps." How can we doubt the significance of such an omnipresent concept?

Even if one were to grant all that McInerney claims, that the values and vocabulary of certain abolitionists

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were shaped by a distinctive reading of the republican tradition, how deeply have we penetrated to an understanding of them? McInerney notes that their distinctive republican-based abolitionism separated them from British abolitionists who shared their antislavery fervor and brought them ideologically close to southern proslavery advocates who, McInerney admits, also drew on the same republican tradition. The "Republican Tradition," then, evidently caused Americans to ignore slavery, attack slavery, and defend slavery. Or perhaps it only provided them with the values and vocabulary to ignore, attack, or defend slavery.

LAWRENCE FREDERICK KOHL
University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa

STEPHEN B. OATES. *A Woman of Valor: Clara Barton and the Civil War.* New York: Free Press. 1994. Pp. x, 527. $27.95.

In this book, Stephen B. Oates offers a highly readable account of Clara Barton's Civil War years. Identifying the war as the "defining event" in Barton's life, Oates takes the reader down the wartime trail of her motivations, her actions, and her experiences. Oates's "Clara" comes to life: ferociously dedicated to the Union and determined to serve it; middle-aged and unmarried, but physically vibrant and hardly "spinsterish"; willful, moody, charming, and above all independent. Oates's assertion that he has "told the story that Clara wanted me to tell" (p. x) rings true, for his diminutive subject seems bigger than life, and proud of it. Although Barton might question the propriety of discussing deeply personal matters—her "passage" through menopause (pp. 202–03), for example, and her love affair with the married Lieutenant Colonel John J. Elwell (pp. 148 and following)—she would, in the end, approve this study's depiction of her as the single person in comparison with whom "certainly nobody else" did "as much . . . in acting as an individual conduit between the home front and the needy soldier on the battlefield" (p. 369).

Oates begins with Barton's determination that "If she could not *be* a soldier . . . she could at least do her part to *help* the soldiers" (p. 17), and then follows her self-styled career as a "one-woman relief agency" (p. 17) turned hospital and battlefield nurse, turned investigator and identifier of missing soldiers, turned postwar lecturer. Readers descend with Barton from the quiet safety of her job as a U.S. Patent Office copyist into the chaos and gore of the battlefield. We witness her carving out of a "niche" that allowed her to "stand by the soldier between the bullet and the city hospital" (p. 75); her blossoming self-confidence and development of political and personal allies in a work deemed unfit for women. We share her frustration with red tape and her depression in periods of forced inaction, and we celebrate her clever sidestepping of obstacles and, finally, her peacetime transformation into a caretaker of the memories of the dead and missing.

Certainly this book contributes to pushing forward the work, still in its early stages, of bringing to light the full story of women's participation in the American Civil War. Some readers will discover for the first time that the Civil War was not exclusively a man's event, but one in which at least one woman made an indelible mark, inspiring "scores" of veterans to name their daughters after her (p. 381). Some will be disappointed, however, with Oates's ambivalent treatment of Barton's place within the larger context of women war workers. Although the book includes discussions of the vast and varied work of thousands of women on behalf of the war effort, Oates makes only tentative connections between the work that Barton did and the work of these others. Why not at least plumb the question of her determined independence in comparison with that of similarly solitary actors: "Mother" Bickerdyke, for example, who is mentioned (p. 309), and Dr. Mary Edwards Walker, who is not? Why not analyze the implications of Barton's self-imposed adversarial relationship to Dorothea Dix, Union Superintendent of Women Nurses, who developed a virtual regiment of paid women hospital employees of the Union's medical department, thereby adding her influence to the postwar establishment of a nursing profession for women? Oates's detachment of Barton from the wartime work and experiences of other women may reflect Barton's own desire to be seen as the lone woman worthy of recognition for service, but it is misleading.

Perhaps more troubling is his lack of attention to several provocative and important issues that Barton's story raises, and that other historians have already begun to discuss: the customary, desexualizing reference, by women of all ages, to the soldiers as "boys" and the "gender-bending" reference to themselves as "soldiers"; the debate over the merits and morality of women being paid for or volunteering their labor; women's frequent bold questioning of the methods taken by wartime doctors in caring for their patients; the individual and collective tactics women employed throughout the war to confront, maneuver around, and break down predominantly male opposition to their presence at the front.

This study offers much, reads easily, and may well be the "story that Clara wanted" Oates to tell. But Barton's insistence on carving out her own "niche" despite her avowed sense, "on the [postwar] lecture platform at least," of being "bonded in a powerful sisterhood" of wartime women workers (p. 375), seems mirrored in the book's rather hesitant engagement with the more developed aspects of the current scholarly discussion of women in the Civil War.

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Colby College

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PHILLIP SHAW PALUDAN. *The Presidency of Abraham Lincoln.* (American Presidency Series.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1994. Pp. xx, 384. $29.95.

One of the more remarkable aspects of the American Civil War was the persistent respect for constitutional process and the rule of law evident during the nation's largest and most violent civil insurrection. In his study of the presidency of Abraham Lincoln, Phillip Shaw Paludan makes clear that such concern for process and law was encouraged by Lincoln's leadership, and particularly by his profound understanding of and dedication to the "political-constitutional system."

Few subjects have received more scholarly attention than the wartime Lincoln, and the insight that Lincoln, with his lawyer's temperament, was committed to working within established processes may on its face seem unsurprising. But Paludan's book is an example of how a subtle shift in focus and emphasis can open up original lines of analysis and interpretation, and cast familiar material in a new light. Both revising and refining the recent tendency among historians to highlight Lincoln's devotion to equality, Paludan stresses that at all times Lincoln saw the survival and orderly evolution of constitutional self-government as the necessary condition for the furthering of equality. The result is a portrait of Lincoln as policy maker and of the northern war effort that seems more faithful to context and contingency, and less distorted by the usual inclination to read back into the unfolding conflict the outcomes of the war: northern victory, the abolition of slavery, and the failure of gradualist solutions and various schemes of rapprochement.

The book opens with a useful discussion of Lincoln's challenge to the proslavery constitutionalism of the Supreme Court under Roger B. Taney, suggesting that in 1860–61 Lincoln was advancing a kind of alternative constitutionalism rooted in a confidence that orderly self-government would bring about the death of slavery and the expansion of equality. During the secession crisis and through the war, Lincoln's confidence in institutional processes led him to work doggedly within a constitutional system that sanctioned in intricate ways both slavery and the rights of states and property holders to choose their destinies. Through the lens Paludan provides, it becomes possible to see clearly what Lincoln thought he was doing by keeping alive and sometimes balancing precariously many competing options and commitments. There is an original and compelling analysis of Lincoln's message to Congress in December 1862, which on the eve of the Emancipation Proclamation offered an elaborate plan for a state-controlled, gradual, and compensated emancipation and colonization; such schemes of compensation, which some historians have downplayed, were essential to Lincoln's pre–1863 hope for an emancipation that would be a "process" not an "event." After the Proclamation, Paludan notes, Lincoln "much more than before . . . began to speak of events controlling him" (p. 166). Lincoln's complicated response to reform efforts in wartime Louisiana is deftly handled. In spring 1865 we see him "beginning to understand how potentially volatile . . . a [biracial] coalition might be" (p. 311) and wrestling with the difficulties of entrusting emancipation and the promise of black suffrage to the established political and constitutional order.

Paludan considers Lincoln's education as commander-in-chief, management of cabinet controversies, and conversation with "public opinion" (which Lincoln sought to mold in his role as interpreter of the meaning of the war). In the rendering of that conversation, the focus is more on Lincoln's perspective and agency and less on the self-liberating efforts of enslaved African Americans or of other groups that entered the wartime debate over the meaning of freedom (although those efforts are certainly taken up when they impinge on the subject of presidential leadership). Abraham Lincoln's life with Mary Todd Lincoln and their children is not systematically addressed, and perhaps consequently, neither is the problem of the integration of Lincoln's "public" and "private" "selves," which might tell us something significant about the sixteenth president's efforts to control events and himself.

There are instances in the book where the invocation of Lincoln's concern with the "political-constitutional system" seems mechanical or at least underspecified, and where Lincoln, one suspects, may have been much more preoccupied with winning the war than with the niceties of constitutional interpretation.

Overall, Paludan succeeds admirably in keeping the "presidency" before the reader's attention while orchestrating a host of related constitutional, military, political, racial, and economic concerns. The book takes its place beside the four-volume *Lincoln the President,* by J. G. Randall (vol. 4 coauthored with Richard N. Current [1945–54]), and is the best one-volume history yet written on the Lincoln presidency. It goes a considerable way toward conveying the war's fluidity, Lincoln's multifaceted efforts at mastery, and the drama of that interplay.

IVER BERNSTEIN
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St. Louis, Missouri

GEORGE C. RABLE. *The Confederate Republic: A Revolution against Politics.* (Civil War America.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1994. Pp. x, 416. $34.95.

In 1960 David Potter appended an influential afterthought to an essay entitled "Jefferson Davis and the Political Factors in Confederate Defeat." Potter suggested the "possibility" that the Confederacy was hurt by its lack of a two-party system. Opponents of Jefferson Davis, lacking partisan cohesion, merely gave vent to "frustrated dissatisfaction" rather than acting re-

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sponsibly to formulate alternative policies (in David Donald, ed., *Why the North Won the Civil War* [1960]). Not long afterward, Eric McKitrick announced that Potter's insight was "the most original single idea to emerge from the mass of writing that has been done on the Civil War in many years." Rejecting the traditional assumption that partisanship weakened the Union war effort, McKitrick contended that Abraham Lincoln ably used Republican Party allegiances as a "binding agency and energizing force." Davis lacked any equivalent means to rally support for his administration because he faced no cohesive partisan opposition (in William Nisbet Chambers and Walter Dean Burnham, eds., *The American Party Systems* [1967]).

George C. Rable, who complains that the Potter-McKitrick view too quickly became a "truism" (p. 210), has written this book to challenge current wisdom. Rable asserts that the Confederacy's "political culture of national unity" was "a source of strength"; its "antiparty ideology" made political opposition to the Davis administration "much less effective and less dangerous" than it would have been otherwise. Traditional fears of "central authority did not prevent Davis from adopting "necessary war measures" (p. 300).

Developing his analysis chronologically, Rable traces Confederate politics from the secession crisis to the end of the war. He contends that disgust with national parties and the existing political system swept the South in the late-antebellum era; that secessionists and their opponents shared the same antiparty attitudes; that southerners proudly created what they hoped would be a pristine republic, unsullied by partisanship; and that even though reality fell short of the ideal, the southern war effort benefited from the lack of a cohesive opposition party.

Rable contends that governors Joseph E. Brown of Georgia and Zebulon B. Vance of North Carolina sniped at the Richmond government but did it no real harm. Vance, whom Rable considers "the Confederacy's most remarkable politician" (p. 153), adroitly diffused popular discontent in the most dangerously estranged Confederate state, thereby helping Davis more than any overt pro-administration ally could have done. In assessing Vance, Rable echoes Marc W. Kruman's *Parties and Politics in North Carolina, 1836–1865* (1983), which demonstrated that party lines forged during the secession crisis remained highly salient, and that those such as Vance who had originally opposed secession made North Carolina's Conservative Party the strongest partisan organization in any Confederate state. Of the seceded states with a strong prewar party system, only North Carolina did not promptly become a major theater for combat such as to undermine electoral politics. Its example suggests that substantial potential for anti-administration partisanship existed in the wartime South, notwithstanding antiparty rhetoric.

Rable's spirited iconoclasm deserves serious attention. His challenge to current scholarship on the effect of partisanship converges nicely with certain basic facts about the war: the Confederacy enlisted a far greater share of available manpower than did the Union, it quickly transformed agricultural output to increase food supplies, and it improvised imaginatively to overcome severe deficiencies in manufacturing output. Never before or since has a government been powerful enough to reach into the southern back country and deprive distillers of their copper tubing.

Nevertheless, few readers are likely to embrace Rable's interpretations without reservation. McKitrick's pioneering essay was explicitly comparative, arguing both that the Confederacy suffered because it lacked two-party competition and that the Union was strengthened because it had parties. Even if Rable is correct to say that no-party politics helped the Confederacy, he does not address the question of how two-party competition affected the Union.

Any suggestion that the Confederate war effort rested on stronger political foundations than did the Union's will furrow many brows, because one cannot easily compare Union and Confederate political institutions without also comparing the individuals who presided over each government. Potter's principal point in his celebrated essay of 1960 was to insist that the Union had an immensely more capable leader than did the Confederacy. In contrast to the thin-skinned Davis, "Lincoln wanted victory and wanted it so badly that in order to get it he was willing to co-operate with men who had shown they hated him."

There is no reason to believe that the last word on such matters has been written, but Rable's well-researched book positions him as a significant contributor to the ongoing debate about Civil War politics.

DANIEL W. CROFTS
Trenton State College

RICHARD B. MCCASLIN. *Tainted Breeze: The Great Hanging at Gainesville, Texas, 1862.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 234. $29.95.

The theme of this book by Richard B. McCaslin is the search for order and security in frontier Texas during the Civil War era, as reflected in the "Great Hanging" that took place along the Forks of the Trinity River in northern Texas in 1862. The Great Hanging began in October 1862, when Texas militia arrested over 200 suspected Unionists in the Red River country of Texas. At least forty-two of these were executed by vigilantes. Gainesville, in Cooke County, is McCaslin's special focus. There it was not just fear of disorder that motivated the vigilantes' violent behavior; class division was also involved. Indeed, "most of the jurors as well as other principals in the citizens court were slave owners, while all but one of those they condemned were not" (p. 3).

Cooke County had been pro-Union, but when

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Texas seceded, the slaveholding element supported the Confederacy, and by October 1862 they were fearful. As long as conscripted troops were allowed to remain on the frontier, tensions were muted, but when troops were sent elsewhere to fight many deserted and came home to protect their families. When troops were mustered to meet a threat of Union invasion, men who failed to appear, who were suspected of being Union sympathizers, or who were supposed to be sympathetic to the opposition Peace Party were arrested. About 150 men, mostly nonslaveholders, were taken, tried, and many found guilty by majority vote. Convicted victims were executed forthwith, despite the horrified protests of Thomas Barrett, a member of the jury who joined an equally shocked colleague to persuade the jury to require a two-thirds vote for subsequent convictions. After this procedural change most captives were set free, but the mob demanded the execution of fourteen more. For fear of their own lives and those of the other prisoners, the jury agreed. Following the murder of a moderate member of the court, however, a new court lynched nineteen men previously acquitted, and the terror was still not over.

Peace of a sort came with Reconstruction. Many settlers along the Forks welcomed reunion and sought revenge, but they failed. When members of the citizens court were indicted for murder in November 1865, threats of resistance by wartime vigilante leaders forced Reconstruction judges to leave well enough alone. Violence was renewed, not against the vigilantes but against the Unionists who had threatened revenge.

When the Civil War broke out, internal violence in Texas reached frightening proportions, despite the fact that Texas—especially west Texas—was far from the scene of major fighting. Alwyn Barr's work on the "Records of the Confederate Military Commission in San Antonio, July 2–October 10, 1862," *Southwest Historical Quarterly* 70–71 (1966–67), indicated a degree of hysteria that seemed unsurpassed until McCaslin now reveals the details of the Great Hanging. Surely there is no coincidence in the fact that the San Antonio Military Commission and the Citizens Court at Gainesville were both frontier phenomena, for fears of Indian attack put frontier citizens closely on their guard (McCaslin's commentary on this point would have been informative).

Actually the members of the citizens court were more moderate than most of their fellow citizens, which only increases the horror. Barrett received death threats because of his moderation. By consenting to the deaths of some, he managed to save others; had he withdrawn from the court (as he threatened) more victims would have seen the hangman's tree. It was quite a dilemma for an ordained minister, and his frustration led Barrett to tears and should lead McCaslin's readers to wonder what they would have done in a like situation.

The author supplies a collective biography of the adversaries that includes their economic positions, slaveholding status, and role in the terror. It would have been helpful if stands on secession had been included. Nevertheless, this is a well-researched, generally straightforward, succinct piece of work.

RICHARD E. BERINGER
University of North Dakota

ROYCE SHINGLETON. *High Seas Confederate: The Life and Times of John Newland Maffitt.* (Studies in Maritime History.) Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1994. Pp. x, 160. $27.95.

Like many belligerents who have found themselves at war with a formidable naval power while lacking much naval capacity of their own, the Confederate States of America chose *guerre de course* or commerce raiding as the naval strategy of choice during the American Civil War. Of all the Confederacy's raiders, only three achieved lasting fame: the *C.S.S. Alabama*, the *C.S.S. Florida*, and the *C.S.S. Shenandoah*. The story of the *Alabama* and its captain, Raphael Semmes, has often been told. Only slightly less familiar are the sagas of the *Florida* and the *Shenandoah*, and their most famous commanders, John Newland Maffitt and James Waddell. The exploits of these vessels and their captains most often have been depicted as a romantic struggle of heroic underdogs against a massive but less-competent foe. This emphasis on the deeds of the raiders, rather than on the context in which they operated or the effects they produced on the North's merchant marine, has resulted in a story long on drama and short on significance. Although satisfying to a popular audience, such an approach leaves many serious questions unanswered, not least of which relate to the raiders themselves. Who were these men? What prepared them for the success they achieved? How did they differ from their opponents?

John Newland Maffitt of the *C.S.S. Florida* has long stood in the shadow of his only slightly more successful contemporary, Raphael Semmes. A popular work by Edward Boykin (*Sea Devil of the Confederacy* [1959]) polished Maffitt's heroic wartime image but did little to illuminate the man himself. Similarly, *The* C.S.S. Florida*: Her Building and Operations* (1965) by Frank L. Owsley, Jr., treated the *Florida*'s first captain only in the context of his time aboard the ship. Noting the lack of a complete study of Maffitt's life, Royce Shingleton attempts to rectify that omission. In this slim volume, Shingleton delineates the major events of Maffitt's life, from his birth at sea in 1819 to his death on a North Carolina farm in 1886. Generally avoiding analysis, the author simply describes Maffitt's career, first in the service of the United States and then in the service of the Confederacy. The former story, being less familiar, is perhaps more interesting because of Maffitt's long, illustrious, and nearly career-destroying association with the Coast Survey. Similarly, his highly successful hunt for slave ships during the years preceding the Civil War is

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notable for the irony implicit in Maffitt's joining the Confederate Navy in 1861. In neither case, however, does the author go much beyond a simple recitation of the facts, leaving the reader to seek further insights alone. Coupled with an annoying number of typographical errors (including a propeller-raising "wench," instead of "winch" [p. 42]), the author's cautious approach is hardly in keeping with his technically proficient and flamboyant subject. In this study we see the bare bones of John Newland Maffitt's life, but his spirit and his significance elude us still.

WILLIAM GLENN ROBERTSON
U.S. Army Command and General Staff College

GLENNA R. SCHROEDER-LEIN. *Confederate Hospitals on the Move: Samuel H. Stout and the Army of Tennessee.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1994. Pp. 226.

Based on hitherto untapped sources, Glenna R. Schroeder-Lein's book is an interesting study of the Civil War career and service of Samuel Hollingsworth Stout, who rose from an initial post as regimental surgeon for the Third Tennessee to become, by mid–1863, medical director of hospitals for the Army of Tennessee. The book focuses on Stout's masterful handling of one difficult administrative assignment after another in his journey up the ranks, culminating in his efforts as medical director to bring order and sanity out of potential chaos in the Army of Tennessee's ever-mobile hospital system. Schroeder-Lien's assertion that "without the administrative competence of Stout, or someone like him . . . the hospitals of the Army of Tennessee would have been much less able to care for the floods of patients which inundated their facilities" (p. 178) is well supported by the evidence that she presents from her examination of Stout's massive archival legacy. Weighing in at 1,500 pounds (p. 18), the Stout manuscript materials represent "one of the largest collections of Confederate medical records to survive the Civil War" (p. 17). Indeed, if the author's purpose is to evoke respect for Stout's contributions in the "war behind the lines" (p. 20) to Confederate hospital efficiency, then she is successful.

There is, however, more here than just a recounting of Stout's administrative victories. The book also includes informative—on balance, perhaps occasionally a bit too extensive—discussions of a number of issues related to its central theme: medical training and practice in the middle of the nineteenth century, the nature and organization of the Confederate medical department, and the hierarchy of military hospital personnel. This is not a biography of Stout but rather an investigation of how one man's wartime career drew him into, and highlighted, some of the great complexities of Civil War–era medicine.

Paradoxically, it is precisely because Schroeder-Lien positions Stout at the nexus of various wartime and postwar medical issues that readers may yearn for deeper insights into his character, may wish the author had been able more richly to flesh out her subject—his personal life and, more to the point, his character. Who was this man who so brilliantly administered—indeed, modernized—the Army of Tennessee's hospitals during the war, and who then consistently failed to organize his personal finances in a manner that would enable him to realize his postwar dream of compiling his own manuscript materials into a memoir? Who was this man, whose wartime career was dedicated to healing, and who then in the aftermath of the Confederate defeat had words of praise the Ku Klux Klan (p. 149)? Unfortunately, according to Schroeder-Lien, Stout's personal life and his innermost thoughts are not available for inquiry through the documents he and his descendants preserved, and by necessity these sorts of questions remain unanswerable.

Students of gender history may be frustrated by Schroeder-Lien's apparent disinterest in what appears to have been some provocative gender conflicts in which Stout was involved: for example, his struggle in November 1861 to wrest administrative control of the Gordon Hospital from a local ladies hospital society (pp. 46 and following). But, to be fair, Schroeder-Lien makes no claims about this being a gender history. Instead, she writes, "To the extent to which a historian can write it . . . this is the story Stout wanted to tell" (p. 23). Stout should rest easier now that Schroeder-Lien has taken up that task.

ELIZABETH LEONARD
Colby College

CARL H. MONEYHON. *The Impact of the Civil War and Reconstruction on Arkansas: Persistence in the Midst of Ruin.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 288. $35.00.

In the debate between C. Vann Woodward and his critics, Carl H. Moneyhon lands squarely on the side of consensus and continuity. Arkansas in the 1850s, he writes, was on the leading edge of a booming cotton economy. Social cohesion was strong and class conflict minimal, despite creeping inequality. War and Reconstruction dissolved the antebellum promise of social mobility. And yet, despite growing class rancor and deepening poverty, Arkansas's old elite quickly regained dominance, first during Johnsonian Reconstruction, and then after the 1874 Redemption. "The same group—even the same individuals—who had been on top in 1860 remained . . . the masters in 1874," he writes (p. 269).

Moneyhon, the author of a first-rate book on political Reconstruction in Texas, has sought to mesh the new social and economic history with traditional political history. Drawing from local tax rolls and the U.S. manuscript census for eight sample counties, he has examined persistence rates for every stratum of white society. Using corn/cotton ratios, he has tracked the spread of the market. His work docu-

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ments a staggering loss of blood and treasure, especially in mountain counties ravaged by internal civil war. Just as impressive is the exhaustive research in manuscript collections located in Arkansas and at major repositories hither and yon. The evidence for some books are strip mined. Moneyhon has tunneled deeply to quarry his sources. The result is a major contribution to nineteenth-century historiography.

Moneyhon sometimes runs too hard with his thesis. His claims that state politics before the war were free of class resentments clash with findings for neighboring states. (What was the political fallout from the Jacksonian-era bank debt?) When Moneyhon examines class tensions, which he concedes were unleashed by secession and war, he continues to stress continuity, leaving readers with a conundrum. If, as he argues, the white lower classes were now concerned about fairness (which is the fulcrum on which class conflict normally pivots), why did they help restore the top rail? Presumably race appeals played a role in muting class resentments, and, in fact, Moneyhon mentions them, but only desultorily. Nowhere does he try systematically to show how *Herrenvolk* race ideology—which, according to his antebellum chapters, was the regnant orthodoxy—may have been manipulated to deflect proto-populist resentments onto the ex-slaves.

Arkansas Reconstruction has been undeservedly neglected by many American historians. Under carpetbagger Powell Clayton, it was one of the few Republican states that possessed the will and political resources to mobilize an interracial militia capable of quashing Klan violence. The so-called Brooks-Baxter war, that opera-bouffe ringing down the curtain on Arkansas Reconstruction, still leaves historians scratching their heads.

I had hoped that Moneyhon, who is an uncommonly good historian, might have shed new light on these dimly lit corners of Reconstruction historiography. Despite his failure to do so, he has written a very useful book.

LAWRENCE N. POWELL
Tulane University

WILLIAM H. ARMSTRONG. *A Friend to God's Poor: Edward Parmelee Smith.* Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1993. Pp. xiii, 518. $50.00.

William H. Armstrong has produced a fervently researched and earnestly written biography of Edward Parmelee Smith, a little-known Congregational minister who spent a lifetime in public service learning hard lessons about the complex politics surrounding "God's Poor" in an era steeped in corruption. Smith was among the first generation of Christian "organization men," ministers better known for their abilities in the areas of bookkeeping, fund raising, and administration than exhorting. Driven by religious consciences forged during the ferment of reform in the decades before the Civil War, they helped push the Protestant church into greater involvement in the affairs of the world. During his seminary days, Smith worked with Charles Loring Brace in the slums of New York, then ministered to the physical and moral needs of Union soldiers as field secretary of the Christian Commission, and after the war found a lifelong friend in O. O. Howard through his American Missionary Association work with Freedmen. When Congress cut funding for Freedmen projects, Smith took up a mission among the Chippewa Indians of Minnesota preaching the same sermon of salvation by lumber mill, farm field, church, and school that had guided his work with African Americans in the South.

Smith went to Washington in 1873 as Commissioner of Indian Affairs to help implement U. S. Grant's peace policy, but his rigidity in dealings with the Kiowa and Comanches, ironically, nearly rekindled war in the West. He was overwhelmed by the large sums flowing through his office, which he sometimes spent impulsively, the cupidity of the agents under his supervision, the desperation of the Indians moved to reservations, and the viciousness of politics in the capital city. He made errors in judgment and was twice called before special committees investigating the rampant corruption in the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Although Smith received no personal gain from any of his mistakes, he did lose his federal appointment. Acknowledging his years of work helping to build schools, most notably Fisk University, friends in the Congregational church helped him secure the presidency of Howard University over John Mercer Langston, the African-American scholar who wanted to move the school away from its emphasis on producing ministers and focus on building a black professional class. Before he could take on this new responsibility, Smith died of malaria in 1876 during a mission trip to Sierra Leone, obviously seeking solace in what he considered the unambiguous goal of converting the Africans to Christ.

Armstrong has written a long book about a minor player in the great American epic of Civil War, Reconstruction, and westward expansion. The reader keeps waiting for a revelation that makes Smith worthy of such effort. Armstrong is a rare biographer in his willingness to neither defend nor condemn his subject. He explains instead. Despite Smith's parochialism and paternalism, Armstrong argues, he meant well.

Smith's story does offer insights into the politics of the New England evangelicals who tried relentlessly to impose their vision of a Christian America on all regions and all peoples of the country, and those in the Grant administration who tried to discredit them. The epilogue has a thought-provoking discussion on the question of evaluating nineteenth-century figures by twentieth-century standards, and the author adds a cautionary note about feeling too righteous about our own conduct in comparison with those of an earlier

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time. In the end Armstong concludes, "Judge not." Whether this is ultimately a satisfactory approach to historical biography, individual readers must decide for themselves.

BARBARA L. BELLOWS
Middlebury College

RUSSELL DUNCAN. *Entrepreneur for Equality: Governor Rufus Bullock, Commerce, and Race in Post–Civil War Georgia.* Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 278. $40.00.

As historians discover more about the antecedents and political performance of the once-vilified Republicans of the Reconstruction South, the unfairness and inaccuracy of the earlier depiction of them becomes increasingly evident. Rufus Bullock was governor during Georgia's brief reconstruction, 1868–71, and this biography by Russell Duncan, although not particularly lively or probing, demonstrates convincingly how wrong his detractors have been.

After growing up in Albion in upstate New York, Bullock quickly became a successful businessman in the new telegraph industry and, in 1859, was sent south to Augusta, Georgia, by his firm, the Adams Express Company, to expand its operations. After aiding the Confederacy's military operations with his expertise in telegraphy and transportation, he began, at war's end, to diversify his business interests into banking and porcelain manufacture. Convinced that a new start for the South's economy required new political leadership as well as acceptance of equal rights for the former slaves, seven of whom he had recently owned, Bullock was soon affiliating with the Republican Party in Augusta. Although a capitalist and no ally of the workingman, his racial concerns were genuine, Duncan argues, as was his commitment to the Republican Party as the institutional means of achieving a New South. In 1868, these convictions would be severely tested when Bullock won the governorship and was immediately confronted with what was perhaps the most virulent Democratic onslaught that any new Reconstruction government had to face.

The governor was besieged by widespread terror and political assassination as well as by a large Democratic minority in the legislature that soon became a majority when the thirty-one black legislators were expelled on the grounds of ineligibility; a cynical but very effective maneuver that surprisingly was not used anywhere else by the Democrats. Bullock decided, quite realistically, that he had no choice but to call on Congress to refuse to admit Georgia and thereby enable him to reorganize the assembly by starting reconstruction anew. Although ultimately victorious by January 1870, Bullock then tried to get the legislature's already-truncated term prolonged. This was probably a miscalculation, although Duncan, who is rarely critical of his subject, does not consider this possibility. Congress refused to support Bullock this time, although he was able to keep the legislature in session until November 1871, a year after the election, suggesting that prolongation may not have been necessary.

Despite his probity and success as a businessman, Bullock's economic policies have been castigated as extravagant and corrupt. His biographer can fault him only for carelessness in his haste to get development projects enacted before the Republicans lost power. Even on the controversial lease of the state-owned Western and Atlantic Railroad, he concludes that Bullock merely facilitated the deal by combining the two leading bids, rather than being paid off for it. Eventually, a court trial in Georgia in 1877 and several legislative investigations failed to turn up evidence of wrongdoing. Because his accusers were so determined to convict him, Duncan concludes that their utter failure was confirmation of Bullock's innocence.

Bullock's career after his acquittal is most interesting. He stayed in Atlanta and soon became a successful businessman again. A New South booster, he was accepted into the Commercial Club and was even elected president of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce from 1890 to 1893. Nevertheless, he continued to disagree with his good friend, Henry Grady, and the Democrats on race relations and black voting rights. Fittingly, he urged the inclusion of a Colored Exhibit at the Atlanta Exposition of 1895 and introduced Booker T. Washington as guest speaker at the opening ceremonies. Although rather awkward, the book's title, "entrepreneur for equality," does catch the essence of Bullock's political views, and Duncan has provided a welcome, accurate, and solidly researched reassessment of one of the most maligned, yet most interesting and tenacious, of the leading politicians in the Reconstruction South.

MICHAEL PERMAN
University of Illinois, Chicago

NINA SILBER. *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865–1900.* (Civil War America.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 257. $34.95.

In one of the most striking scenes of Thomas Dixon's *The Clansman*, hooded gentlemen throw a black rapist off the cliff from which his victims have leapt in pure shame. Published in 1905, Dixon's novel was immediately a best seller nationwide, a disquieting reversal of the Confederate defeat at Appomattox and the crux of the transformation in popular opinion that Nina Silber examines in this ambitious cultural history of the postwar reunion process. At the heart of Silber's "romance" is the gendered myth of southern honor, what Dixon imagined as white Christian robes beneath red Covenanter crosses and D. W. Griffith would recast in *The Birth of a Nation* as trapped southern women, vicious black devils, and the silent rumble of the Klan's galloping hooves.

Silber balances her attention to such late depictions

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of southern manhood with an opening emphasis on northern views of masculinity, defined in 1865 as an attack on southern chivalry and represented, above all, in the press fun with the fugitive and petticoated Jefferson Davis. Chapters on Reconstruction's vigorous industrialism and the subsequent growth of southern spas (Silber titles chapter 3 "Sick Yankees in Paradise") trace the homebound nationalism increasingly associated with defeated southern women, while middle-class northerners of the 1870s and 1880s deserted the freedmen to vacation in backwater resorts. Chapters 4 and 5 survey late-century reunion dramas linked to Populism's spread and the enthusiasm for minstrel shows, jubilee singers, and dialect stories that played on racial difference, thereby fueling both Jim Crow legislation and the reputation of Robert E. Lee. Strongest in the breadth of her coverage and the reach of her data, Silber imaginatively taps archival sources like Decoration Day programs and regimental reunion addresses, theater playbills and patriotic songsheets.

Despite her resourcefulness, however, there are several problems with Silber's model and methodology. Intent on a metaphorical courtship, for instance, she favors clear oppositions—North against South, masculine against feminine, bourgeois industry against aristocratic leisure—that she might more often dismantle. Reading thematically, she can miss the competing tugs of, say, differing northern immigrant populations and differing southern regions, of plots and subplots, of class tensions even in the African-American press. More fundamentally, her titular romance assumes the contemporary separation of gendered spheres, just when critics such as Nina Baym, Linda Kerber, and Karen Sanchez-Eppler are revealing gendered collaboration. Her use of archival discoveries can be similarly hampered, since she tracks the hope of reunion without always questioning who used reunion rhetoric or why rhetorical shifts took place. Finally, Silber often treats her sources as transparent, steady barometers of what most northerners "believed" or "wondered" rather than constructs with formal and political agendas.

Postbellum culture thus emerges as rich but nostalgic, ultimately for many the quiet distribution of hoods without confusion, refutation, or slow simmer. Even at the turn of the century, it is fair to remember, Justice John Marshall Harlan offered at least one dissenting model for reunion in the Supreme Court, where he resisted the "separate but equal" doctrine to argue that Reconstruction's hard-won freedoms were not altogether lost.

KATHLEEN DIFFLEY
University of Iowa

J. CLAY SMITH, JR. *Emancipation: The Making of the Black Lawyer, 1844–1944.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1993. Pp. xix, 703. $56.95.

Virtually all aspects of the black historical experience in America have been influenced by the effects of racism. No one in the black community, including members of its elites, has escaped them, although many have overcome their tragic effects. These assertions are clearly substantiated in J. Clay Smith, Jr.'s ambitious history of the formative period (1844–1944) of the black legal profession.

Smith states that his purpose for writing the book is "to present a history of [black lawyers] in America by concentrating on their origins in the states of the nation" (p. 19). He models his work on the methodology and format of Anton-Hermann Chroust's *The Rise of the Legal Profession in America* (1965) and works on black subjects by three authors, A. Leon Higginbotham, Dietrich Reitzes, and Geraldine Segal, who employed a local perspective. The result is a richly detailed, well-documented, and searching account of pioneering black lawyers, a study that, despite Smith's presentation of his material in a states-within-region format, is sometimes overwhelming in detail. Perhaps such abundance is one of the inevitable consequences of writing history that seeks to survey a broad sample of local situations. It does, in the case of this work, provide the author and the reader with great opportunities and challenges.

One overwhelmingly important fact emerges from the mass of biographical data that Smith presents. In the midst of their continuing struggle to achieve acceptance and status within and outside the black community, the pioneer black lawyers actively defended the rights of their black clients from the effects of racially based injustice in and outside the courts. Justice Thurgood Marshall aptly described this process when he said: "In store-front offices, over kitchen tables, and on porch steps, these lawyers worked diligently to protect the rights of African-Americans and to ensure, case by case, that justice would not forever be delayed" (p. x). In so doing, they created a matrix of legal activism that provided a firm foundation for the emergence of the modern NAACP-led black civil rights revolution.

The volume, in addition to the chapters surveying the lawyers at the local level, has an opening chapter discussing blacks in law schools that includes an excellent study of the development of a civil rights orientation in the Howard University Law School and a final chapter on the organization of black bar associations in the face of the exclusionist policies of the American Bar Association. Nowhere, however, does it have an overall analytical summary or conclusion. There is nothing beyond the repeated paraphrase at the end of some of the chapters of the idea that the black lawyers worked to emancipate their people.

Nevertheless, the work, because of its comprehensiveness, will remain the seminal reference for those seeking an understanding of the contributions of pioneer black lawyers to American legal culture. Its contents remind us that these lawyers' activism on

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behalf of black rights was the manifestation of a sense of obligation deeply embedded in the black legal community since its beginnings. One last comment is in order. It is a shame that the window of access for oral historians is almost closed on the pioneer black lawyers who comprise the historical basis of Smith's study. That reality, however, adds to the certainty that Smith's work will retain its importance for historians.

JAMES C. DURAM
Wichita State University

STEVEN J. CRUM. *The Road on Which We Came — Po'i Pentun Tammen Kimmappeh: A History of the Western Shoshone.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 240. $29.95.

As an enrolled Western Shoshone, Steven J. Crum is the ideal scholar to write that group's tribal history. Although the integration of Paiute bands into some Western Shoshone communities during the early reservation era points to some of the problems and limitations in the tribal approach to Indian history, this book nonetheless improves on the genre. It is ethnohistorical, showing Indians as active participants in shaping their history. And whereas most earlier tribal histories focused primarily or exclusively on cultures and on the pre–twentieth-century experience, Crum deals briefly (almost too briefly) with the early period and devotes over two-thirds of the volume to the modern era.

Fur trappers and overlanders were the first Euroamericans to enter the Great Basin world of the Western Shoshones. Their stay was brief, yet long enough to disrupt the region's delicate environment. The biggest changes came in the third quarter of the nineteenth century after Mexico ceded the area to an aggressive United States that moved much more quickly toward European-style settlement. The Western Shoshones, who had never organized socially and politically beyond extended families, centralized into bands to pool sufficient manpower for retaliatory raids against the newcomers. That centralization, along with questions of how much to assimilate into the culture of the intruders, would continue until the present as patterns in reconciling to the new situation.

After the Civil War, the government finally created a reservation, but not all Western Shoshones were included, and only about one-third of them moved onto it. Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) agents had only limited success in their subsequent campaigns of forced assimilation with the scattered and sparsely populated Western Shoshones. In fact, those on the reservation became increasingly effective in organized opposition to the government. In contrast, the majority not on the reservation struggled at the same time for recognition of land claims, for the creation of more reservations to accommodate non-reservation Indians, and for gaining access to government assistance.

On the question of the extent to which Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier and his Indian New Deal in the 1930s allowed Indians to maintain traditional cultures and control their own destinies, Crum generally sees a positive impact, although the results were mixed. The creation of new reservations, land purchase programs, and tribal constitutions gave Western Shoshones a foundation and a political structure to take more control of their own affairs. For some off the reservation, the New Deal represented the first government assistance of any kind. But it also brought all of the Western Shoshones more completely under the scrutiny and veto power of the BIA and in the long run undercut (but did not destroy) the most traditionalist faction.

Crum similarly describes the Great Society programs of the 1960s and the self-determination policies of the 1970s as having a mixed impact. They helped foster a resurgence of traditional culture and brought major improvement in reservation conditions like housing, building construction, and economic opportunity. But many of the programs were intended for non-Indian recipients and did not sufficiently fit the needs of reservations to bring lasting benefit to Indian communities.

The book takes the story up to the present and ends on a generally positive note, but with many issues unresolved. A longstanding struggle to press land claims continued. The need for economic development loomed ever larger. But the Western Shoshones were more unified in common cause than ever before and were well positioned to bring the tribe into the twenty-first century more in control of its own destiny than at any other time in the reservation era.

LARRY BURT
Southwest Missouri State University

WILLIAM HAAS MOORE. *Chiefs, Agents and Soldiers: Conflict on the Navajo Frontier, 1868–1882.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1994. Pp. xxiv, 355.

Between 1846 and 1861, Navajo Indians (*Diné*) fought a series of wars with the U.S. Army and New Mexican irregulars. The conflicts culminated in the Kit Carson campaign of 1863–64 and the forced removal of approximately 10,000 Navajos to *Hwéél̨di*, the Bosque Redondo reservation in eastern New Mexico. The *Diné* languished on this reservation until 1868 when the people and government signed the Navajo Treaty of 1868. Although a good deal is known about this period as a result of past scholarship, little has been written about the era from 1868 to 1880, except a series of articles by Frank D. Reeve that appeared in the *New Mexico Historical Review* in the 1930s and 1940s. In 1986, Garrick Bailey and Roberta Glenn Bailey published *A History of the Navajos: The Reservation Years*, but until the publication of William Haas Moore's book no one has thoroughly examined the

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important and complicated period immediately following the return of the *Diné* to their homeland.

Moore has produced a solid scholarly work. He focuses on the *Diné* return to their sacred lands and their adjustment to a new life on and off the Navajo Reservation, living in harmony, accommodation, and conflict with agents, soldiers, other Indians, and settlers. He argues that Navajo leaders like Barboncito, Manuelito, Ganado Mucho, and others were active and important contributors of Navajo affairs within their own communities and in relation to agents, soldiers, and settlers. Indians functioned as real actors during the period, and Moore casts them as equal players with whites in the Navajo drama. Most of the sources used in the book are from the New Mexico Superintendency and Navajo Agency Letterbooks, but Moore knows a good deal about Navajo culture and uses some oral history to enrich his sources.

For the most part, the book is chronological, following the tenure of Indian agents from Frank Bennett to Dennis Riordan. Much of the book is an "administrative" history of the era, but Moore expands the approach to deal with Navajo raiding, trading, and education. He details the roles played by Thomas Keams, Juan Hubbell, and Anson Damon, who were primarily Indian traders but who significantly influenced the course of Navajo history through their work as cultural, economic, and political brokers. Within Navajo communities and families, these are people who are still remembered through the oral tradition. Moore also illuminates other topics that are paramount in understanding Navajos in the late nineteenth century. Most important is the rise of Navajo witchcraft on the reservation and the aggressive moves by the *Diné* and army to end the witchcraft hysteria. First Man brought witchcraft into the present or Glittering World, and it has always been a part of Navajo history. After the return of Navajos to their homeland, however, witchcraft created a host of problems for the people, agents, and soldiers. Moore argues that the army dealt best with the issue, because the military accepted the fact that Navajos believed in the power of witches. The agents refused to accept the Navajo belief and were less effective in dealing with witchcraft. Navajo involvement in the resolution of the witchcraft era, and their participation in many other issues germane to the reservation is the hallmark of this fine scholarly book.

Clifford E. Trafzer
University of California, Riverside

Melissa L. Meyer. *The White Earth Tragedy: Ethnicity and Dispossession at a Minnesota Anishinaabe Reservation, 1889–1920.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1994. Pp. xviii, 333. $40.00.

In this important case study of tribal dispossession, Melissa L. Meyer concludes that, following the Chippewa treaty of 1867 and passage of the Nelson Act of 1889, the federal government's policy of allotment and attempted assimilation of the Anishinaabe (Chippewa) people in northern Minnesota was a monumental failure, and that the Anishinaabe "adapted to changing circumstances more through their own efforts than through congressional largess or coercion" (p. 225). Previous studies dealing with the failure of allotment and assimilation among other Indian groups are legion, and in many instances have fine-tuned our understanding of how the Dawes Act (1887)—of which the Nelson Act was an extension—promoted tribal factionalism, massive material dispossession, and widespread Indian poverty. But Meyer, an enthusiastic advocate of applying world-systems theory of market capitalism, especially that of Thomas D. Hall, to the interaction between Euroamericans and native people, attempts to advance a considerable step further.

Eschewing acculturation, modernization, and progress as terms applicable to the reality of the Anishinaabe experience, because such constructions uncritically imply that the Anishinaabe abandoned their cultural integrity on the model of their non-Indian counterparts, Meyer argues that the initial expansion of market capitalism into the isolated and ecologically diverse White Earth reservation allowed the Anishinaabe to enjoy a "region of refuge" (p. 226), to pursue multiple strategies for making a living, and, indeed, to enjoy relative prosperity. But the rising price of wheat on a global scale and the building of railroads linking the White Earth reservation with the markets and mills of the Twin Cities in the early twentieth century prompted the invasion of Euroamerican settlers and coincided with the inept government policy of easing competency requirements for selected individuals, especially the mixed-bloods, who in concert with conniving government officials and avaricious corporate interests reduced the White Earth reservation to a "full-blown periphery" (p. 227) and its rank-and-file residents to a state of marginalization and ultimate dependency.

Meyer comes down hard on the mixed-bloods (whom she views more as symbolic perceptions than individuals of documentable genetic diversity) and emphasizes that their inequitable material accumulation at the expense of collective tribal resources more than anything else alienated the Anishinaabe traditionalists. Even so, beyond enjoying special deference in competency hearings leading to accelerated fee-simple control over individual allotments, and occasional forays into the inner circle of what in the pre-allotment era often was termed the "Indian Ring," the mixed-blood as a powerful player in Anishinaabe dispossession warrants more extensive and critical analysis than Meyer provides. Problematic also is her suggestion that if the Anishinaabe had been left to their own devices under the Nelson Act they might have fared better during the devastating rural depression of the early 1930s, even though their twenty-five-

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year trusteeship protection by then would have expired. Perhaps so, perhaps not. But again, in the absence of further elaboration, the reader is left in doubt.

With her deft fusion of contemporary social-science theory with more traditional methods of historical investigation and generalization, Meyer has produced an important, indeed fascinating, study of tribal dispossession. In juxtaposition to the diverse experiences of scores of other dispossessed tribes, however, her claim that events at the White Earth reservation "did not follow the national pattern [but] . . . helped to set it" (p. 227) is tentative and open to further investigation.

WILLIAM E. UNRAU
Wichita State University

MALCOLM EBRIGHT. *Land Grants and Lawsuits in Northern New Mexico.* (New Mexico Land Grant Series.) Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 399.

Malcolm Ebright has written a book of restrained passion, superb scholarship, and subtle advocacy. These essays describe the methods of Hispanic land-grant confirmation for northern New Mexico and, more generally, the process whereby the Hispanic settlers and their descendants lost their lands. He concentrates on the common lands of specific community land grants and also describes the legal status of the grants as made and interpreted under Hispanic law.

The passion is restrained, but there is no doubting Ebright's sympathy with the Hispanic settlers, his conclusion that the United States did not meet its commitments under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, and his hopes that the descendants of these Hispanic settlers might still see their rights vindicated. There has been a considerable amount of this sort of writing recently. What makes Ebright's work very different is that he is an attorney as well as historian. The book is history, not a lawyer's brief, and Ebright grounds his detailed historical case in rich amounts of archival and other primary sources, always raises and discusses authors whose viewpoints are opposed to his, and is never shrill in tone. This is also skillful advocacy at its highest level. Some younger historians should take note.

Although Ebright makes it clear that the Hispanic peoples were unfairly treated in relation to their land grants, "the causes of this unfairness are not as clear. No one individual or group of individuals is solely to blame" (p. 52). The usual suspects are rounded up: incompetence and avarice of attorneys representing claimants, corruption of the Surveyor General of New Mexico, unfair operation of the partition statute whereby entire grants were sold to pay attorney fees, and unjust decisions of the Court of Private Land Claims and the U.S. Supreme Court that ignored Hispanic law.

Ebright discusses all these in detail, but also looks to broader cultural causes. "The main reason [for the unfair treatment of the claimants] was that the land grants were established under one legal system and adjudicated by another. The Anglo common law system did not sufficiently take into account important elements of the Hispanic civil law system such as customary law, which drove the legal system in New Mexico when the land grants were made" (pp. 3–4). Hispanic law and society favored the building of community whereas Anglo-American law and society exalted the individual. Hispanic law was comfortable with the concept of community ownership, wherein members of a community had a quasi-public, quasi-private ownership of common lands. Nineteenth-century American judges, to the extent they understood the concept, were hostile. "Since the common lands concept was out of favor in United States law, American judges were also unsympathetic toward Hispanic common lands ownership as defined by Spanish and Mexican law" (p. 268). This is a more subtle and sophisticated thesis than that usually advanced of outright chicanery and theft.

Ebright's work is legal history and the non-legally trained will have to work a bit, although the author provides help and explains a number of difficult legal concepts as they appear. The rewards are great in insights provided into the operation of the granting and adjudication system in New Mexico.

DAVID J. LANGUM
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DAVID H. MOULD. *Dividing Lines: Canals, Railroads and Urban Rivalry in Ohio's Hocking Valley, 1825–1875.* Dayton, Ohio: Wright State University Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 306. $51.00.

Southeast Ohio's Hocking River Valley provides a lens through which we can view a small, representative portion of the nineteenth-century American transportation revolution. From the late eighteenth to late nineteenth centuries, the Hocking Valley saw the rise and fall of keelboats, flatboats, steamboats, canal boats, and finally, the triumph of railroad transportation systems. These developments profoundly affected towns such as Marietta, Lancaster, Athens, Logan, Nelsonville, Belpre, and others throughout this time. David H. Mould writes a thorough and engaging chronicle of this previously untold facet of the history of the Ohio Valley.

Mould examines transportation history "against a background of urban rivalry," explaining that location on a riverboat, canal, or railroad line "was as important to a community's self-image as it was to its economic well-being" (p. ix). He recounts the complicated history of the early Upper Ohio river trade, the Ohio Canal branch (1826), the Hocking Canal (1836), and the fierce 1850s and post–Civil War competition between the Marietta & Cincinnati, Bal-

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timore & Ohio, Cincinnati, Wilmington, & Zanesville, Scioto & Hocking Valley, and Pennsylvania railroads, and the aspiring communities whose destinies hinged on their successes and failures. At the same time he examines the symbolic importance of railroads in southeast Ohioans' imaginations, and the railroad's role as a metaphor for progress and improvements during the exciting, turbulent Jacksonian epoch.

This study is based on an impressive array of archival and published primary sources and secondary works. Mould visited all of the major collections relevant to this study, researching railroad and canal business records in the Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Maryland historical societies. This material is buttressed by scores of newspaper articles, state and federal government reports, published annual reports of transportation companies, and relevant theses and doctoral dissertations. The author's review of the secondary literature examines the work of George R. Taylor, Harry Scheiber, W. W. Rostow, Douglass North, Lewis Atherton, Paul Wallace Gates, Robert Fogel, and others; he astutely uses James A. Ward's *Railroads and the Character of America* (1986) and Leo Marx's *The Machine in the Garden* (1964) in his analysis of the role of railroads in American imagination and culture. The introductory chapter on riverboats might have benefited from consulting Leland D. Baldwin and Louis C. Hunter. Also, Erik F. Haites, James Mak, and Gary M. Walton's *Western River Transportation* was published in 1975, not the 1925 date cited in the bibliography.

Mould accurately depicts the volatile nature of Jacksonian entrepreneurial capitalism and the ups and downs of its Hocking Valley adherents. He simultaneously documents the role of federal and state government aid in this not-so-free market. He concludes that the canals and railroads substantially "altered the physical shape of the land; determined the sites and layouts of towns and the location of residential, industrial, and commercial districts; and gave their names to streets and local businesses" (pp. 219–20). Moreover, he shows how southeast Ohioans' views about railroads mirrored significant mid-nineteenth-century American attitudes toward nature, the land, community, progress, and civilization.

Other scholars have explored all of these important themes. Mould's accomplishment is to have added the story of Hocking Valley transportation to complement, support, and enhance the work of others. Students, librarians, and teachers of nineteenth-century America, transportation, and Ohio Valley history will want to consult this well-written and thoroughly documented book.

MICHAEL ALLEN
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DEBORAH E. BURNS. *Shaker Cities of Peace, Love, and Union: A History of the Hancock Bishopric.* Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England. 1993. Pp. xiii, 246. $18.95.

The historiography of the Shakers, the United Society of Believers, has followed two broad traditions. In recent years academic historians, among them Stephen Marini, Lawrence Foster, Louis Kern, Clarke Garrett, and Stephen Stein, have explored the Shakers' origins, gender relations, and religious and social evolution in widely noted works attuned to critical questions in religious and gender studies. But in another more venerable tradition, local and avocational historians going back to Edward Deming Andrews have lovingly detailed the life and times of the Shakers, with careful attention to context and material culture. Deborah E. Burns has chosen to ground her study of the Shaker communities in Hancock and Tyringham, Massachusetts, and Enfield, Connecticut, which comprised the Hancock Bishopric, in this older tradition. From this choice flow the strengths and the weaknesses of Burns's detailed narrative.

Although not formally sectioned, the narrative line of this book falls naturally into three parts: three chapters on the eighteenth-century era of formation, four chapters on the Shakers' peak in the first half of the nineteenth century, and three chapters on the decades of decline. The communities of the Hancock or Second Bishopric lay just to the east of the first gathered Shaker community at Watervliet, New York, and Burns's first chapters narrate Mother Ann Lee's missions into western New England and the separation of Shaker families from "the world." This "world" was primarily one shaped by Separate-Baptist dissent, and Burns provides useful, detailed descriptions of the religious and social tensions generated as people converted to Shakerism and withdrew into their new communities. The most valuable aspects of the book's middle section are Burns's description of the Shaker seed industry and of the spiritual "manifestations" of the 1840s, when the Shakers retreated to secluded hilltops to dance in the millennium, and when these three communities were named the "cities" of Peace, Love, and Union. In chapter 8, "Challenges from Within," Burns examines the sudden collapse of membership in the 1850s and 1860s, as younger Shakers at Hancock, Tyringham, and Enfield—drawn by a rapidly changing world intruding from Pittsfield, Lenox, and Hartford—left the order in droves. The final chapters chronicle the constriction and collapse of the Shaker agricultural and artisanal economy (carefully described through the previous chapters), and the epilogue contrasts the careful preservation of the Hancock Shaker Village with the piecemeal disappearance of the Shaker buildings at Tyringham and the wholesale destruction of Enfield, swallowed up by the Connecticut State Prison system in 1931.

It was clearly the careful preservation of Hancock, and the records preserved there, that inspired Burns to focus her attention on these three Shaker commu-

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nities. Such a localized narrative allows careful examination of local specifics: Burns's book may be unparalleled in its description of the texture of evolving Shaker life and its relationship with a surrounding society. But in the end this is a narrative and not an analysis. Social and religious historians will find useful detail, but they will not find developed discussions of the connections linking and the tensions dividing sect and society. This is a book that will be useful to people with local and regional interests, that will be consulted by the Shaker specialists, but that will not be of great utility to the generalist.

JOHN L. BROOKE
Tufts University

MICHAEL SHIRLEY. *From Congregation Town to Industrial City: Culture and Social Change in a Southern Community.* (The American Social Experience.) New York: New York University Press. 1994. Pp. xvi, 320. $50.00.

Michael Shirley has written a well-crafted urban biography of nineteenth-century Winston-Salem, located in the North Carolina Piedmont. He emphasizes that the rise of industry had ramifications that went far beyond the construction of factories. "Rather, the essence of industrialization was the transformation of economic, social, and political institutions and structures that accompanied changes in the methods of production as well as the emergence of a new mindset among inhabitants of Winston and Salem that brought new ways of thinking and acting," he writes. "From this economic transformation new social and political structures and relationships emerged that produced a more differentiated community culture" (p. 2). The shared experience of the Industrial Revolution in America differed quite markedly from one place to another. In Winston-Salem the process resulted in a fundamental redefining of civic aspirations.

Moravians established Salem in the revolutionary war period as a congregational community based on an ethos of brotherly love and cooperation. Well into the nineteenth century, patriarchal authorities—the Aufseher Collegium, the Congregation Council, and the Elders Conference—regulated economic affairs, setting prices and licensing artisan shops. Rapid agricultural settlement in the Piedmont gradually turned Salem into a country marketing town, generating heated disputes over a number of issues, including the extent of restraints on business and the use of slave labor. In 1851, a new division, Winston, became a county seat. A few small cotton mills opened, partially staffed by family units. Religious control had broken down by the Civil War.

Following hostilities, Winston-Salem leaders embraced the doctrines of the New South, supporting industrial progress and rapid integration into a national economy. The arrival of railroads enhanced marketing. Many cotton mills and tobacco factories opened. A business elite emerged, personified by such old settlers as Henry Fries in cotton and such newcomers as Richard Joshua Reynolds in tobacco. Opportunities for white and black workers resulted in impressive population growth. Class and racial problems deepened, and segregation became a reality. Despite economic downturns and the general plight of the South, Winston-Salem prospered. The electorate consistently elected probusiness candidates to local public office. By the 1890s a market-driven entrepreneurialism had replaced the old religious foundations.

The thorough use of traditional research materials enhance Shirley's study. He has made excellent use of social statistics in the manuscript census to delineate occupational trends and other aspects of community progress. Manuscript collections have yielded a vast amount of data, especially on dominant groups and the rise of manufacturing. Of special note is the valuable information from credit reports in the R. G. Dun and Company Collection at the Baker Library of Harvard University.

Shirley has produced a fine addition to the study of urbanization. His book joins a small number of other biographies of nineteenth-century southern cities, including Harriet Amos's on Mobile and James Russell's on Atlanta. Indeed, the Winston-Salem story adds an important new twist, given the community's religious origins. What transpired reads like a morality tale of innocence lost; the changing of what started as a noble experiment to create a city on the hill into just another individualistic and somewhat uncaring mill town. Shirley's book will appeal not only to a regional audience in the South but also to all students of the diverse American experience.

LAWRENCE H. LARSEN
University of Missouri, Kansas City

LAWRENCE M. LIPIN. *Producers, Proletarians, and Politicians: Workers and Party Politics in Evansville and New Albany, Indiana, 1850–87.* (The Working Class in American History.) Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 313. Cloth $29.95, paper $14.95.

Lawrence M. Lipin's study of workers in Evansville and New Albany, Indiana, is a book about two small communities that focuses on some big questions. As the author lays out in a well-written introduction, he is interested in the process of class formation and the structure of local politics and its impact on the national development of the working class.

In part 1, antebellum New Albany, a small town on the Ohio River, is portrayed with much nuance. Lipin shows at some length how the political landscape shifted in a town dominated by small businessmen and skilled workers who held cross-class producerist ideals before the war but who increasingly shifted toward more polarized ideas of class identity during and after the Civil War.

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As the stage is set in New Albany, the narrative shifts to the larger and livelier political scene in Evansville, where a more differentiated middle and upper class and the numerical importance of the German immigrants add additional dimensions to the story. But in Evansville, too, producerism resonated deeply in the community and the main political parties—seen as somewhat external to the social fabric of the city—were unable to bind the loyalties of a broad swath of voters until after the Civil War. It was during the 1870s and 1880s that Lipin sees the process of class formation and class identity in an industrial context take precedence over other forms of solidarity. Although this development was accompanied by the emergence of a lively union movement and the occasional attempts to form a labor party, it was the Democratic Party that emerged as the winner. In general terms this shift has already been recognized by historians and analyzed in a number of large cities, yet the detail and analytic insight of Lipin's small-town study is exemplary.

The final two chapters swing back to New Albany in the 1870s and 1880s to explore how class politics expressed itself in a town experiencing rapid and thorough class bifurcation. As New Albany was coming under the domination of a few industrialists, discontent among the city's workers and the shrinking middle class never coalesced into an effective political opposition, at least not before the mid–1880s, the break-off point in Lipin's study. The growing working class in small town industrializing America may have had some militant individuals and even a short-lived labor campaign led by the Knights of Labor, but ethnic divisions and the practiced domination of political institutions and the press by a few men of wealth prevented any lasting opposition from organizing. With both Republicans and Democrats appealing to parts of the working-class vote, no representative of working-class concerns emerged among the established parties either.

In a sense, Lipin's study adds to the work of those historians who see American labor politics in the Gilded Age as a story of lost opportunity. But pessimism is not the tone of the study. Instead this well-written book adds to our understanding of the political loyalties among a working class whose pragmatic and changing choices did much to shape the political landscape during the past 100 years. This volume has much to recommend itself as a fine portrait of nineteenth-century community life and as a story of class formation in industrializing America.

DOROTHEE SCHNEIDER
University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

DOROTHEE SCHNEIDER. *Trade Unions and Community: The German Working Class in New York City, 1870–1900.* (The Working Class in American History.) Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1994. Pp. xx, 273. $34.95.

This book is about how German immigrant social and political traditions shaped the characteristics of their trade unions and the influence these unions had on the American labor movement. Much of the background to this analysis is by now familiar. Dorothee Schneider describes Germans' motivations for immigrating, their skills and resources, and how they used family ties and community networks. More than most other mid to late-nineteenth-century immigrants, Germans were remarkably diverse. They came to the United States during distinctly different periods, hailed from regions and localities with varying traditions, and had numerous religious affiliations. Many were Protestant, others were Catholic, and some were Jews. Most had urban rather than rural roots and most men had craft-related skills.

As the title suggests, community is key to understanding German trade unions. Indeed, there is more to the title than meets the eye. *Vereine*, German voluntary associations, were central to German immigrant communities, and they are essential to Schneider's analysis. *Vereine* were as diverse as German immigrants themselves, but most were similar to American associations that provided social benefits or entertainment. Schneider emphasizes that a small but important minority of *Vereine* were unusual in that they had the political goals of socialism and trade unionism.

The chapters on trade unions form the core of this book. Schneider has chosen three trades that were typical of New York City's industrial structure yet reveal the heterogeneity of German immigrants and the changes wrought by mechanization and division of labor: cigar makers, brewers, and bakers. Cigar makers have a special place in this story because their strong organization and leaders (notably Adolph Strasser and Samuel Gompers) influenced the American labor movement. Compared to the ancient crafts of brewing and baking, cigar making was a relatively new occupation. And cigar workers were more open to new perspectives and strategies. Cigar makers' craft unionism was not rooted in European guilds but built on new perspectives, including some aspects of socialism as well as conservative strategies that ensured strong unions, notably stability and financial security. The Cigar Makers' International Union, which influenced policies of the emerging American Federation of Labor, was in part the result of struggles between conservatives and a minority of progressive unionists based in German immigrants' socialist organizations. Schneider's detailed, nuanced description reveals that German-American trade unionists brought with them socialist traditions as well as experiences congruent with bureaucratic "business unionism," and that socialism and craft unionism were not necessarily contradictory.

The influence of ethnicity on this struggle is a weak point. Schneider promises to reveal links between ethnicity and the American labor movement, yet at the same time she emphasizes that successful Ger-

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man-American unions were not ethnic but class based. This contradiction stems in part from a tendency to separate class and ethnicity and to look at class in a limited way as equivalent to occupational identity and conflicts with employers rather than a more multilayered analysis that incorporates ethnicity, as well as gender and race. Also, Schneider might have reinforced the point about the distinctiveness of German-American unions by comparisons with other influential unions. The strength of this book is that it is a social history of the origins of institutions. It links the family, work, and community lives of ordinary and not so ordinary men and women (largely men) trade unionists with institutions they built and attempted to maintain. This study draws on the best aspects of new labor history without losing the benefits of the old labor history.

CAROLE TURBIN
State University College of New York, Empire State College

KHALED J. BLOOM. *The Mississippi Valley's Great Yellow Fever Epidemic of 1878.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1993. Pp. x, 290. $29.95.

Yellow fever struck New Orleans in 1878, as it had in numerous other years. This time, however, it killed many more people: between four and five thousand. It also spread more widely than ever before. In Memphis, hundreds of miles up the Mississippi River and rarely touched by yellow fever, between five and six thousand died. Residents of towns along both sides of the river between the two cities were terrorized by the disease. Nothing stopped the fever's spread: not quarantines, mandatory street and house cleaning, the opening of residential camps, restricted hours of entry into and departure from towns, or fumigation of everything from homes to train cars to mail. No one knew why yellow fever struck some people and not others. Towns and parts of towns thought safe from the disease were ravaged. These are some aspects of the story that Khaled J. Bloom tells.

Much of the story in individual locales has been told before, but Bloom views the epidemic as a regional event with national ramifications. He chronicles the epidemic in New Orleans and Memphis, but also in small towns like Granada, Water Valley, and Holly Springs, Mississippi, and describes the ripple effects of the epidemic in distant places like Louisville, Pittsburgh, and New York.

Bloom weaves into his story of people and places information about general scientific thinking on yellow fever and the way officials and the general population responded to those ideas. He moves deftly from mid-nineteenth-century views of vague poisons in the atmosphere arising from miasmas, to late-nineteenth-century ideas of unseen germs carried by infected clothes, bedding, mail, cotton, and other non-living carriers, to the early twentieth-century concept of unseen germs spread by mosquitoes. Bloom incorporates the yellow fever epidemic of the lower Mississippi Valley into a larger epic as medicine uncovers the mysteries of germs and their transmission in the late nineteenth century.

For those historians familiar with the field, this book relates little that is new. Its regional perspective is interesting, but sometimes the amount of detail overwhelms the book's narrative flow. Some scholars may find the author's seemingly total reliance on published primary sources frustrating. Although Bloom illustrates the potential richness of these sources by quoting from them extensively, he never reveals what, if any, secondary scholarship he has drawn on to put the events in historical and scholarly context. Many historians have written about yellow fever and about epidemics in nineteenth-century America. Beyond passing reference to three or four dissertations (which were later published as books and articles, yet not cited as such), none of these valuable perspectives are mentioned. Furthermore, Bloom acknowledges none of the current discussion among scholars about issues related to the history of public health, for example the purported resistance of African Americans to yellow fever or contagionist versus anticontagionist thinking. The omission of secondary sources and of a bibliographic essay is most puzzling and a bit disturbing in a scholarly volume published by a major university press. The book makes for interesting reading, but readers beware.

TODD L. SAVITT
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JOHN B. MILLER. *Laura Ingalls Wilder's Little Town: Where History and Literature Meet.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1994. Pp. xii, 208. $24.95

Could it be that the long reign of professional, scholarly historians as the orthodox articulators of American history is nearing an end; that we are on the verge of accepting some novelists as historians? Certainly, several articles and a session at a recent Western History Association annual meeting have suggested the wisdom of this. Now John E. Miller's book on Laura Ingalls Wilder argues that literature can "inform" us about history. Also implied in Miller's analysis is the idea that novelists are reaching audiences that historians disdain.

Historians in general are suspicious of such notions. They have even savaged those members of their own craft, such as Allan Nevins, who have used nontraditional sources and stooped to write popular, well-received history. But the issues can no longer be avoided. The advent of media, especially television's several recent successes with the Civil War and the American West, is demonstrating beyond doubt that the public is not only interested in history but also wants it presented in an understandable, enjoyable format.

Like television, a good part of Wilder's acceptance derived from her willingness to portray things the way

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she saw and lived them, while another portion derived from what Miller calls her "accessible style." According to Miller, "content and form blend in the novels to produce a nostalgic and compelling, yet also nuanced and seemingly realistic, picture of family life on the agricultural frontier toward the end of the nineteenth century" (p. 3).

In nine chapters that are more like individual essays, yet effective despite their disparate nature, Miller examines Wilder's "novels from a variety of angles" (p. 14). In other words, he asks some of the questions historians put to their sources. For example, in chapter 2 Miller compares the historical nature of DeSmet, South Dakota, to Wilder's descriptions of the town. He also explores the nature and function of a town like DeSmet to an agricultural area of the West.

In chapters 5 through 7, Miller delves into issues of "fact, interpretation, narration, and knowledge" (p. 14). Here he finds Wilder's work as much a reflection of her own memory as of her times. He also recognizes that Wilder, as would any good novelist, set up patterns of opposition and employed central themes and literary license. Still, Miller concludes, Wilder's books were much like history texts: "meant not only to describe the past but also to guide behavior, inculcate virtue, and undergird morale" (p. 109).

Consequently, Wilder's work is useful not only for the historical details it provides but also for the way one woman saw her part of the American West and the way in which she reflected the attitudes, beliefs, and values of her time. In his concluding chapter, Miller compares Wilder to artist Harvey Dunn as the era's highly popular and respected interpreters of the agrarian West.

Will today's historians get the messages? Miller demonstrates that a significant number of novels can serve as historical sources. Moreover, he intimates that a vast public is waiting to absorb America's history. Or, will we simply continue to let television producer Ken Burns and novelist Larry McMurtry interpret America's past to the public instead of doing it ourselves?

Glenda Riley
Ball State University

Shirley A. Leckie. *Elizabeth Bacon Custer and the Making of a Myth.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1993. Pp. xxiii, 419. $26.95.

Shirley A. Leckie has given us an intimate portrait not only of a remarkable woman but also of a remarkable marriage in her biography of Elizabeth Bacon Custer, the wife of General George Armstrong Custer, whose part in the Little Big Horn massacre of January 1877, when he and his 265 officers and men were attacked and killed by Crazy Horse and his army, has been reevaluated by historians as less than valorous. Custer, with his yellow locks flying as he led his men to death, has long been imagined as heroic by historians writing in less politically correct times. For those interested in the process of myth-making, Leckie's book chronicles Elizabeth Custer's life's work: establishing posthumously, if inaccurately, a record of glorious achievement for her husband. She wrote and lectured to keep Custer's image of courage and valor alive after his untimely death at age thirty-seven.

In meticulously fleshing out Elizabeth Bacon Custer's public career as a widow, Leckie does no less than revise our notions of late-nineteenth and early twentieth-century widowhood: in Elizabeth Custer's case, a widowhood as engaged in her husband's historical legacy as her wifehood was during his life of establishing his reputation as a military paragon.

Elizabeth Bacon grew up and married during the cultural period of "separate spheres." George Armstrong ("Autie") Custer read his wife as nothing less than his "moral superior" (p. 45), according to Leckie. This biography speaks of Custer's lively sexual appetites before and during his marriage and more than suggests the double-standard that persisted in the gender-based behavioral codes of Elizabeth Custer's era. Yet his respect for "Libbie's" moral fiber and sound judgment caused the "Boy General" to take her with him to the frontier and other dangerous locations, the better to take advantage of her superior counsel. Leckie speculates that he once risked his military career, departing from his command without leave to rendezvous with her at Fort Riley: "Libbie never forgot that grand romantic gesture" (p. 105). As ambitious as Armstrong was, the couple's correspondence reveals that Libbie met him equally in his ambition during their marriage. He credited her with advancing his career during the Civil War campaigns and wrote her lengthy letters from the battlefield in praise of her influence. In one letter, he praised her: "You control every action of my life, you shape my conduct" (p. 47). Indeed, Leckie paints a portrait of a strong, educated, and physically attractive woman who rejoiced in living vicariously through her dashing husband. In short, in life and in death, his life was in significant respects her life. From the time she received the first account of his death in Montana, she worshiped at his shrine, his chief acolyte for the rest of her life, and she expected no less of the American public. To idolize her fallen hero, she went to extraordinary lengths, galvanizing the right patrons to erect the properly heroic equestrian monument, one that would "immortalize in bronze an intelligent surveyor taking in the entire scene in one glance before moving on to glory" (p. 280). As Custer's reputation as a hero grew, owing to his widow's diligent efforts, she took great pride in other tributes accorded him: the renaming of Montana Forest to Custer Forest, as well as John Philip Sousa's tribute of renaming a rousing march to "Custer's Last Charge."

Leckie's biography makes a significant contribution to the new women's history, illuminating as it does the values of a military wife whose innermost thoughts and goals were contingent upon her husband. Leck-

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ie's research is exhaustive and her writing clear; at moments in this engaging biography the writing is even eloquent. Some will find this biographer overly empathic with her subject's misguided crusade; yet her approach communicates accurately the cultural imperatives of the America that shaped Elizabeth Bacon Custer and the urgency with which this singular woman pursued her lifelong project of myth-making.

ESTHER F. LANIGAN
College of William and Mary

DARLIS A. MILLER. *Captain Jack Crawford: Buckskin Poet, Scout, and Showman.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1993. Pp. xx, 363.

As if in rebellion against the new western history and its pointed rejection of old topics and particularly of old frontier heroes, there has been a resurgence of interest in the western myth and those who created it. Darlis A. Miller's biography of John Wallace (Captain Jack) Crawford (1847–1917) is a case in point. Fuse dime-novel dramatics with a Horatio Alger story and you have the essence of Captain Jack's life. Born to an impoverished Irish family during the great potato famine, he came to America at the age of fourteen, found work in the coal mines of Pennsylvania to help support a drunken father and a saintly mother, and a few days after turning seventeen took up arms for his adopted country. Boy soldier in the Civil War, he saw hard service with the Forty-eighth Pennsylvania Volunteers and returned home a man who had "faced the enemy's guns with courage and, although twice wounded, . . . with the knowledge that he would not falter in the face of danger" (pp. 15–16). This sets the tone for Captain Jack's own plucky take on life: "I'm an optimistic warbler / And I whistle, laugh and sing" (p. 114). In 1875, Crawford, now married and with children, headed west to make his fortune in the Black Hills. Subsequently, his family joined him in New Mexico where he scouted in the Apache wars and mined for copper. Mining was his mainstay—he would follow the lure of gold to the Cariboo and, at century's end, to the Yukon—but he also operated general stores and (fitting duty for a lifelong teetotaler) served as a government agent ferreting out liquor on the Indian reservations. Throughout his wanderings, Crawford continued to publish verse in newspapers and books, cementing his reputation as the Poet Scout, a gimmick that served him well on the stage with William F. (Buffalo Bill) Cody in 1876–77 and then for many years as a solo performer of a "frontier monologue and medley" (p. 123).

Miller finds a simple theme in Captain Jack's adventurous life: he was the perpetual optimist who swallowed the American Dream whole, voted Republican, and was convinced that success in a land of golden opportunity lay around the next corner. But even so seemingly transparent a figure as Captain Jack had depths that need probing. He was the Poet Scout, after all, and advocated the ideal of the tenderhearted man. Miller ends each chapter with a short poetic snippet, a neat device that introduces the reader to the captain's work. But some analysis is necessary apart from the observation that what today might strike us as sentimental doggerel appealed to the tastes of an earlier age. Indeed, most of the potentially revealing issues in Crawford's life are brushed aside. Did he, indeed, use others to polish his verse? Did his books make any money? In what sense were they "literary triumphs" (p. 259)? For that matter, how did such a family values man manage to spend so little time with his own family? It is not enough to note that many nineteenth-century American families sacrificed togetherness to careers; Crawford's wife Maria effectively terminated their marriage almost a dozen years before his death, and two of his three children were estranged. Another critical issue is never addressed. What happened to the money Captain Jack made from his theatrical tours? Miller, perhaps succumbing to newspaper press agentry, has Captain Jack racing from one successful engagement to another—sometimes three a day—at rates said to range from $50 to $125 for an evening's performance. Since he was a one-man show and had none of the expenses of Buffalo Bill's Wild West, for example, he should have been very prosperous. But he was not. It seems likely that many of Captain Jack's performances were temperance benefits, and that any proceeds came from donations and sales of his poetry books. What he said about one of those books—that he gave away three copies for every one he sold—was probably true of his lectures as well. Or perhaps Maria's tart observation that he squandered everything he made in get-rich-quick mining schemes is the answer, suggesting the darker side of perpetual optimism. An accounting is in order.

Miller's biography provides a useful chronicle of Crawford's life. It will particularly interest students of Black Hills history and the Klondike gold rush. There is welcome complexity—and a touch of nobility—in the image of the middle-aged optimist battling self-doubt during the long Yukon nights while still grasping at the elusive brass ring. But Crawford's historical significance remains his role-playing showman's career as an authentic Western hero, Captain Jack. He posited himself as the wholesome alternative to his hard-drinking rivals. Full of sweet sentiment about old times and old pards, he condemned the trash literature that propped up their reputations. And he was frustrated, enormously, by the public's continuing love affair with those he deemed unworthy. The story of his strained relationship with Buffalo Bill (they were almost direct contemporaries) opens a broad avenue to the heart of the mythic Wild West. Miller is content to stroll the byways instead, noting that, although he romanticized the West, Captain Jack meant to be truthful and accurate. Perhaps his buckskin jacket and Western sombrero weighed him down; perhaps his long hair and Buffalo Bill mus-

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tache and goatee confused his audiences. The avenue he opens still invites exploration.

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CHARLES J. MCCLAIN. *In Search of Equality: The Chinese Struggle against Discrimination in Nineteenth-Century America.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1994. Pp. x, 385. $35.00.

Contrary to the stereotyped images that the Chinese are passive, docile, and politically backward, legal scholar Charles J. McClain demonstrates that the Chinese in the United States challenged virtually every governmentally imposed disability against them in nineteenth-century America. The book is a contribution to constitutional history as well as a chronicle of the Chinese-Americans' struggles in the courts.

The sources used in the book include major California newspapers, both in English and Chinese, published during the nineteenth century, as well as all relevant federal and state court files. As part of a movement in the social sciences in recent years, the book has taken an interpretive framework that views the Chinese as shapers, actors, and agents of their own destiny. Needless to say, in such a view of human history, contestation and the redress of human conflicts through available legal means are part of the equation. McClain tries to keep the Chinese in the foreground and to document the contestation from the insiders' perspective.

The Chinese learned quickly in America that they had to use the judicial system to fight legal discrimination. The author shows that the Chinese mounted many court challenges against unfair legislation. California's Foreign Miners' License Tax of 1852, which imposed a special levy against the Chinese miners, was challenged. Similarly, legal battles were fought over the various anti-Chinese ordinances in San Francisco, such as the "Cubic Air Law," "the Anti-Queue Act," and the "Anti-Pole Act," which were directed at life styles and methods of carrying merchandise among the Chinese. The Chinese also challenged the many anti-Chinese measures in the California Constitution of 1879 as well as the unfair laundry legislation of 1880, which singled out Chinese laundry owners and forced them to have special business permits. There were numerous attempts among the Chinese to gain school access in 1859. They challenged the Exclusion Act of 1882 and sought federal protection against mob violence. Many efforts were made to fight the Bubonic Quarantine of San Francisco's Chinatown in 1900.

Although McClain stresses the legal struggles of the Chinese, he also documents the extent of legal discrimination that targeted the Chinese in nineteenth-century America. Lest we become confused about the life of the early Chinese immigrants, I would like to make three fundamental observations. First, the Chinese did not come from a litigious tradition. The fact that they mounted so many legal battles in the U.S. courts to fight for justice reflected the sentiment and determination of the Chinese to fight for their destiny. The oppressive nature of the various anti-Chinese laws was such that it provoked collective responses from Chinese immigrants. Second, in the nineteenth century, the Chinese were at first welcomed to the United States. Only after the completion of the transcontinental railroad, the closing of many mining companies, and the resurgence of economic recession did the Chinese face increased legal discrimination. It was principally a case of economic competition leading to anti-Chinese feelings. Third, the Chinese were the only nationality group to be singled out by the legislative branches of the city, state, and federal governments for exclusion and discriminatory treatments. Why there was such extreme xenophobia against the Chinese and not other nationality groups is something that this book does not explain.

This is, nevertheless, an excellent book that will benefit legal historians and scholars of American immigration. It is a timely publication, appearing when the American public is grappling with many immigration issues. In a way, the current anti-immigrant sentiment parallels that in the nineteenth century. Economic recession generated anti-immigration legislation. It also seems that the harder the legislative offense against immigrants, the stronger the response from the immigrants. McClain's study is a perfect example of this phenomenon.

BERNARD P. WONG
San Francisco State University

BILL ONG HING. *Making and Remaking Asian America through Immigration Policy: 1850–1990.* (Asian America.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 340. $45.00.

In the past three decades, the Asian-American population has grown tremendously. The increase occurred after the immigration legislation in 1965, and the subsequent visibility of Asian Americans has attracted much attention from the media. Asian Americans often are favorably depicted as a model minority. Their children are labeled as America's new "whiz kids," who have changed top-ranked universities such as MIT and UCLA into new acronyms for "Made in Taiwan" and "United Caucasians Lost Among Asians" (p. 290, n. 23).

For Bill Ong Hing, however, such perceptions are simplistic. Asian Americans are not a monolithic group, and he believes that policy makers, scholars, the popular media, and community activists are deficient in understanding their diversity as many different populations. He wrote this comprehensive study in an attempt to rectify the situation, in the process consulting a vast array of sources and mastering an incredible amount of material.

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The major organizing theme for Hing is the impact of immigration policies on Asian-American communities. In several chapters, he explains how immigration legislation, before and after 1965, influenced the demography of Asian groups such as the Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Filipinos, Asian Indians, and the Vietnamese. Population, gender ratios, family formation, geographic distribution, and residential patterns were shaped by immigration laws. Even employment and socioeconomic status were determined by these same laws. In minute detail, he discusses all of these aspects as they pertain to each group. He also examines their educational performance, political participation, and group identity.

By forcefully emphasizing the significance of immigration policy and comparing the six Asian groups, Hing offers several interesting observations. First, he does not agree with the conventional wisdom that the immigration changes in 1965 were "too generous toward Asians" (p. 7). Rather, he holds that the various amendments for 1965 and afterward were designed to assist Western European immigrants. Second, he suggests that Asian Americans are not apolitical as is commonly believed. Instead, he maintains that their political involvement should not be measured by just registration and voting rates, but that party affiliation, fundraising, organized activities, and working with the media should also constitute political participation. Third, he admits that the term "Asian Americans" may be of limited validity; given their cultural diversity, it would be hard to predict the directions that future ethnic identity or political mobilization might take. Pan-Asian American ethnicity or single group ethnicity are but a few of the options possible in a very fluid situation.

Finally, Hing makes the startling statement that most internment camps for Japanese in World War II were located in remote areas such as New Mexico, Louisiana, Montana, Oklahoma, and Texas (p. 58). He mistakenly cites the locations for Japanese alien internment camps instead of naming the sites for the ten War Relocation Authority camps. Except for this unfortunate error, most readers, even if they may occasionally disagree with some of his observations, will be indebted to Hing for this insightful investigation of immigration policies and their consequences for Asian-American communities.

FRANKLIN NG
California State University, Fresno

CARL T. JACKSON. *Vedanta for the West: The Ramakrishna Movement in the United States.* (Religion in North America.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 185. $29.95.

The Vedanta Societies, sponsored by the Ramakrishna Order in India, have had a unique role in American religious history since their founding in the wake of Swami Vivekananda's compelling appearance at the World's Parliament of Religions in Chicago in 1893. Among the first Eastern religious groups for occidentals, Vedanta still retains something of the flavor of the bookish, New Thought–tinged orientalism of that day. Through its appeal for writers like Aldous Huxley and Christopher Isherwood, and its mass-market editions of the Hindu classics, it has had an influence greatly exceeding its small numbers. At the same time, the Vedanta Societies' roles as mission outposts of a religion alien to most Americans, each station directed by a swami who is a member of a monastic order headquartered near Calcutta, has raised in reverse issues comparable to those faced by American Christian missionaries overseas: finding culturally appropriate means of promotion, the extent of local autonomy, the acceptance of indigenous leadership, the role of women in a gender environment quite different from that of home. (Although beginning in the context of Hindu reformism and American religious liberalism, the Ramakrishna Order and its progeny have become increasingly cautious and conservative on matters like these.)

Carl T. Jackson, author of the award-winning *Oriental Religions and American Thought: Nineteenth-Century Explorations* (1981), tells this story with authority and verve. His present work complements well the only previous book-length study by an independent scholar, Harold French's *The Swan's Wide Waters: Ramakrishna and Western Culture* (1974). French emphasized the Indian background of the life and work of Ramakrishna, the nineteenth-century saint after whom the movement is named, and of his "St. Paul," its apostle and practical founder, Swami Vivekananda. Jackson carefully puts the Ramakrishna Order and its missionary endeavors in the context of the late-nineteenth-century "Hindu Renaissance," when leaders such as Vivekananda were engaged in a delicate and high-risk "war on two fronts," seeking to reform Hinduism while at the same time defending it against Western denigrators, but he then goes on to carry the story to America. The ebullient Vivekananda was also eager to carry his faith's universal message to the Western world, an even more challenging task in the heyday of Western imperialism and self-confidence than the two-front war.

The visitor from the East met with many difficulties, but the venture was successful to the extent that it planted the small but enduring Vedanta centers. American Vedanta has not lacked colorful personalities and even a few dramatic conflicts and schisms. Jackson tells these stories capably while integrating larger issues into the narrative. These include examining reasons for Vedanta's appeal to some Americans and who they were insofar as that can be ascertained; the influence of its message on general culture; and the relation of Vedanta to the many other Hindu movements that have reached the United States, especially after World War II. With the rapid growth of the Hindu population in the United States after the Immigration Reform Act of 1965,

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some Vedanta societies now serve large Indian constituencies alongside their occidental adherents.

There are a few minor loose ends and debatable points in this groundbreaking work, and as Jackson is well aware, Vedantists may not all agree with certain of his assessments. But generally this is the kind of solid, careful scholarship one would expect from Jackson. It is bound to be a standard work on a small but significant spiritual movement and an important venue of East-West interculturation for many years.

ROBERT S. ELLWOOD
University of Southern California

MARTIN PAULSSON. *The Social Anxieties of Progressive Reform: Atlantic City, 1854–1920.* (The American Social Experience.) New York: New York University Press. 1994. Pp. xvi, 245. $37.50.

The title of Martin Paulsson's history of political conflict in Atlantic City between 1854 and 1920 implies that Progressives' struggles to reform the New Jersey resort community lay bare the social anxieties of turn-of-the-century reformers. This title, however, is misleading. With the exception of a few pages near the end of the book, this study has little to do with Progressivism but has much to say about the place and definition of acceptable leisure and amusement in early twentieth-century America.

Paulsson has done an excellent job of sifting through masses of local Atlantic City sources to reconstruct the development of this seaside resort and the accompanying conflicts over amusements and vice. He shows convincingly that from its early history Atlantic City's appeal to residents of nearby Philadelphia grounded the community's future on a seasonal, leisure-based foundation that raised troubling questions about the work ethic, morality, and the relationship between God and family and modern American leisure. From the late 1800s on, leaders in the community became embroiled in conflicts over the boundary between legitimate private business interests and public morality. These conflicts found expression in politics. According to Paulsson, leaders managed for most of this period to maintain a liberal policy that permitted the existence of illegal forms of leisure as long as they remained mostly hidden from the view of those who clung to more traditional conceptions of community life based on Protestant order, restraint, and family orientation.

In addition to recounting the politics of Atlantic City, Paulsson also shows many of the social and cultural tensions that lay beneath the election battles. Racism determined the uneven application of vice laws within the city. Wealthy gamblers were afforded protection unavailable to their working-class and black counterparts. Through the entire period, various Protestant Sabbatarian groups sought to impose their moral vision on the entire community. And various groups made special appeals either to or against residents in the Northside black community for their own political ends.

The turning point came in 1908 when New Jersey governor John Franklin Fort called the city a "Saturnalia of Vice" in support of a Sabbatarian effort to close saloons, gambling dens, houses of prostitution, and dance halls that ignored both state blue laws and the will of some of the citizens in the community. Politics in the next few years focused on Fort's attack, and a reform alliance that lasted for less than a decade curbed the most egregious forms of vice in Atlantic City and coincided with Woodrow Wilson's term in the governor's office.

Coincidence with Wilson's career, however, does not make an episode Progressive. Few of the political actors in Atlantic City's drama self-consciously identified themselves with the Progressive movement, making their story dubious grounds for rethinking Progressivism. Paulsson's chief contribution lies in showing the social, cultural, and political conflicts over leisure at the dawn of the century.

SUSAN CURTIS
Purdue University

ELDON J. EISENACH. *The Lost Promise of Progressivism.* (American Political Thought.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1994. Pp. x, 291. $29.95.

Eldon J. Eisenach's complex and strongly argued study has several ambitions. On the one hand, he explores the intellectual roots of Progressive thought between the last decade of the nineteenth century and the onset of World War I. On the other hand, he marshals evidence for a fervently nationalist interpretation of Progressivism. Along the way, but particularly in the introduction and the conclusion, Eisenach proposes that the "promise" of Progressivism was lost through the degeneration of an expansive, aggressive assertion of nationalist unity into petty and divisive squabbles over individual and group rights: a "lost promise" that we might recover through a rereading of the history of the Progressive Era.

Eisenach's exploration begins with the identification of the most prominent thinkers in the Progressive period. Candidates for this list must pass several tests: first, citation in one or more of the many specialized secondary histories of the period; second, authorship, in the twenty-year period between 1880 to 1900, of innovative scholarly books and articles strongly critical of American society and politics; third, coincidental publication by these authors of general interpretations of their respective fields that remained in print for a number of years; fourth, active engagement in Progressive reform efforts; and, fifth, in order to round out this list, inclusion of "two innovative editor-journalist-publicists and four women who were both feminist intellectuals and actively engaged in progressive reform institutions and causes" (p. 31). The construction of this group was thus, at least partially, inductive in the sense that

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those included had to meet specified tests that were empirically uncovered through research in the writings and politics of the period. Membership was also, however, deductively determined in the sense that several of these tests were either more or less subjective (for example, notions of innovative and critical are loosely specified) or rather obliquely related to the rest (such as the fifth criterion above). Most of the major Progressive intellectuals make the list: Henry C. Adams, Jane Addams, John Roger Commons, John Dewey, Richard Ely, and so on. All nineteen members of the final group are northerners with more or less strong connections to the Republican Party.

Although Eisenach does state that this group is not intended to be representative of all Progressive thought, the writings and activities of these thinkers and activists form the backbone of the book. Furthermore, the inductive aspects of the research strategy provide much of the persuasiveness of the evidentiary support for his contention that Progressivism was, at its intellectual and political core, a thoroughly nationalist movement: a movement in which advocacy of a fundamental American unity and identity provided thematic and ideological coherence. From this overarching conception, however, some of the most important actors and factions in American politics are excluded. Buttressed through reference to the writings and activities of the thinkers he identifies, the nationalist themes of Progressive thought preclude, for example, participation in the movement by southern whites and Democrats generally. Because much of the nationalist content of the Progressive movement took the form of federal legislation and because much, if not most, of this legislation depended on the support of southern Democrats in Congress, this exclusion is difficult to reconcile with the political history of the period. Furthermore, Woodrow Wilson becomes a major villain in this interpretation because of his effective cooptation of Progressive themes into a forced marriage with a Democratic Party that could not, dominated as it was by southerners, implement the nationalist ambitions of the movement. Finally, the argument appears to make American participation in World War I, from many perspectives one of the—to my mind at least—worst political decisions in history, the litmus test for Progressive thought, which, in turn, is offered up as a guide for contemporary American politics.

These qualms aside, Eisenach's book presents an extremely rich and forceful intellectual history of the Progressive period, one that supersedes in many ways other nationalist interpretations that have come down through the tradition of Richard Hofstadter.

RICHARD BENSEL
Cornell University

MOLLY LADD-TAYLOR. *Mother-Work: Women, Child Welfare, and the State, 1890–1930.* (Women in American History.) Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1994. Pp. x, 211. $39.95.

In recent years scholars have recognized the contributions of "maternalist" women's movements to the origins of modern social policies. Nowhere more than in the United States in the early 1900s, maternal ideals about caretaking were invoked to justify societal programs to help children and families.

Molly Ladd-Taylor has already contributed to our understanding of these realities in *Raising a Baby the Government Way* (1986), her fine first book about mothers' letters to the U.S. Children's Bureau. Now, in this new book, she examines the ideas, interactions, and public policy accomplishments of "sentimental maternalists" in the National Congress of Mothers, of "progressive maternalists" in the social settlements and the Children's Bureau, and of early U.S. feminists who challenged maternalism, Ladd-Taylor looks more closely than other historians have done at the complex interactions between women professionals and women's voluntary groups. Her book is well researched and factually sound, except in the final chapter, which offers a hasty and often inaccurate account of U.S. welfare policies since 1930.

Occasional problems arise when Ladd-Taylor uses current historiographic fashions to order and interpret her evidence. For example, Ladd-Taylor starts with a chapter on the changing daily lives of American mothers, implying that maternalist activism grew out of personal experiences inside homes. This surely underestimates the role of prior modes of community and religious engagement—and discounts the impact on women's voluntary groups of decades of interaction with party-dominated, male-only electoral politics. Such experiences beyond homes both enabled and spurred middle-class American women to form the huge, nation-spanning voluntary federations that were the chief vehicles of maternalist social policy advocacy.

Overall, Ladd-Taylor does a good job of portraying the popular roots and the genuine democratic openness of what she calls "sentimental maternalism." But there remains an unfortunate tone of condescencion, a suggestion that married women in local voluntary groups were mostly poorly educated and politically backward. In fact, women civic activists were often college-educated former school teachers who had to quit such paid employment when they married, yet continued to live in towns across the United States.

What is more, the ideas of women in apparently conservative groups could be surprising. Some leaders of the National Congress of Mothers advocated extending pensions even to poor unwed mothers. And President Hannah Schoff of the Mothers' Congress opposed certain protective labor laws on the grounds that they could deprive females of the right to hold "dangerous" jobs and earn a living. This is a position that Ladd-Taylor assigns to "feminists," yet it could be espoused by her "conservative," "sentimental maternalists" as well.

Occasionally, Ladd-Taylor succumbs to anachronistic distortions. But mostly she resists them. She has

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written a book that is sure to stand the test of time as a substantial contribution to U.S. social and political history.

THEDA SKOCPOL
Harvard University

CAROLE R. MCCANN. *Birth Control Politics in the United States, 1916–1945.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 242. $29.95.

At the tail end of this century, Americans live with a politics of female fertility that beleaguer us daily. These bitter politics (like the politics of race) have defied resolutions because they engage such fundamental aspects of the distribution of power. In this solid volume, Carole R. McCann revisits the terrain on which twentieth-century reproductive politics were built and demonstrates that for more than seventy years Americans have been split by such questions as: Is it a woman's individual right to control her own fertility or does the government and community have the right to ensure that women do their procreative duty? Should a woman's right to control her own fertility depend on her race and class?

Some historians have found the roots of contemporary reproductive politics in Margaret Sanger's nonfeminist and racist politics after the 1920s, and in her increasingly deferential relation to doctors. Several have argued that Sanger's mistakes were particularly unfortunate because they occurred under pioneering conditions when principled, feminist leadership might have prevailed and set the tone and the agenda for the rest of the century.

In McCann's fresh, well-structured and well-documented book, Sanger's leadership and politics are always evaluated as part of a complex social and political context, and her actions are always assessed against her range of options. For example, McCann argues that the movement's feminist origins were eclipsed by its need to gain allies and funding, especially in the face of the hostility of many women's groups to the sex-tainted issue and most especially following the fracturing of the feminist movement after 1920.

Besides stressing the exigent side of Sanger's strategies, McCann also studies the impact that Sanger and her sometimes problematic allies had on each other. Whereas previous scholars often portrayed the birth-control movement as ruined under the influence of doctors and race theorists, and as disrespectful of its immigrant and African-American clients, McCann does a very good job of establishing, for example, Sanger's influence on doctors (and instances of her resistance to their authority) and the influence of African-American women on the work of the movement in Harlem.

It is useful to view Sanger and the early birth-control movement in these rich terms. Still, the denouement is the same. What McCann calls the "fatal aspect" of Sanger's alliances took hold and "concerns other than social justice for women came to dominate the ideologies and practices of contraceptive institutions" (p. 202). In the postwar decades, birth control has been variously promoted as a vehicle for "childspacing" or "planned parenthood" for married women, "population control" and fiscal responsibility for poor women and women of color, with "sexual freedom" relevant only to the lives of young white women with resources.

What is most valuable about this very good book is that it grapples with an issue much more portentous than Sanger's culpability or contributions: the early opportunities that public and professional discussion of female fertility provided groups with agendas antithetical to women's rights. It shows that such opportunities can be productively mined in a society deeply ambivalent about race and gender equality, especially in eras when social-justice movements are not strong.

RICKIE SOLINGER
Boulder, Colorado

DONOVAN E. SMUCKER. *The Origins of Walter Rauschenbusch's Social Ethics.* Buffalo, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 173. $39.95.

Originally a doctoral dissertation (1957), this book by Donovan E. Smucker argues that Walter Rauschenbusch's interpretation of the "Kingdom of God" derived from the interaction of four streams of influence: pietism, Anabaptist sectarianism, theological and social liberalism, and Christian Socialist "transformationism." Smucker looks for these influences, and changes in their relative importance, in four stages of Rauschenbusch's life: childhood, youth and training, his pastorate in New York City in 1886–97, and his career at the Rochester Theological Seminary after 1897. In each stage, he examines four categories—family background, the "Zeitgeist," self-image, and the books Rauschenbusch read—for evidence of influence.

Wishing to rescue Rauschenbusch from the neo-orthodox reaction against classical Protestant liberalism, Smucker emphasizes the breadth of his intellectual engagements and the creativity with which he selected ideas for his unique formulation of the social gospel. Given his own interest in the Anabaptists, Smucker's emphasis on Rauschenbusch's debt to them, neglected by previous scholars, is not surprising.

According to Smucker, pietism contributed the least to Rauschenbusch's amalgam. It was its irrelevance in the face of wrenching social changes that led him toward theories of social solidarity. Rauschenbusch's study of the Anabaptists shaped his view of the church as a voluntary, democratic body with an ethic of discipleship directed toward a Christianized society. Albrecht Ritschl's theological liberalism, Julius Wellhausen's biblical scholarship, and Adolf Harnack's historical findings provided much of the content of his theology, and the social analyses of Henry

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George, Edward Bellamy, the English Fabians, Giuseppe Mazzini, and Count Tolstoy fleshed out his social thought. Two forms of Christian Socialist transformationism—the Anglican version of Frederick D. Maurice and Charles Kingsley, and the more class-conscious, Swiss Calvinist version of Leonhard Ragaz and Hermann Kutter—encouraged his expectation of profound social change and helped point it toward the labor and socialist movements.

Although Smucker offers considerable insight into Rauschenbusch, his work suffers from serious substantive difficulties. First, Smucker takes an unsophisticated approach to establishing intellectual influence, repeatedly finding the "origins" of Rauschenbusch's ideas where there is only congruence. Long explications of Ritschl (whose influence on Rauschenbusch Smucker exaggerates) and other thinkers often suggest no more than that Rauschenbusch read (with more or less agreement) and discussed them.

Second, in focusing on pietism (especially its German manifestations), Smucker ignores Rauschenbusch's profound commitment, persuasively documented by Winthrop S. Hudson and others, to American evangelicalism. This misplaced emphasis results in neglect of Rauschenbusch's insistent linking of personal regeneration and social reconstruction and in a European orientation that slights both American evangelicalism's reformist impulses and the emergence within it of an indigenous theological liberalism.

Neither has Smucker updated his research sufficiently. Although the bibliography includes several recent works, almost all endnotes are to sources he used in the 1950s. Evidently, he has not examined additions to the Rauschenbusch collection in Rochester, New York. He relies on Dores R. Sharpe's affectionate biography (1942), rather than Paul Minus's superb scholarly work (1988). Smucker's categories give the book a mechanistic character and lead to occasional redundancy. Finally, the index is inadequate.

JACOB H. DORN
Wright State University

GEORGE CHAUNCEY. *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890–1940.* New York: Basic Books. 1994. Pp. xi, 478. $25.00.

Shortly after midnight on February 21, 1903, police stormed into the Ariston Bathhouse, sealed off the exits, and rounded up the staff and seventy-eight male patrons. "Come out here, Maude," an officer shouted into one dressing room. Most of the "sexual inverts" were issued warnings and then released, "one at a time," into the jeering crowd that had gathered outside (p. 214). Several dozen were herded into paddy wagons and locked up overnight. Some went to trial. An Irish cook was convicted of sodomy and sentenced to twenty years in the state penitentiary.

From such incidents drawn from police records, George Chauncey might have framed a powerful indictment of the persecution of gays in early twentieth-century America. But Chauncey prefers social analysis to polemics, and in so doing has written one of the most important books in recent years on gender history. For in the documents of repression, he has found compelling proof of an exuberant and highly visible homosexual subculture long before the gay rights movement of the 1970s. The roots of contemporary gay culture, he maintains, grew out of the seemingly arid sexual landscape of the 1890s.

Insofar as Chauncey's main sources constitute a chronicle of persecution, how did gay life flourish? Part of the explanation, Chauncey shows, is to be found in the wondrous ineptitude of the reformers themselves. YMCA hotels, built to protect young men from urban vice in general and loose women in particular, became favorite gathering spots for gay men. Similarly, the Raines Law of 1896, a reform measure that closed saloons on Sundays but allowed hotel bars to stay open, prompted tavern owners to acquire nearby apartments, proclaim their establishments "hotels," and rent out the rooms by the hour, often to gays. Progressive reformers who sought to drive vice from middle-class, white neighborhoods tacitly agreed to tolerate it in Harlem, which became a "homosexual mecca" (p. 244). And Prohibition, by criminalizing virtually all night life, took much of the heat off gays and caused nearly everyone to scorn the law. Thus, by 1931, a high point in visible gay culture, a "pansy craze" swept New York City: thousands attended the "Faggots Ball" in Harlem; impromptu gay events were held at parks, restaurants, and beaches; and gay performers were featured on Broadway and at downtown nightclubs.

But the persistence of homosexual culture ultimately owed more to the semiotic ingenuity of gay men themselves than to the befuddlement of the reformers. Here Chauncey is at his best (and that is very good indeed), supplementing his off-centered reading of police and trial records with interviews, diaries, and other accounts. He shows how homosexual men used complex visual and linguistic codes to signal a variety of sexual needs and intentions. "Normal" men, blinded by the gaudy glitter of the "drag queens," failed to realize that most gay men dressed and acted much like themselves.

During the first third of the twentieth century, gay men spoke of leading a double life, not of being confined to a closet, a term that surfaced in later and, Chauncey maintains, more repressive decades. Men therefore conceived of sexual behavior as but one of the many roles they regularly performed. Men who engaged in sex with other men did not believe that such behavior compromised their masculinity; and some men freely shifted between "masculine" and "feminine" personae with little if any sense of psychic

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impairment. The theatricality of gender enabled men to mock convention even as they distanced themselves from public censure of any particular role.

This book is, ultimately, a thoughtful acknowledgment of the malleability of the self and a ringing affirmation of the human capacity to draw sustenance from adversity. For all Chauncey's ingenuity and insight, however, one cannot help but wonder whether the Irish cook and his friends would have agreed.

MARK C. CARNES
Barnard College
Columbia University

DAVID L. CHAPMAN. *Sandow the Magnificent: Eugen Sandow and the Beginnings of Bodybuilding.* (Sport and Society.) Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 229. $26.95.

With this labor of love, David L. Chapman seeks to rescue from historical neglect world-renowned strongman Eugen Sandow, who lies in "an unmarked grave, the prisoner of his own oblivion" (p. 4). By gathering the evidence available on the career of this complex and versatile athlete, showman, and businessman, Chapman contributes to the history of sport, entertainment, and popular culture at the turn of the century, and especially to our understanding of the promotion of physical fitness then. Within a chronological sequence, his chapters describe the major shifts in Sandow's efforts to make, then preserve, his reputation and fortune as a body builder while emphasizing Sandow's continuing opportunism and genius in publicizing himself.

Chapman begins by detailing how the young Prussian, like other contemporary strongmen, performed variously as acrobat, gymnast, and model for artists before his triumph in 1891 as a weight lifter in London. Then Chapman nicely shows how Flo Ziegfield, Jr., made Sandow an American vaudeville star through melodramatic displays of his physique as well as his strength, inspiring a more muscular ideal of the male body beautiful. Subsequent chapters show how, after returning to England in 1897, he capitalized on his notoriety, becoming an entrepreneur who marketed exercise machines, established institutes and clinics for health and strength, and published a magazine.

After 1901, Sandow enhanced his reputation by promoting body-building competitions and reform in physical education in England and by traveling around the world to spread his message and methods. Chapman repeatedly suggests that Sandow had a distinctive "method," "system," "approach," or "principles," but he does not specify what they entail or what distinguishes them from other methods. The reader never learns, for example, what made "the Swedish method of exercise cure, quite different from Sandow's approach" (p. 127) or why Sandow traveled to India "in order to explain his system" (p. 157).

In his preface Chapman warns that the surviving evidence is so problematic that a biographer seeking "some defining element in his life that might explain his motivations will look in vain" (p. xii). Ghostwritten books or articles by Sandow, "an accomplished liar" (p. xi) about his exploits, often conflict with other accounts so that the biographer must "try to sift through all the contradictory tales to arrive at what might be the true story" (p. xi). Chapman shares his sifting for some episodes and critical evaluation of his sources for some subjects, such as his inference that Sandow's sexual tastes as a young man ran to men as well as women, an inference that seems plausible but not necessary. On some other subjects (notably the motivation for Sandow's promotion of fitness and physical education reforms), Chapman's judgments seem to vary (from calculated self-interest to genuine public spiritedness) without much explanation. Or he offers strong judgments without any evaluation of the reliability of his sources. Why, for example, should we accept the many assertions about Sandow's attitudes and behavior, including "numerous infidelities" (p. 139), in the extended account of his trip through Australasia in 1903, which Chapman attributes in his footnotes to *Body-Building, or Man in the Making* (1904) and a journalist's interview with Mrs. Sandow?

Readers familiar with the history of body building, physical education, and health reform may be surprised by Chapman's slighting of Bernarr Macfadden, who also developed a lucrative career promoting the body beautiful in the same period. (Chapman's evidence suggests that Sandow was aware by the late 1890s—in renaming his magazine and in promoting exercise machines—that Macfadden was his chief competitor in the United States.) But the testimony Chapman gathers from body builders contemporary with Sandow is persuasive on Sandow's influence in remaking the standard of beauty for the male body, displacing the lither ideal promoted at mid-century by Dioclesian Lewis and others. Elaborating that influence and Sandow's ingenuity in exploiting it commercially is the achievement of this biography.

CLYDE GRIFFEN
Vassar College

PETER N. STEARNS. *American Cool: Constructing a Twentieth-Century Emotional Style.* (History of Emotions Series, number 3.) New York: New York University Press. 1994. Pp. ix, 368. Cloth $45.00, paper $19.95.

In this book, Peter N. Stearns embarks on the formidable tasks of defining the "emotional culture" of the United States in the twentieth century and explaining its evolution. Victorian emotional style, he argues, although it may have been sexually repressive, celebrated passion in love and grief, promoted the channeling rather than the suppression of anger, mastered the manipulation of guilt as an enforcement mechanism for appropriate behavior, and fostered courage.

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Although emotions were explicitly gendered—anger was considered largely a male emotion, jealousy a female one—emotional intensity in both sexes characterized the "feeling rules" by which nineteenth-century middle-class Americans lived.

This culture began to break down in the 1920s as a new emotional style, marked by a distrust of intense emotions, arose over the next forty years. Grief began to be viewed more negatively; anger and fear became feelings to be avoided rather than faced; jealousy, if felt, was to be sedulously repressed. As for love, Stearns argues that a "focus on sex," particularly among men, replaced the "centrality of spirituality" (p. 171).

Refusing to take a firm position on the question of whether emotions themselves are innate or socially constructed, Stearns nevertheless argues emphatically that acceptable emotional styles do "derive from social requirements and cultural norms." The new emotional style, which he calls "American cool," grew out of a series of twentieth-century demographic and cultural transformations. Among the most important were the decline in infant mortality (which resulted in a diminished need to anticipate grief); the development of a heterosexual peer culture (which made it necessary for parents to focus on emotional guidance for young children to enable them to control themselves in adolescence); changes in family life that increased social interactions between husbands and wives and parents and children (which had a variety of implications for toning down emotional intensity); the rise of consumerism (which encouraged the reduction of guilt); and the emergence of bureaucratic work environments (which required new coping skills and different emotional expressions).

"American cool," which first manifested itself in the post–World War I era, became the dominant emotional style by the 1960s. With some modifications, according to Stearns, it continues to hold sway. Although some scholars have viewed this transformation in emotional culture as a triumph of liberation over repression, Stearns disagrees, asserting that the new emotional style has its own repressive elements. An intolerance of emotional intensity in others matches the "systematic avoidance" of intensity in one's own emotional life, for example. In the twentieth century, Americans have shown decreasing forbearance toward the anger, grief, and sadness of others. The systematic suppression of emotion in modern American culture has also led to the need for "symbolic alternatives" to the day-to-day emotional restraint demanded by the society. Such symbolic alternatives, Stearns suggests, have ranged from sports to racism and McCarthyism.

This book focuses on the white Protestant middle class. Given the fact that the grandchildren of European immigrants, few of them Protestant, had achieved middle-class status by the 1960s, a discussion about whether Catholic or Jewish emotional culture followed the Protestant mold would have been welcome. The African-American middle class was smaller numerically, of course, but significant culturally, and this group too is omitted, as is any substantial comparison between middle-class and working-class emotional styles. Recognizing the significance of such comparisons, Stearns delineates in his conclusion an extensive agenda for future research.

The history of emotions is a comparatively new endeavor for historians; no single study can be expected to encompass the entire sweep of an emotional culture. Stearns, who is the profession's leading scholar in this field, has produced an impressive and original work. Widely researched, theoretically sophisticated, and authoritatively argued, his book deserves broad scholarly attention.

MARGARET MARSH
Temple University

ALEXANDER W. PISCIOTTA. *Benevolent Repression: Social Control and the American Reformatory-Prison Movement.* New York: New York University Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 197. $35.00.

Each day on my way to work I pass the Elmira Correctional Facility, now a maximum-security prison. Perched on top of a steep hill, it is an imposing, formidable place. When and why did this institution develop? Who were its first officials and inmates? How did this penitentiary and others like it change over time? Alexander W. Pisciotta explores these questions in his pithy book. He focuses on the Elmira Reformatory (opened in 1876) to examine the development of the adult reformatory movement in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth-century United States.

Drawing on the work of Michel Foucault, David Rothman, and especially Erving Goffman, Pisciotta argues that social control, not benevolent reform, motivated Zebulon Brockway, superintendent of the Elmira Reformatory from 1876 to 1900. Brockway sought to govern inmates through harsh corporal punishment and prolonged solitary confinement. He also pioneered in "medicalizing deviance," in viewing criminals as "patients" who needed "individualized diagnosis and treatment" in Elmira's "reformatory hospital" (pp. 17–19). Brockway sought to accomplish these goals through various reforms, including in-depth interviews with new inmates, indeterminate sentencing, vocational and academic education, military drilling, and supervised paroles.

Yet Brockway often failed to transform inmates into "Christian gentlemen." Pisciotta makes good use of reformatory records, especially the Inmate Biographical Ledger, to flesh out convicts' resistance to Elmira's "total institution." Escapes, arson, violence, and homosexuality roiled the Elmira Reformatory during Brockway's tenure. Case studies of individual inmates offer a fascinating look at how they experienced the Elmira Reformatory and fared after parole. Pisciotta

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conveys the hardships and bad luck that dogged many parolees and caused them to return to prison.

He also explores how Brockway's much-touted reforms enhanced penologists' reputations and legitimized their approach to "human engineering." Toward the end of his book Pisciotta focuses on the period from 1900 to 1920 to examine developments in the Elmira Reformatory after Brockway's departure. The major story here is the ascendancy of a eugenic prison science that urged the sterilization of criminals deemed mentally defective. While exploring the extent to which the Elmira Reformatory served as a model for other prisons, Pisciotta surveys the rise of adult reformatories in Massachusetts, Michigan, Colorado, and other states during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

This book fills an important gap in the historiography of penal reform. As the author notes in his introduction, most historians have focused on adult prisons or juvenile reformatories but not on adult reformatories, the "in-between" institutions that comprised America's "third penal system" (p. 3). Unfortunately, however, the book's brevity prevents Pisciotta from adequately exploring important questions that his work raises. His discussion of how racial, ethnic, and sexual biases shaped the adult reformatory movement, for example, is episodic and superficial. The social-control thesis central to Pisciotta's work precludes a more nuanced, balanced treatment of Brockway and other nineteenth-century penologists. All too often the author views the history of penal reform through a dualistic lens: there is either benevolent reform or repressive control. Such an approach obscures the complexity of human motivation and makes penologists like Brockway seem less interesting than they were. Yet, despite these shortcomings, Pisciotta's book is an important work for those interested in the history of punishment and prisons.

MYRA C. GLENN
Elmira College

ELIZABETH LUNBECK. *The Psychiatric Persuasion: Knowledge, Gender, and Power in Modern America.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 431. $29.95.

Just as the discipline of psychiatry is split between a psychotherapeutic camp that still relies heavily on Sigmund Freud's wisdom and a brain-biological camp, the history of psychiatry is divided as well. One group of historians, following the inspiration of Michel Foucault, sees psychiatry as a pseudodiscipline, its claims to scientific status nonexistent, and its history a colossal power-grab on the part of male physicians with a hidden agenda of social control and repression. The other group sees psychiatric illness as a very real phenomenon, the history of which can be written in a straightforward way roughly similar to the history of cardiology or of architecture, with the proviso that the presentation of psychiatric illness is more culturally influenced than the presentation of heart disease. The gulch between these two schools is an absolute one, and exchanges between them promise some lively moments in the professional journals in years to come.

Elizabeth Lunbeck is probably the most articulate and energetic of the American "Foucauldians" to date. On the basis of patient records and doctors' memoirs from the Boston Psychopathic Hospital (BPH) in the years from its founding in 1912 to 1921, she builds a case that not only reflects the teachings of the now-deceased Parisian philosophy professor but also gives it a polemical feminist spin. And the argument she builds makes for intrinsically compelling reading, not just because she ranges across the domain of feminist studies in its support, but because the source material itself represents such a gold mine. She randomly selected and analyzed in detail the files of 800 patients from among the 12,000 admitted to the "Psychopathic" in these years, in addition to evidence from numerous other archives. The BPH, a short-stay facility with funds sufficient to evaluate new admissions in detail, produced a great volume of material on each patient, often a stenographic record of the physicians' interviews plus comments by social workers, psychologists, and so forth. Performing a quantitative study on material of this richness is in itself very demanding. Lunbeck's harnessing of the utterances in the charts to a challenging substantive argument gives this monograph pride of place in the study of twentieth-century American psychiatry, a field hitherto dominated by historians of psychoanalysis.

That the book is impressive does not necessarily mean that it is right. I found myself shying away from the argument at a number of points. Yet the case that Lunbeck presents is a powerful one: trapped in the dead end of the asylum at the beginning of the twentieth century, American psychiatry sought to break out and establish its relevance to "normal" patterns of daily life, not just to the major psychotic illnesses. Led by superintendent Elmer Southard, psychiatrists at the Psychopathic decided to appropriate to themselves the domain of "normal" public and family life, in the sense of declaring as pathological patterns of behavior that others saw as unexceptional. With the aid of intelligence testing they incorporated in their domain so-called mental retardation (all these medical phrases carry in Lunbeck's work heavy ironical quotation marks). They also drew in psychopathy, meaning lesser psychiatric affections plus personality disorders. In thus carving disease from wellness, these psychiatrists were pursuing, says Lunbeck, a specifically sexist, or "masculinist," agenda. They made what was at best a nondiscipline, a pseudoscience, into a vehicle for oppressing women in the ebb and flow of daily life. This thesis is richly illustrated with anecdotal material from the patients' charts and other sources.

There are some problems with this argument. First,

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American psychiatry did indeed undergo a change of course at the century's beginning, but my impression is that it switched from psychotic illness in asylums to nervous illness rather than to "normal" life. Southard, who seems something of an odd duck in any event, may have been marginal in his enthusiasm for extending "psychiatric scrutiny" to individuals who had problems in living or whose behavior was inconvenient to others. Psychiatrists in Boston were able to undertake all this investigation, which Lunbeck finds so offensive, only because they had extraordinary material means at their disposition.

Second, Lunbeck asserts that this urge to infiltrate normal life radiated from the Psychopathic to become the guiding inspiration of twentieth-century American psychiatry. In reality, however, these Boston physicians were themselves a dead end. The memory of Southard was forgotten. It was the psychoanalysts who, for better or worse, brought the "psychiatric gaze" into the intimacy of normal life.

Finally, Lunbeck, as the author of a local study—the life of a single institution over a nine-year period—has some problems going from the particular to the general, and she presents this hospital as the epicenter of psychiatry whereas in fact it was a provincial nest in a world still dominated by the German heavyweights. Thus, she makes Southard the originator of "persuasive psychotherapy," attaching nefarious significance to this, "especially in cases that were 'almost entirely disciplinary'" (p. 181). In fact, persuasive psychotherapy was the brain child of the Swiss psychiatrist Paul Dubois in 1904 and served as the principal form of psychotherapy in the years before World War I all over the Western world. Similar gaffes suggest that the author is not entirely at home in the big narrative of psychiatry's history, a history she claims is poisoned and fraudulent.

I was a bit put off at the relentlessness of her determination to get the goods on these doctors, some of whom, such as Abraham Myerson, were themselves early feminists. Despite the presence of female psychiatrists on staff, she refers to the psychiatrists solely as "he," an offense in today's climate for which other writers would be strongly criticized. The justification? "I have used the masculine pronoun throughout in reference to psychiatrists (the presence of female psychiatrists notwithstanding), both to distinguish them from social workers and to highlight the gender ideology their practice encoded" (p. 328). Just in case readers otherwise missed the point.

There are going to be further salvos in the history of psychiatry wars. But Lunbeck's solid and forcefully argued book gives partisans something substantial to shoot at.

EDWARD SHORTER
University of Toronto

ERIC CUMMINS. *The Rise and Fall of California's Radical Prison Movement.* Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 319. $45.00.

Eric Cummins explores here the convict's mind, the prison, rehabilitation, and political ideology. In the 1960s and 1970s all four issues converged in California during the campus protests against the Vietnam War and the radicalization of America's college students. His book chronicles the fierce battle over the prisoner's mind in California, and in so doing documents the ferocious dialectic between the New Left and the Old Right. As the radicalization of California's convict unfolded, it offered the New Left a bevy of romanticized heroes who added revolutionary fire to a middle-class formatted Marxist Left. It also provoked the conventional Right, which promptly abandoned the ideal of rehabilitation, implemented harsher control in prisons, and even pursued antilibertarian policies regarding both prisoners and dissidents that were patently contrary to the Constitution. Cummins chronicles all this in a prose that crackles with life-and-death struggles that were also part of that era. In short, this is a fascinating account of an era that was pivotal in America's history, and all who lived it will appreciate the effective way Cummins draws it together by tracing the close connections between Vietnam War protests in Berkeley, the unfolding of the prisoner's movement in California in the 1960s, and penal policy in California and nationwide.

This book can hardly be ignored by anyone interested in understanding why American society abruptly shifted its penal policy away from rehabilitation in the 1960s, why black prisoners began to see their plight as more political than moral, why domestic politics after Lyndon Johnson turned conservative and bitterly abrasive, why American college students—even those who were politically naive—in the late 1960s became noticeably more iconoclastic, hedonistic, and wary. This catalogue of why's, of course, reflects a variety of forces, and one small book can scarcely nail them all down.

But Cummins makes it clear how it all began in the 1960s with Caryl Chessman's fervent, skillful manipulation of the newspapers and publishers to avoid his death sentence. Based on Chessman's hard-fought battles with California's Adult Authority, subsequent prison authors enjoyed expanded freedoms in composing their thoughts and getting them to publishers just as Vietnam War protests were gathering strength in Berkeley. Berkeley dissidents saw in the newly vocal prisoners a vanguard that was capable of truly revolutionary acts and set about to introduce Marxist thinking to prisoners who were pondering the meaning of their lives. Marxist theory offered a clear explanation of exploitation by whites of blacks and especially of black prisoners that went beyond personal maliciousness, and many dove eagerly into Marxism. The Black Muslims, Eldridge Cleaver, George Jackson, and a host of others found themselves by defending their political crimes and in plotting the final revolution. As the prisoners became more radical, middle-class Marxists found them enor-

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mously attractive not only for their politics but also for their genuine virility. In short, the prisoners became new stars for the protest movement. Hollywood "stars," publishers, college professors, and lawyers all were infected with the fever, and many did a variety of things that were both unwise and illegal. Deadly gunfire involving judges and prosecutors in a trial of inmate leaders and gun battles within San Quentin Prison itself between prisoners and guards were outgrowths of the new movement. Shortly thereafter prison officials pushed through the California legislature a wide variety of "reforms" that ended the freedoms in prison life won by Chessman in the 1960s. The progressive correctional administrations of the 1950s and 1960s in California were transformed overnight into an oppressive, punitive administration with no patience for inmate initiatives. The FBI clamped down on dissenters, Richard Nixon and then Ronald Reagan were elected to the presidency in landslides on the basis of get-tough policies, liberalism was discredited, and here we are. All this is documented with exceptional grace and literacy. Cummins has a work here that rivals Michel Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* in its marshaling of events in behalf of an interesting, intelligent thesis. I highly recommend it to serious historians studying this crucial period.

THEODORE N. FERDINAND
Southern Illinois University, Carbondale

CAMILLE GUERIN-GONZALES. *Mexican Workers and American Dreams: Immigration, Repatriation, and California Farm Labor, 1900–1939.* (Class and Culture.) New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 197. Cloth $42.00, paper $15.00.

In this book, Camille Guerin-Gonzales provides an overview of the history of Mexican labor in California during the initial four decades of the twentieth century. Substantial pieces of her study, such as those focusing on the ebb and flow of immigration patterns, the recruitment of workers by American economic interests, and the efforts of Mexican farm workers in California to organize and strike in the 1930s, have been well documented previously by Carey McWilliams, Paul S. Taylor, Arthur F. Corwin, Lawrence A. Cardoso, and others. The study's most valuable contribution is the additional texture it brings to the story of the repatriation of as many as half a million Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans during the early years of the Great Depression.

Using materials from the U.S. National Archives, the Secretaria de Relaciones Exteriores and the Archivo Nacional de México City, and the libraries of the University of California at Los Angeles and Berkeley, and building on Abraham Hoffman's pioneering book on the subject, Guerin-Gonzales convincingly explains the underlying forces driving the Mexican repatriation program. Noting that the removal of Mexicans "marked the first time in the history of international migration between the U.S. and other countries that the federal government sponsored and supported the mass expulsion of immigrants" (p. 77), Guerin-Gonzales argues that the crucial impetus to the program was racial rather than economic.

As the Depression unfolded and the ranks of the unemployed swelled, local officials in the Southwest, with the full support of the Herbert Hoover administration, sought ways to reduce relief burdens. Their most vulnerable and accessible targets were Mexican immigrants and U.S.-born Mexican Americans, and they made no effort to distinguish between these two groups. Through vigorous federal deportation campaigns and scare tactics designed to stimulate "voluntary deportation," communities throughout the Southwest and as far away as East Chicago and Gary, Indiana, used the Depression crisis to rid themselves of people of Mexican descent regardless of their legal status. That these widespread expulsions could proceed so swiftly and so easily, Guerin-Gonzales asserts, was due to the pervasive American perception of Mexicans—both immigrant and native-born Americans—as alien sojourners, racially inferior "birds of passage" incapable of participating in the American Dream.

Perhaps the most significant revelation of this study is the active role Mexican governmental officials played in the repatriation programs initiated by American localities. While Mexican consuls and their superiors in Mexico City undoubtedly harbored genuine concern about the economic plight of Mexicans in the United States, they saw repatriation as an opportunity to restore errant workers to their homeland. Many Mexican officials had viewed the loss of immigrants to the United States not only as an impediment to Mexican industrial development and economic growth but also as an embarrassment. Consequently, official Mexican policy encouraged close cooperation with American repatriation efforts. The Mexican government paid the travel costs of Mexican repatriates from the border to the interior. It even made a Mexican warship available to transport returnees from Los Angeles and San Diego.

But the fate of most repatriates in Mexico was not a happy one. In the study's most original, but also too slim, chapter, Guerin-Gonzales notes that economic conditions in Mexico for the returnees were as bad or worse than in the United States. Even more unfortunate, "Mexican American repatriates found they were often considered foreign in Mexico as well—*pochos* who were somewhere between Mexican and American, illegitimate in both cultures" (pp. 97–98). As a result, most repatriates wanted to return north of the border. Apparently, for many workers of Mexican descent, despite discrimination and exile, the American Dream died hard. One wishes that this finding of the study had been developed further.

MARK REISLER
University of Virginia

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EDWARD P. JOHANNINGSMEIER. *Forging American Communism: The Life of William Z. Foster.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 433. $29.95.

Given the many studies of American communism that have appeared in the last decade, it may seem strange that there has been no adequate scholarly biography of William Z. Foster, until 1994. Foster was not only a major figure in the American Communist Party, from the time he joined it in 1921 until he presided over its decline and marginalization in the decade after World War II, but he was also an important figure in the American labor movement and the acknowledged leader of the Great Steel Strike of 1919. Edward P. Johanningsmeier has written a biography worthy of its subject. He has done so in large measure by drawing on newly available sources, including Foster's own papers, in Moscow.

Foster was born to an Irish immigrant father and devout Catholic mother in Taunton, Massachusetts, in 1881. As a young man he joined the revolutionary Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) and participated in the organization's renowned free-speech fights on the West Coast. But after a trip to Europe, Foster abandoned the separatist IWW, for he had become convinced that a "militant minority" could work within the reformist trade unions to achieve the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. In the language of the Left, Foster was a syndicalist, one who believed that workers' organizations at the point of production rather than political parties held the key to the emancipation of the working class and the governance of the new society. He would continue to demonstrate syndicalist tendencies for the rest of his political life, even as a Communist, and his factional opponents in the Communist Party would periodically reiterate that "he has never understood Marxism" (p. 293).

One of the great strengths of Johanningsmeier's biography is its clear demonstration that Foster the revolutionary had little if any respect for "the masses" whose cause he espoused, and that his syndicalism was incompatible with democracy. During a visit to New York in 1910, he expressed his contempt for the "ignorant" and "pitiable" "wretches" (p. 43) of an East Side ghetto; and a decade later, during a sojourn in the nascent Soviet Union, he wrote, "I am not astonished or discouraged that the workers are making a poor job establishing the new society in Russia—I have had too much practical experience with the masses to expect anything else" (p. 171). Johanningsmeier points out that Foster was very much imbued with the cult of expertise that came to the fore during the Progressive Era. Led by "specialists" like himself, the masses would make the revolution. But then the experts would take over and govern. Even in the workplace there would be no such thing as "workers' control." Instead, "experts or foremen . . . would guide production and introduce new technologies according to 'scientific' principles" (p. 60). In Foster's future society, Johanningsmeier argues, "expertise would everywhere take precedence over majority preference" (p. 61). No wonder, then, that in spite of his stubborn preference for "the union" over "the party" as the focal point of revolutionary work, Foster would find Leninism very much compatible with his own elitist and anti-democratic sensibilities.

One cannot help but compare Foster to Eugene V. Debs, the longtime spokesman for socialism in the United States, and Johanningsmeier does so frequently. Debs had deep roots in the American heartland and saw socialism as the embodiment of the highest American, and Christian, ideals. But for Foster, the product of a working-class experience that placed him and his family on the margins of society, "America was a set of conditions to be transcended" (p. 46). Debsian socialism was rooted—at least in part—in nostalgia for an egalitarian society that industrial capitalism had torn asunder, whereas Foster was a "revolutionary modernist" whose radicalism was "informed by a kind of . . . system thinking, that denigrated the complex ontology of faith, custom, and political symbolism in workers' lives" (pp. 18–19). Again and again, one cannot help but contrast Debs's warmth with Foster's coldness, Debs's compassion with Foster's "rage," Debs's democratic sensibility with Foster's elitism. But although he—quite understandably—refuses to embrace Foster, Johanningsmeier does provide a compelling portrait of his career and personality. Anyone who would understand the history of the American Left should read this book.

BRUCE NELSON
Dartmouth College

GERALD HORNE. *Black Liberation/Red Scare: Ben Davis and the Communist Party.* Newark: University of Delaware Press. 1994. Pp. 455. $55.00.

This impressively researched book by Gerald Horne traces the public career of African-American Communist Benjamin Davis, Jr., and makes an important contribution to African-American history and the history of the Communist Party (CP). Son of a prominent black Republican, Davis was educated at Morehouse, Amherst, and Harvard Law School. A Communist by 1932, Davis moved to Harlem to edit *Harlem Liberator* and quickly rose in the party hierarchy. Horne carefully traces his political trajectory: winning Adam Powell's City Council seat in 1943, conviction under the Smith Act in 1949, expulsion from the City Council and failed reelection bid that same year, imprisonment, and return to the political fray until his death in 1964. Davis fought everywhere: in the party's bitter factional disputes, with the city and federal government, and within the civil rights movement. Often caustic, he was nonetheless a popular figure in black America, in large measure because he stood up with such courage to the power

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structure. Despite FBI harassment, HUAC accusations, and COINTELPRO ploys, Davis never backed down. His effectiveness (and stridency) comes across clearly in these pages, although his generally admiring biographer does not hesitate to raise questions or criticisms at troubling moments in Davis's career.

Horne's thesis is that "a restriction of civil liberties . . . was gathering strength at the same time that civil rights concessions were under way. This contradiction can be partly explained by viewing the Red Scare as a tool to derail a leftist-influenced Black Liberation movement" (p. 191). Convincing African Americans to reject communism "was a difficult sale to make as long as Jim Crow reigned, so Jim Crow had to go" (p. 246). Ultimately, Horne argues, the reverse was also true. By the 1960s, "The evolution of Black Liberation—which [Davis] had done so much to assist—was insurance that the Red Scare would find a grave" (p. 325). Whereas many have examined the history of the CP and American anticommunism, and others the history of civil rights, "few scholars have noticed that in the 1950s civil liberties were being restricted while civil rights were being expanded," Horne argues (p. 9). Although perhaps overstating his point, Horne is among the first to tackle this irony head on.

This study carefully documents the many intersections of civil rights and civil liberties struggles exemplified by Ben Davis's life. In fact, Horne is so thorough in his contextualization that the narrative, and sometimes Davis himself, occasionally get lost. This is not a book for those not already familiar with the histories of communism and civil rights; the text alludes to incidents that are never explained and to events out of chronological order. One strength of the book, then, is also a weakness: its very breadth of coverage makes adequate detail virtually impossible. Readers hoping to learn Davis's private thoughts may likewise be disappointed, his public utterances are here, but given how carefully his shifts followed the party's line, there is frustratingly little discussion of how Davis arrived at his positions, or whether he fully believed them. Nevertheless, one cannot go beyond the evidence available, and Horne has done prodigious research. If the material occasionally drives the narrative rather than the reverse, it is hardly surprising given the wealth of information and the scope of the investigation. Poor editing (at one point an entire paragraph is repeated) also makes the book somewhat difficult to follow. Nevertheless, our understanding of communism, the civil rights movement, and the life of an important but relatively little known African-American activist are all enhanced by Horne's work.

CHERYL GREENBERG
Trinity College
Hartford, Connecticut

ROBERT E. HERZSTEIN. *Henry R. Luce: A Political Portrait of the Man Who Created the American Century.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1994. Pp. xx, 521. $30.00.

Henry R. Luce is an intriguing figure who has not received the well-balanced treatment in history that he deserves. He built one of the greatest publishing empires, and, unlike other press lords, he built it on magazines rather than newspapers. By the time of World War II, two of his publications, *Time* and *Life*, had become national institutions, and he had become a major force in American life. From 1923, when in partnership with Briton Hadden he launched *Time*, until his retirement as editor-in-chief (he always preferred that title to "publisher" or "chairman") of Time, Inc. in 1964, he promoted many journalistic innovations and grew wealthy in the process. Yet he always considered journalism more than a business. His passionate commitment to causes defined his professional life in full stride. Through his various media properties, he championed his ideas about national and world affairs. The great strength of Robert E. Herzstein's inquiry lies in his expert handling of Luce's ideas and political opinions.

In general, his ideas are well known. Herzstein, however, brings a sophisticated understanding to explaining them over time, and his deep research allows him to present them with enriching detail. Accordingly, Luce appears as a person with passionate attachment to science, progress, and, of course, to the near omnipotent potential of the United States to lead in the creation of a new and better world order. When it came to contemplating America's destiny as a world power, Luce was a visionary who announced his ideas to the world in 1941 in his famous *Life* article, "The American Century." Behind his ideas was a considerable and an informed intelligence as well as a belief in his ideology's moral certainty. How should his ideas and the causes he championed be viewed? "If Luce was sometimes wrong about Chiang [Kai-shek] and the American place in Asia," Herzstein writes in answer to that question, "then it is important to remember that this man was right about [Adolf] Hitler and many other major challenges" (p. 422). His book substantiates both claims.

It has other merits too. His descriptions of Luce's professional associations with Theodore H. White and Whittaker Chambers as well as many others at Time, Inc. are engaging and form one of the major themes of the book. The same can be said for his relations with political leaders, especially Chiang, President Franklin Roosevelt, and Wendell Willkie. His wife, Clare Boothe Luce, also has a prominent place in the volume, and she emerges from it a less-attractive figure than he. Finally, if for no other reason, this study is worth reading for its perceptive treatment of the subject of Time, Inc. and China and the way in which it demonstrates journalistic bias and the capacity Luce had for self-deception.

This is a fine but not definitive study of Luce. The early years of his career are far from fully covered,

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and Herzstein unfortunately ends his account without examining the fate of Luce's ideas and work in the post–1945 era. Therefore, for a fuller treatment of Luce, this study should be read in conjunction with James L. Baughman's *Henry R. Luce and the Rise of the American News Media* (1987).

JAMES D. STARTT
Valparaiso University

CHARLES E. TWINING. *George S. Long: Timber Statesman.* Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 414.

George S. Long managed the Weyerhaeuser timberlands—initially some 900,000 acres, later considerably more—in the Pacific Northwest during the first three decades of the twentieth century. Over these years, Weyerhaeuser Timber gradually changed from being a land-management company to a producer of wood products for American and foreign markets. Charles E. Twining offers a detailed chronological account of Long's business career: a close look at Long's thoughts and actions in land purchases and sales, forest-fire prevention, the establishment of sawmills, the opening of markets, labor relations, and the beginnings of sustained yield forestry.

This work nonetheless will find a limited audience. Business historians will gain some new insights into the early workings of one of the Pacific Northwest's most important companies (this study does not, however, supplant *Timber and Men* [1963] by Ralph Hidy, Frank Hill, and Allan Nevins), and historians of the trans-Mississippi West will learn a bit more about the emergence of one of the region's most significant industries. But scholars will have to dig long and hard to benefit from this business biography. Too often, Twining's account reads like an undigested string of note cards, with little attempt at sorting out the important from the trivial. Then, too, Twining tells his story strictly from Long's point of view, a failing most apparent in his inadequate treatment of labor disputes. Finally, a lack of footnotes may disturb scholars. Based mainly on Long's voluminous business correspondence, this study depends heavily on uncited quotations (in a short bibliographic note the author informs readers that a lengthier, fully footnoted manuscript is available at the Weyerhaeuser archives in Federal Way, Washington).

MANSEL G. BLACKFORD
Ohio State University, Columbus

SHARI BENSTOCK. *No Gifts from Chance: A Biography of Edith Wharton.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1994. Pp. xi, 546. $28.00.

Shari Benstock belongs to a growing number of sophisticated feminist critics able to translate gender theory into the broader cultural and historical forces shaping the lives of individual women. In this solid life of Edith Wharton, as in her group biography *Women on the Left Bank: Paris, 1900–1940* (1986), Benstock clarifies both the personal needs and the cultural accomplishments of her heroine. Here we find not only the familiar family and society backgrounds of New York and Newport ever more precisely drawn but also the worlds of passion and adventure more recent biographers have demonstrated to be an important part of Wharton's character. Benstock has made use of a great fund of new materials; 80 percent of her notes, she asserts, are from yet-to-be-organized unpublished sources. New researchers may well be inspired by this biography to probe even more deeply into the life of an American author of forty-seven novels, a writer no longer regarded as trivial.

What may distinguish this biography from other excellent studies of Wharton, who is now part of twentieth-century America's literary heritage, is the emphasis on her professionalism as a writer. Benstock gives us a serious intellectual biography of the choices made by a "woman of letters." Although there are new details about Wharton's feelings concerning her parents and husband and the intensity of her passion for her sexually vacillating lover, Morton Fullerton, what we take away as most important is how she used her emotional life to enhance her writing. "My work is, must be," Wharton wrote, "my only refuge" (p. 238). The color that Benstock adds to the image of a committed writer greatly enriches the portrait of the runaway American whose emotional life seemed an endless struggle with secrets.

Immersed in a literary career for over sixty years, Wharton was, in spite of frequent inner protests to the contrary, a self-conscious, highly disciplined writer. She learned to overcome upper-class hostility to the narrowness of professionalism to seek identity with skillful practitioners of her craft. In her friendship with Henry James, she found "the pride and honor" of her life (p. 322). Benstock's description of these two old friends paying homage to George Sand says much. Wharton, the first American woman journalist to cover the front line in World War I, also became the first American woman to win the Pulitzer Prize for fiction and the second woman elected to the American Academy of Arts and Letters. By 1905 Wharton was earning three times as much money as the dean of American letters, William Dean Howells, and when the movie era arrived she was getting million-dollar advances. Many would argue with Rebecca West's assertion that Wharton's writing failed to "extend humanity's knowledge of itself" (p. 370); more would agree with the critic who valued the genuine agony of "false and tainted relationship" (p. 378) Wharton managed to communicate, unsmiling aspects of life that transcend time and class.

Scholars may forgive Benstock's temptations to display too much trivia among her discoveries, but admirers of Wharton may simply be embarrassed by

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the adolescent quality of the love poetry and letters exposed in this book. That the many men in Wharton's life were too often unworthy of her brave and generous companionship seems clear, but that they often contributed insight to her writing is important to remember. All those concerned with the lives of American women of letters will want this biography.

EUGENIA KALEDIN
National Coalition of Independent Scholars

PAULA M. KANE. *Separatism and Subculture: Boston Catholicism, 1900–1920.* Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 415. $49.95.

In this study of the Roman Catholic community of Boston in the first twenty years of the twentieth century, Paula M. Kane uses the categories of sociological analysis to trace the development from separatist immigrant enclaves to an acculturated, but still ghettoized, Catholic America. The terminal date seems artificial, perhaps reflecting the book's origin as a doctoral dissertation. Inevitably, the story spills over into subsequent decades.

In the passage from immigrant to settled American community, there is always the tension between Yankee and Irish, insider and outsider. This remains even when Catholics have begun to penetrate the inside, since they often prefer for tactical reasons to play the outsider. Kane uses the categories of the social anthropologist in analyzing Irish and Catholic culture. It is an analysis from the outside, with no particular sense of the cumulative tradition of the centuries that other disciplines think of as "Catholic culture."

Kane has made good use of earlier studies, including James O'Toole's *Militant and Triumphant* (1992) for the picture of Cardinal William O'Connell, Boston's hierarchical leader during the period; *Catholic Boston* (1985), edited by O'Toole and Robert E. Sullivan, with its detailed studies of various aspects of diocesan life; and she complements the work by Donna Merwick (*Boston Priests* [1973]) and in a series of articles on religious sisters by Mary J. Oates. She documents the limited participation of Catholics in Boston civic enterprises, but she also dwells on the specifically Catholic outreach, much of it lay. The emphasis on lay men and women is an outstanding feature of the book. A diocese that to the uninformed stands as a model of clerical culture turns out in Kane's narrative to be the home of lay journalists and writers, nationally known lay evangelists, prominent architects, and social activists. Censorship there was, exercised by both church and state, but it was far from the whole story.

Over 100 pages are given to the participation of women in the life of ecclesiastical Boston and to the varied careers they followed. Kane's focus is the harbinger of a new look on the Catholic community, one that will require the rewriting of much of Catholic history in Boston and elsewhere. Notably missing, or almost so, are the politicians who have been the central figures in much writing about Boston Catholicism, and there is less emphasis on the piety and the mores of ordinary Catholics. The story is of Boston Catholicism's elite. It makes a worthwhile contribution to the growing library on the Catholic church in the Bay State.

JAMES HENNESEY
St. Peter's College

NANCY MACLEAN. *Behind the Mask of Chivalry: The Making of the Second Ku Klux Klan.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xvii, 292. $30.00.

The Ku Klux Klan continues to fascinate historians, and this study by Nancy Maclean of the Klan in the 1920s is one recent product of that fascination. Its place in the genre is notable for an interesting and quite useful "gender analysis of men" in the Klan (p. 198, n. 5) and for a brief and entirely unconvincing interpretation of the second Klan as an American expression of interwar European fascism.

Maclean focuses on Clarke County (Athens), Georgia, home of the University of Georgia, in the decade or so after World War I, but she also draws eclectically on materials concerning the Klan elsewhere. The result is a work that lacks the specificity of a case study as well as the authority of a synthesis. Maclean is chiefly concerned to delineate Klan ideology—"vigilante violence was Klan thought in action," she writes (p. 165)—and to use that ideology and certain contextual factors—chiefly social and economic change and the fear of its consequences—to explain the rise, reign, and demise of the Klan in Athens and Clarke County, and by extension, in the South and the nation.

Historians have done all this before for other places, with varying degrees of persuasiveness, and except for some important insights derived through gender analysis, Maclean adds little that is new. She does offer interesting details on Klan activities and ideology in Athens and Clarke County, to which she juxtaposes contemporary perceptions of rapid social change, and uses the resulting fit to account for the Klan's presence and strength. The account may be correct, but Maclean's methodology precludes her proving it. Except for quantifying known members of the Clarke County Klan by social characteristics, Maclean makes her case impressionistically on the basis of unstated—and unexamined—analytical premises, and one accepts or rejects it as one accepts or rejects those premises.

The problem is that Maclean's Klansmen in Athens and Clarke County seem remarkably like most politically and socially conscious white-male southerners in the 1920s. In social values and economic status as in racial, class, and gender attitudes they had their counterparts in cities and counties across Georgia and the rest of the South. In many of those places the Klan appeared and prospered for a while as it did in Athens and Clarke County; but in many more places

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it appeared but did not prosper or never appeared at all. The question, then, remains: what differentiated places where the Klan appeared and prospered from those where it did neither? And what distinguished petite bourgeois, racist, sexist, and socially and economically insecure white men who joined the Klan from the majority of such men who did not?

Maclean seems to recognize the problem. She writes, with untypical awkwardness, on the last page of her text, "The times when the Klan has failed to grow are as instructive as those when it has [*sic*]" (p. 188). To add places to times in that statement is to clarify the task of historians who would account for the Klan. That task is not to study a community in which the Klan appeared and prospered, but to explain why the Klan appeared and prospered in one place but not in others much like it. The task, in other words, is comparison. W. Fitzhugh Brundage recently produced a suggestive study, *Lynching in the New South: Georgia and Virginia, 1880–1930* (1993), using that approach. Maclean might have learned from the example.

I. A. Newby
University of Hawaii, Manoa

Gerald Gunther. *Learned Hand: The Man and the Judge.* Foreword by Lewis F. Powell, Jr. (A Borzoi Book.) New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1994. Pp. xxi, 818. $35.00.

This biography has been many years in the making, and the good news is that it goes far toward justifying the long wait. Gerald Gunther was chosen by the Hand family and given exclusive access to the Learned Hand papers, numbering nearly 100,000 documents. He is a former law clerk to Hand and makes no bones about his admiration for his subject. Nonetheless, the portrait of Hand is more rounded and balanced than one finds in most authorized biographies. The book serves as a demonstration not only of Hand's eminence but also of the patient, probing diligence of Gunther, himself an important figure in the twentieth-century history of the American legal profession.

There are some treats and surprises in store for the specialized reader of this book. Hand was incessantly curious about politics, public affairs, and ideas, and he habitually communicated his feelings to contemporaries in letters. He had a number of important and influential friends and associates, ranging from Theodore Roosevelt and Franklin Roosevelt to Justices Oliver Wendell Holmes and Felix Frankfurter. He was one of the founders of *The New Republic* and an early anonymous contributor to its issues; he was, for a time, on intimate terms with both Herbert Croly and Walter Lippmann; he was heavily involved in Progressive Party politics before World War I, running as the Progressive candidate for the chief justiceship of the New York Court of Appeals in 1913, while he served as a federal district judge. Thus, the Hand papers contain a treasure trove of material about early twentieth-century reform politics and the emergence of a group of modernist intellectuals who believed in a greater governmental presence. Gunther spends a good deal of time on Hand's response to public issues, demonstrating his extraordinary engagement with domestic and foreign political affairs, notwithstanding the fact that he was a judge from 1908 until his death in 1961.

The Hand papers and Gunther's absorption with the non-judicial dimensions of Hand's career make this study far more than a conventional judicial biography. Indeed, Gunther's relatively sparse treatment of Hand's judicial opinions is surprising. Although he covers Hand's major opinions, occasionally giving detailed treatment to a decision that he finds compellingly interesting, Gunther rarely subjects the rhetoric of Hand's opinions to the painstaking analysis one encounters in Gunther's legal commentaries. The result is a highly readable volume that, on the whole, resists unpacking Hand's memorable judicial language, and accordingly leaves room for further detailed treatment of Hand's jurisprudence.

Gunther's Hand is a progressive and a civil libertarian, but underconfident, skeptical, and given to self-doubt: his ultra-restrained theory of judicial review in constitutional cases was a product of his personal and intellectual uncertainties. In his personal relationships he was warm and charming with intimates; he was an extraordinarily gifted public speaker and writer, but he was chronically insecure, particularly in his youth, when he felt a social outcast at Harvard and was intimidated by women. His marriage remains a puzzle even after Gunther's patient digging. Hand's markedly supportive posture toward his independent, somewhat self-preoccupied wife Frances Hand appears to have extended to tolerating what was, at a minimum, an intimate thirty-year friendship between her and Dartmouth professor Louis Dow.

Gunther is consistently kind to his subject, sometimes bending over backwards, as in the case of Hand's opinion in the First Amendment case *Dennis v. United States* (1951), where Hand's reformulation of the judicial standard for protecting subversive speech watered it down considerably, even though Hand may have been subordinating his sympathy for the defendants to his perceived obligations as a lower-court judge following Supreme Court precedent. We learn of Hand's three near-appointments to the Supreme Court, each of which were thwarted by an arbitrary quirk of the process, and are made to feel Gunther's as well as Hand's disappointment. Gunther takes us through a few cases on which he and Hand worked during Gunther's clerkship year of 1953–54, and one can feel the synergy between those formidable minds, each urging the other toward analytic and literary perfectionism.

Despite Gunther's investment, he repeatedly gives

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the reader enough material to form independent judgments and rarely lets his own sympathies cloud his presentation. The result is a biography that Gunther, with his own exalted standards, should be proud of, and one that will endure in the literature.

G. EDWARD WHITE
University of Virginia

MARK TUSHNET, editor. *The Warren Court in Historical and Political Perspective.* (Constitutionalism and Democracy.) Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1993. Pp. xi, 220.

Sufficient time has passed for historians to gain the perspective necessary to assess the significance of the remarkable progressive agenda found in the decisions of the Warren Court (1953–68). This collection of essays by nine prominent legal scholars explores the interplay between the legal and political milieu surrounding the Warren Court and the personal and judicial philosophies of its individual justices. The resulting volume is one that literally sparkles with insights about the complex mosaic of personalities who served on that most liberal of courts.

In his introductory essay, editor Mark Tushnet, Justice Thurgood Marshall's former clerk, rejects the idea that the Warren Court was an aberrant form of judicial development. He correctly argues that the Court was both a judicial and a political institution, one that reinforced the belief of liberals that government could be used for positive social and economic results like those culminating in the Great Society programs of Lyndon Johnson. In further support of his argument, one can also view the Warren Court's behavior as an extension of the activist behavior of the preceding Courts led by Harlan F. Stone and, perhaps to a somewhat lesser degree, Fred M. Vinson.

The remaining eight essays by prominent constitutional scholars focus on the contributions of individual justices. Each is a carefully crafted analysis of an individual justice's constitutional beliefs and their impact on the decisions of the Warren Court. G. Edward White clearly assesses the causes of Earl Warren's tremendous influence on his fellow justices. His assertion that Warren's inclusion of "practical politics and morality into the stable of legitimate justifications for Supreme Court decisions" shocked those scholars who felt judicial reasoning should be autonomous and professionally isolated (p. 50) is undoubtedly true. One must be careful, however, when contrasting Warren's behavior to the modern scholarly definition of process judging lest we overlook the fact that his result-oriented activism was not at all unlike that of John Marshall, Roger B. Taney, and William Howard Taft, other activist chief justices who saw implications in the text of the Constitution that sometimes astounded their contemporaries.

A number of the essays reflect the continuing deep division among the justices about activism and restraint and sharply contrasting views within the two groups of justices advocating the two positions. Michael Parrish, for example, sees Felix Frankfurter's restraint as the product of his old Progressive, judicial realist background, whereas Norman Dorsen sees John Marshall Harlan's brilliant defense of that position as the result of his patrician, traditionalist background. So also was the activism of Justices Hugo L. Black and William O. Douglas the result of very different assumptions. As Tony Freyer points out, Black found the sources of his activism in the literal words of the Constitution, devoting his justiceship to protecting individual rights from government incursion, while also emphasizing the "equally compelling need for individuals to embrace the obligations this freedom demanded" (p. 105). In contrast, Melvin Urofsky sees William O. Douglas as a judge in the common law tradition, who, despite justifiable criticism about his haste and lack of attention to technical method, "asked the right questions and more often than not got the right answers" (p. 85) during his thirty-five years on the Court, keeping the law in line with the changes occurring in American society.

The final three essays in the volume are sensitive studies of William Brennan, Byron White, and Abe Fortas. Although space restrictions preclude further extended comments on them, I am left with a question about William Nelson's study of Justice Byron White. Why was he unable, in contrast to so many of his fellow justices, to accept the need for the "enhancement of individual rights and the consequent restriction of governmental authority" (p. 134) that it demanded?

Although there is no overall conclusion presented, the nine essays suggest that the Warren Court's activism was the result of "a complex blend of progressivism, populism, and sensitivity to the bureaucratic aspects of modern government" (dust jacket). The creative tension on the Court was caused by the perception shared by many of the justices that there was a vast gap between where American society was and where they wanted it to be. This volume sets a high standard for future analysis of the Warren Court's behavior, one that rejects stereotypes such as the notion of the lock-step liberalism of its majority in favor of closely focused examinations of the philosophy and contributions of the individual justices. In the case of the Warren Court, the whole was most certainly the sum of its incredibly interesting parts.

JAMES C. DURAM
Wichita State University

PETER N. CARROLL. *The Odyssey of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade: Americans in the Spanish Civil War.* Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 440. Cloth $55.00, paper $16.95.

Spain was special; its Civil War still haunts the historical imagination. The years 1936–39 tested collective resistance against an insurgent fascism, and therefore the hearts of Western liberals went out to the embat-

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tled victims of the Falange. That war also proved that might, aligned with obscurantist reaction, could make right; and therefore the hearts of believers in progress were broken. The Abraham Lincoln Brigade, with its nearly 3,000 American volunteers, still attracts historians because its saga mixes innocence (evil could have no dominion) and tragedy (only a rival totalitarian power and its Western cadres were committed to resistance). The doomed intervention of ill-trained idealists and apparatchiks from the United States is a moral fable permeated with the sordid ambiguities of politics; and to recount it effectively requires not only conscientious research but unusual poise as well.

Both attributes are evident in Peter N. Carroll's study, which evokes the political passions that motivated the young volunteers and achieves a certain detachment that the end of the Cold War facilitates. Anyone tone-deaf to the ethos of Communist militancy that activated the "Lincolns" could not be faithful to their past. But it is no longer necessary to press the hot-button issues that for decades made the legacy of these "premature antifascists" so sensitive (and made the veterans themselves so wary of independent researchers). Carroll does not glorify the military accomplishments of what was in actuality no more than a battalion. Too few and ill-equipped to stop Francisco Franco's juggernaut, they showed cowardice as well as bravery. Working-class Jewish Communists dominated their ranks; who else but the ideologically driven or the "racially" threatened would have wanted to die in Madrid? Their significance was not military but political, reflecting the checkered life of the party—and its enemies. Those who left Spain alive soon backtracked into opposition to collective resistance (until Adolf Hitler broke the Nazi-Soviet Pact), then became avid supporters of the war against the Axis in 1941. Orthodoxy required harsh literary criticism (because *For Whom the Bell Tolls* was said to "slander" Communism), and eventually led to political disillusionment (when the anti-Stalin revelations of 1956 split the ranks of veterans as well). The FBI interpreted military service in Spain as submission to Moscow, and few veterans could elude governmental scrutiny and persecution.

Although Carroll gives a battle-by-battle account of 1937–38, his true subject is how the ordeal affected the rest of the veterans' lives and shaped their political allegiances. No single theme emerges here. For some, like Alvah Bessie (of the Hollywood 10) and Milton Wolff (a battalion commander), the Civil War would thereafter give their politics meaning. For leading Communists like John Gates and Steve Nelson, Spain was a shadow that could be dodged, but testified to their militancy. Although the author has tenaciously scoured archives on both coasts and abroad, and although he jogged the memories of numerous veterans (including an atomic spy in Moscow), his sample is probably skewed in favor of exemplars of engagement. Those who just said no to activism (or wanted relief from FBI harassment) barely left a paper trail. But Carroll is right to underscore the impact of Spain, since the apolitical needs less explanation. A few veterans who had eluded the actuarial tables were still marching against the Ronald Reagan administration's intervention in Nicaragua. Without disguising the price exacted, this lively and lucid book celebrates the value of political commitment.

STEPHEN J. WHITFIELD
Brandeis University

DAVID H. SHPIRO. *From Philanthropy to Activism: The Political Transformation of American Zionism in the Holocaust Years, 1933–1945.* (Holocaust Series.) New York: Pergamon. 1994. Pp. xxxvi, 208.

Much of the story covered here has already been told by scholars of American Zionist history such as Naomi Cohen, Melvin Urofsky, and Doreen Bierbrier. The value of David H. Shpiro's monograph lies in his describing and detailing the internal activities of the American Zionist Emergency Committee (later Council), a coordinating body that led most Zionist groups in the United States during World War II. He has made extensive use of oral history interviews with people who played important roles in American Zionism, relied very resourcefully on numerous valuable, unpublished doctoral dissertations, and incorporated information from many Hebrew-language publications in Israel.

Until the 1930s, the American Zionist movement suffered from factionalism and an indecisive leadership. Its loosely organized groups raised money to help fellow Jews living in the *Yishuv* (pre-state Israel), and even this charity proved insufficient in the post–1929 economic downturn. But soon events occurring outside the United States stirred the competing factions. Brutal treatment of Jews in Germany and, after the 1938 *Anschluss*, in Austria created a refugee crisis, with hundreds of thousands looking to escape an intolerable, but not yet Holocaust-proportioned, fate. The British Foreign Office, more worried about the millions of Arabs living in and around the Suez Canal area than about the plight of European Jews, prepared a policy that would not only curtail Jewish immigration to the *Yishuv* but, by 1944, terminate it. When the Evian Conference of July 1938 failed to offer more than token assistance to desperate Jews, American Zionism moved to overcome its sectarian impulses and bring together many of its constituent groups to formulate a coordinated policy that would pressure the Franklin Roosevelt administration to persuade London to allow Jewish refugees to enter the *Yishuv*.

Shpiro's solid account of the Emergency Committee's leadership in this lobbying effort illustrates how the immediacy of the European Jews' distress, especially when verified reports of mass murders rekindled age-old Jewish anxieties associated with being an uprooted people, slowly led more and more Ameri-

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cans (Jewish and non-Jewish, Zionist and non-Zionist) to the inescapable conclusion that, in their greatest hour of peril, the doomed Jews needed a "comonwealth" of their own, not the least in order to control its immigration policies. Shpiro maintains that the American Zionist effort to influence postwar American attitudes toward the Middle East began soon after the United States entered the war. He gives much attention to Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, a Cleveland, Ohio, Reform rabbi, who presided over the movement's transformation from a mostly philanthropic presence to one that became the forerunner of what is commonly referred to as the "Israel lobby" in Washington. As Shpiro makes abundantly clear, the roots of the lobby's later successes lay in the unwillingness and/or inability of the American government to do very much for the six million Jews who died during the Holocaust.

IRVING KATZ
Indiana University, Bloomington

MARK K. BAUMAN. *Harry H. Epstein and the Rabbinate as Conduit for Change.* Cranbury, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press. 1994. Pp. 160. $32.50.

Excluding odes by wives and children, there are fewer than a dozen published scholarly biographies of American congregational rabbis. As a result, historians of American Judaism know little about the rabbinate and even less about the life of an Orthodox pulpit rabbi. This brief biography provides us with one of the few available studies of an Orthodox congregational rabbi in the interwar decades; by the mid–1950s Rabbi Harry H. Epstein (b. 1903) and his two-thousand-family synagogue had left the Orthodox fold and become one of the two largest Conservative congregations in America. (It will strike the careful reader that Rabbi Epstein's "world of ideas," long before 1952, sounds identical to the thoughts of numerous Conservative rabbis of the interwar period.)

The major structural problem with the book is the paradigm Mark K. Bauman places Epstein within, arguing that he shared much in common with Leo Jung and Joseph Lookstein, two Manhattan Orthodox rabbis who provided models for a generation of Orthodox rabbinic students. Alas, Epstein had little in common with these two men, because few Orthodox Jews outside the South knew Epstein existed, and it is inconceivable that either New York rabbi would have endorsed mixed seating, led his congregation into the Conservative movement, or become a member of the executive council of the national organization of Conservative rabbis. The paradigm for understanding the rabbinate of Harry H. Epstein is not the Manhattan Orthodox rabbinate but rather the Orthodox rabbis of the interwar years who served congregations far from the largest centers of Orthodox Jewish life.

Neither was it true that his education was "comparable to his contemporaries Leo Jung and Joseph Lookstein," for both of them were far more deeply immersed in contemporary philosophy, theology, and literature. Jung, for example, took his doctoral studies at Cambridge and London and seemed qualified to assume a position at Cambridge University. There is no evidence in this volume that Rabbi Epstein's intellect compared with that of Rabbis Jung or Lookstein.

There are some annoying items in this work: "Conservate" Judaism makes "less sense" to everyone (p. 8); Rabbi Abraham Mesch did not attend an "Israeli" yeshiva (p. 53); the Russian pogroms were not in 1880 (p. 63); Ahad Ha'am was not a "poet" (p. 64); what is "Orthodox traditional"? (p. 68); 1886 was not the date of the Pittsburgh Platform (p. 78) and 1938 was not the date of the Columbus Platform (p. 66); it is not true that the Talmud and Torah are not "subject to inquiry" among the followers of Orthodoxy (p. 92); it is an oxymoron to speak of "less assimilated" and a "lower level of assimilation" among Orthodox rabbis (p. 93); "historians of Orthodox Judaism" do not speak about the "cultural baggage" of Orthodox immigrants (p. 93); Epstein would never have described Chicago Jewry as "apparently stultifying Orthodoxy" (p. 94); the Maccabee family did not lead an "Israeli revolt" (p. 96); the lack of a source for the claim that Mrs. Reva Epstein read three languages by the age of five (p. 99); and Rabbi Moses ben Maimon (Maimonides) was not exactly a layman (p. 114).

Finally, one only wishes that Rabbi Epstein's perceptions were not so much of "the pulpit and of the denomination" but of the South, for, as Bauman pointedly notes, the rabbi has nothing more to say about the southern environment than "had he lived in the North." This is too bad, for a rabbi who knew how to pray for the success of his congregants' oil wells while in Tulsa (p. 49) would surely have known how to pray for an end of racism.

MARC LEE RAPHAEL
College of William and Mary

MITCHELL G. BARD. *Forgotten Victims: The Abandonment of Americans in Hitler's Camps.* Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1994. Pp. xv, 171. $19.95.

This volume purports to be the story of Americans who were caught in Adolf Hitler's web during World War II and were swept into the Holocaust. The point Mitchell G. Bard wishes to make is that there were unacknowledged Americans—some civilians, some military POWs—who were captured by the Nazis and treated more as European Jews than as Americans, and that the government of the United States did little, if anything, to help them.

The narrative, however, tells both more and less than this; more, in the sense that the book is an indictment of the U.S. government for neither helping nor acknowledging the plight of its civilians and prisoners of war who were Jewish; less, in the sense

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that the author folds stories of the latter into those of American POWs in general. Thus, one is seldom certain whether Bard is criticizing the Germans for being cruel to captured soldiers because they were Jewish or because they were American.

In addition, there are some unexplained inconsistencies. For example, at one point Bard seems to criticize the United States for its unwillingness to exchange German civilians in the United States for American civilians captured by the Reich. Yet at another point, a Jewish family leaves the Warsaw Ghetto because just such a swap has been arranged.

What bothers me in particular, however, is Bard's assumption that Jewish soldiers, or Jewish Americans in general, should have been privileged because they were American and thus were not "psychologically equipped to become victims of Hitler's campaign to rid the world . . . of Jews" (p. 83). The book's problem is a lack of proportion. Is it necessary, for example, with so many books documenting the horrors of Nazi atrocities, to linger so long over the offenses committed against one particular group of soldiers, most of whom, it seems, were not even Jewish? And if most guards did not mistreat soldiers and American Jews were forced to perform slave labor in only one camp, why does the author only describe the lives of Jewish POWs who were abused? How did their treatment, or even the meager rations they received, compare with those of other inmates? Was it possible that the dog tags of Jewish GIs were stamped "H" for Hebrew not because the government did not care what Germans might do to them if captured, but because if they were killed, they would want to be buried under a star rather than a cross? How outraged should we be after reading that some of these POWs incarcerated for four months later suffered from nightmares or overate to compensate for food deprivation? Given the millions of European victims of the Holocaust, should we share the author's concern that Holocaust memorials do not take note of a few hundred American victims (most of whom survived)?

The book concludes with the war trials and fates of the two officers in charge of the Berga concentration camp, with a call for recognition of the fates of the Americans who suffered, as well as a critique of the press for not reporting accounts of the Holocaust and the Franklin Roosevelt administration for doing nothing about it. That story has been told before at great length. Although one might share Bard's outrage that war criminals were given clemency, surely this act should have been viewed against the similar treatment of more significant Nazi war criminals once Germany was seen as a bulwark against communism.

SYDNEY STAHL WEINBERG
Ramapo College of New Jersey

JERRY E. STRAHAN. *Andrew Jackson Higgins and the Boats That Won World War II.* (Eisenhower Center Studies on War and Peace.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1994. Pp. xvi, 382. $29.95.

In this book, Jerry E. Strahan identifies his subject as one of the nation's wartime industrial heroes. Like his namesake, Old Hickory, Andrew Jackson Higgins was opinionated, direct, even prickly; he often ruffled feathers, but he got results quickly. Successful in the lumber industry, Higgins turned to boat-building in New Orleans in the 1920s, mostly small work boats and pleasure craft. By 1937 he had government contracts, and well before the nation's entry into the war Higgins was a major supplier of military craft.

During the war Higgins built more than 20,000 vessels, mostly landing craft and PT boats. His engineers created countless design improvements for various military needs, including wing panels for C–46 aircraft, airborne lifeboats, and new varieties of landing craft. Higgins's instructors also trained more than 30,000 men to handle landing craft. Strahan claims that Higgins's "carbon division" was involved in the Manhattan Project, although details were vague. Higgins's star fell rapidly after the war. He announced plans to convert his plants to production of commercial vessels and pleasure craft, building materials, miscellaneous plastic products, and even helicopters. Yet persistent postwar labor problems, a destructive hurricane, continued bureaucratic wrangling, and inattention to sophisticated financial management techniques combined to topple his flimsy industrial empire. His fortunes revived somewhat during the Korean War, but Higgins died unexpectedly in 1952. His sons and key executives pursued other interests, and by 1960 little remained of his life's work other than the fond recollections of thousands of military veterans.

Strahan has crafted a straightforward chronological narrative of Higgins's business career. The book possesses certain strengths. The author is at his best portraying his subject's wrangling with naval bureaucrats. His interviews with Higgins's associates yield some telling personal vignettes. Readers enjoy numerous glimpses of his personality, managerial style, temper, and humor.

Unfortunately, the book frequently disappoints. The author makes little effort to place Higgins in a national context. Readers learn how he interacted with military men but there is little treatment of his relationships with politicians and other entrepreneurs in the national arena. Strahan largely ignored financial issues. Perhaps this reflected Higgins's loose managerial style, his preoccupation with production rather than profits. Strahan's portrait of Higgins is one dimensional: a man obsessed with his work. Other than accounts of Higgins's love of business-related lavish parties, readers gain little sense of how he spent his money and whether or not he possessed the ability to relax. Other than conventional praise for the work of his sons, Strahan ignores Higgins's relationship with his wife and family.

Strahan's most troublesome shortcoming, however, is his presentation of the material. On several occasions, Strahan quotes Higgins's lengthy rationaliza-

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tions of his actions verbatim, filling many pages. Strahan's choice of a rigid chronological framework is unfortunate; far too often the reader is confronted with seemingly disjointed episodes and jarring transitions. In one three-page section (pp. 259–61), the author discusses a CBS radio show about Higgins, his work on landing craft and C–46 contracts, plastics, Higgins's involvement with the Manhattan Project, his response to an engine failure in his plant on Christmas, the Battle of the Bulge, his executives' expense accounts, and his contract with the American Federation of Labor. Tighter, thematic organization would have made Higgins's story more intelligible.

In writing the first biography of an important World War II entrepreneur, Strahan has provided a good deal of original information. Given Higgins's undeniable achievements, a full-length biography was long overdue, but he deserved more graceful treatment.

MARK S. FOSTER
University of Colorado, Denver

JOHN KENNEDY OHL. *Supplying the Troops: General Somervell and American Logistics in WWII.* DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 331. $32.00.

Brehon Burke Somervell, born in 1892 at Little Rock, Arkansas, son of a physician of distinguished Tennessee lineage, seemed destined to become the supreme logistician in U.S. military history. Raised in the nation's capital, he graduated from West Point in 1914. Somervell stood high enough in his class to be commissioned in the Corps of Engineers, which prided itself as both an "arm" (combat) and a "service" (logistics). Going to France as a regimental adjutant in the American Expeditionary Force, he rose to lieutenant colonel and divisional operations officer. In the process he became involved in directing a feverish base-construction program that refined his expertise for his chosen field.

In the lean years facing the military after the "War to End All Wars," Somervell entered the public's consciousness first as New York City's Works Progress Administration manager in the 1930s, then as director of the Quartermaster General's Construction Division in 1940–41. Impressing President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Army Chief of Staff George C. Marshall as the army's truly extraordinary managerial exemplar, he moved the Construction Division "home" to the Corps of Engineers. Rising to brigadier general while overseeing the vast prewar military build-up, he rose to major general after the outbreak of war and took command of the army's new Services of Supply.

Directing what rapidly became a world-wide supply effort, Somervell devoted his supervisory techniques to expanding the shipping program, industrial mobilization, and epic construction projects such as the Canadian pipeline (CANOL), the Alaska-Canada Highway, and the Ledo Road from India across North Burma to China. CANOL ultimately impressed Pentagon insiders as a worthless "boondoggle," and Somervell eventually found Senator Harry Truman's watchdog committee "on his case." But Lieutenant General Somervell thumbed his nose at his detractors and bullheadedly pushed the project to completion. Still, the army put CANOL to bed as it was being finished in 1945.

John K. Ohl has provided a signal contribution to our knowledge of the war and those who led it. He takes great pains to analyze frankly Somervell's techniques and style, especially his political sure-footedness and his callous handling of subordinates. A prime case in point is Somervell's role in General Joseph Stilwell's crucifixion of Brigadier General John C. Arrowsmith, the founder of the Ledo Road project. When monsoons came in 1943, it was all Arrowsmith's three ill-equipped battalions could do just to hold open what had been built. For "lack of progress" he was "busted" and relegated to obscurity for the duration. Ohl's treatment of such cannibalism would surely have been less hospitable had he considered that Arrowsmith's departure coincided with the arrival in Assam of a flood of engineer reinforcements and machinery. And, curiously, the name of Lewis A. Pick, long rightfully hailed as the man who saw the road to completion, nowhere appears in this generally superb study.

LESLIE ANDERS
Central Missouri State University

GERALD L. SMITH. *A Black Educator in the Segregated South: Kentucky's Rufus B. Atwood.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1994. Pp. xi, 224. $28.00.

Historical writing about college presidents is a difficult task. Unless the president made notable contributions to the development of higher education, attained significant attention as a scholar, or had an interesting career in addition to university service, a college president's biographer is confronted with the question of how to justify a book about the particular president's life.

In the case of presidents of historically black colleges or universities, the biographer confronts other difficulties. The often, although not always, accurate image of the black college president as tyrant demands attention. The issue of tyranny is especially significant when dealing with African Americans who served as chief executives of their institutions. Additionally, the relations between civil rights activist students in the 1950s and 1960s and a black college president usually constitute a troubling episode for any presidential biographer.

Gerald L. Smith admirably meets all but one of these challenges. His biography of Rufus B. Atwood, president of Kentucky State College (and then University) from 1929 to 1962 is a full and convincing profile. Smith shows how in the early years of his

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presidency Atwood extricated the institution from the direct and arbitrary control of state politicians. Atwood masterfully handled the politicians on their own grounds. While his predecessors served at the sufferance of the state's chief executive, and faced dismissal if the governor left office to be replaced by a politician from the other party, Atwood astutely used political contacts with legislators of his native western Kentucky from both political parties to break the pattern of presidential selection by party loyalty.

Throughout his presidency Atwood continued to balance the interests of his institution and his people against the political pressures emanating from the state capital, Frankfort, where Kentucky State was located. When, however, near the end of his presidency Atwood had to confront substantial internal pressure from his own students (and a few faculty members) who sparked a movement for increased student rights on campus and participated in a parallel movement for black civil rights in Frankfort, Atwood was less successful. This time his expulsion of twelve students and dismissal of the faculty dissidents, partially to appease white politicians and also because he genuinely believed that they deserved to be separated from Kentucky State, resulted in a taint on his presidency in the eyes of many African Americans.

Smith is thorough and judicious in describing the ins and outs of Atwood's presidency and in assessing the events of the student protest era. His basically sympathetic, although not uncritical, judgment of Atwood's actions seems to me to be full and fair. Smith's comparison of Atwood's actions to those of other black college presidents is effective in supporting his conclusions.

If Smith fails to establish Atwood's credentials as an educational leader in terms of notable curricular, or scholarly, or other intellectual achievements, the failure seems more in the actual life of the subject than in the account of the biographer. What Smith has provided is a thorough, nuanced, and judicious look at the career of one African American who led a public black college in a southern state for over three decades in the twentieth century. For that his readers should be indebted.

WAYNE J. URBAN
Georgia State University

GARY WRAY MCDONOGH. *Black and Catholic in Savannah, Georgia.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 386. Cloth $42.95, paper $18.95.

Seldom have African-American Catholics grabbed the national spotlight. During the tragic and riot-torn year of 1968, few noticed when the Black Catholic Clergy Caucus charged that the Catholic church was a decidedly racist institution. Americans, however, listened in 1991 when Clarence Thomas, the controversial black nominee for the Supreme Court, declared on national television that the Catholic schools and seminaries he had once attended were overtly racist.

In this book, Gary Wray McDonogh, a cultural anthropologist who is southern, white, and Catholic, explores the experience of being black and Catholic in the Georgia city from whence Clarence Thomas emerged. McDonogh spent much of the 1980s living in the black Catholic community as an observer of and participant in parish life. The author's first two chapters trace black religion and black parish life in Savannah back to their beginnings. Although McDonogh promises to treat black Catholics as historical actors rather than passive victims, he makes it clear that prior to the 1960s the gifts of black Catholics were severely constrained by a white racist hierarchy. White outsiders in fact ran black parishes as if they were foreign missions. In 1875 Benedictine priests established the first racial parish in Savannah. Later Franciscan nuns came to teach in the segregated schools, and in 1907 the SMA Fathers, a European congregation devoted to missions in Africa, arrived to take up the racial apostolate. Although dedicated and often loved, the SMA Fathers were white foreigners who knew little or nothing about black culture and black spiritual needs. The greatest anomaly of all was that black churches were devoid of black clergy, just one of the fundamental contradictions between Catholic creed and Catholic practice that McDonogh reveals.

In the late 1960s change proved abrupt and wrenching for black Catholics in Savannah. In 1968 the SMA Fathers were replaced by diocesan priests, and in 1969 the church (following the lead of a University of Notre Dame report) began closing all the black schools in the name of rapid integration, a well-meaning but obtuse act that still rankles Savannah's black Catholics.

Still, as McDonogh illustrates, Vatican II reforms and civil rights militancy moved black Catholics toward empowerment. In the 1970s and 1980s the laity gained power through new lay positions such as the permanent lay deacon, and black churches incorporated black cultural forms into the liturgy. But according to McDonogh, priestly constraints are still very real. Friction between each new white pastor and the black congregation is a given. In the words of one parishioner, it takes the congregation a while to "blackenize" the priest (p. 195).

Although McDonogh's book is not easy to read, it is a welcome addition to the scant but growing scholarly literature on African-American Catholics. The early chapters on Catholic schools, parishes, and priests are superb, but the later chapters are of uneven quality. Even McDonogh admits that the last chapter, "The Eucharist: Worship, Belief, and Variation," which purports to be "the basic history and structure of the mass as a historical phenomenon," may be repetitive for some (p. 298). And because McDonogh tries to address too many broad and complex themes beyond the major issues of race and religion (class, gender, authority, power, and identity, to name a few), he often blurs his focus. The author seems to realize his

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problem by asking rhetorically whether it is possible to incorporate "theoretical complexity" and social-science analysis into his work without doing damage to the important story of "a real and living community of people" (p. 331). Unfortunately, excessive displays of theory, categories, and jargon, plus a fair amount of repetition, tend to detract from the telling of that dynamic and profoundly human story that played out in Savannah and, undoubtedly, in every significant America city.

DAVID W. SOUTHERN
Westminster College

JOHN DITTMER. *Local People: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Mississippi.* (Blacks in the New World.) Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1994. Pp. 530. $29.95.

ERIC R. BURNER. *And Gently He Shall Lead Them: Robert Parris Moses and Civil Rights in Mississippi.* New York: New York University Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 294. $24.95.

The epic story of Mississippi's civil rights movement is recounted and analyzed in these two studies by John Dittmer and Eric R. Burner. Whereas Dittmer focuses on the varied groups and actors who occupied the political stage over the decades of the 1950s and 1960s, Burner targets the odyssey of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee's (SNCC) most charismatic and enigmatic leader.

Dittmer begins with the emergence of a new African-American leadership in the years that followed World War II. Many of the men who attempted to register to vote in 1946, and who became NAACP leaders in the 1940s and 1950s, were World War II veterans. The Mississippi that these men challenged was in many ways anachronistic: most black men still worked as sharecroppers or in manual labor, and were kept politically silent by blatant terrorism employed by state authorities, the Ku Klux Klan, and by local law enforcement agencies. When financially independent, middle-class African Americans organized NAACP branches, their efforts—and the *Brown* decision of 1954—were met with violence, economic reprisals, and terrorism by the newly organized White Citizens' Councils. This pattern of activism and violent repression would remain a counterpoint for the movement in Mississippi of the 1960s, a period of appalling, almost unbelievable violence, which Dittmer documents with an almost numbing effect.

A new era erupted in Mississippi in 1961, when students at Tougaloo College organized sit-ins at Jackson, and Freedom Riders entered the state in May. One of the young activists who came into Mississippi was Robert Parris Moses, a SNCC field secretary who "established the pattern that SNCC followed for the next four years, involving local people in all phases of the movement and depending on them for support, and, when needed, protection" (p. 104). In 1962, Moses and other leaders organized the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), a statewide group that brought together SNCC, CORE, the NAACP, and local protest groups. COFO would direct voter registration campaigns in the state, and would serve as the parent organization for the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP), a "parallel" organization to the all-white state Democratic Party, and its challenger at the Democratic National Convention in 1964.

Dittmer recounts the history of particular local struggles and statewide efforts, including COFO's "Freedom Vote" mock elections in 1963, and the famed Freedom Summer Project of 1964, which brought more than 600 white students into the state to teach in Freedom Schools, to work in community centers, and to help register the state's black voters. Dittmer also chronicles the growing fractures within SNCC itself: the black-white conflicts, the "structure" versus "floater" divisions within the organization, and the growing drive toward black nationalism, particularly after the national Democratic Party's refusal to seat the MFDP delegation at the national convention in 1964. But Dittmer also recounts the struggles within African-American factions within the statewide effort, struggles that hinged on class identity and interest. Particularly, rifts grew between the more moderate, middle-class NAACP leaders and the increasingly radicalized SNCC–CORE cadres and the "local people" of the MFDP: the sharecroppers, farmers, and working-class African Americans who had begun to feel empowered politically through the movement. Dittmer also shows how these conflicts were played out in two arenas during the late 1960s, in the control of state projects in the War on Poverty's Head Start program, and in state Democratic politics. In the latter, a coalition of white moderates and middle-class black leaders, many of whom were leaders of the NAACP, gradually assumed the political leadership of the state Democratic Party, seizing the legitimacy of national recognition from hard-line segregationists and old Dixiecrats. Thus, Dittmer reveals both class and racial conflicts within the state's movement history, and does a service to all parties by presenting their interests fairly and comprehensively.

Dittmer's study is simply a marvelous book. It combines a comprehensive study of a complex statewide movement with an examination of local struggles and issues, each with its own intricate network of interests and challenges. Dittmer reveals the complicated nature of gains and losses: how a "pattern of breakthroughs and setbacks, of defiant courage and sullen resignation, coexisted in COFO projects throughout the state" at the height of movement activity (p. 254). Dittmer also shows the craven role played by the federal government, as the administrations of both John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson ignored the segregationist violence in the state in hopes of placating men such as Senators John Stennis and James O. Eastland. But he also shows the real glory of the movement, as described by the Reverend

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Harry Bowie, who said that "To see people grow out of that deprivation, to begin to believe in themselves, and to believe in the possibility of their future, was one of the most rewarding experiences of my life" (p. 271).

Dittmer's study is a model of historical research as well. He has combed the multitude of relevant archives and used important oral history collections, as well as his own numerous interviews. The resulting texture is rich, dense, and intricate, but also dramatic and, at times, quite moving. His book will remain the definitive work on the movement in Mississippi for many years to come.

Eric R. Burner's study in Mississippi is an intellectual and political biography of the SNCC leader Robert Parris Moses, and presents him in terms of his public actions and decisions. Although Burner has used many archival collections and oral interviews that are relevant to Moses's life and his work in Mississippi, this work lacks the intimacy of many biographical studies, as its author retains a respectful distance from his subject.

Burner traces Moses's life from his youth in Harlem to his education at Hamilton College and Harvard, to his decision to go South, first to work for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in Atlanta, and later as a field secretary for SNCC. Moses's philosophical outlook had its roots in the writings of Albert Camus and in Quaker pacifism. Like many other young African Americans, he was inspired by the sit-ins by North Carolina A&T University students in Greensboro in 1960. During an early foray into Mississippi, Moses came under the influence of Amzie Moore, an NAACP leader in Cleveland. According to Burner, Moore persuaded Moses to shift attention from direct action campaigns to voter registration and political empowerment and "a more focused attention to core problems of Southern blacks" (p. 29). Although the Kennedy administration favored voter registration as a safer route of black activism than direct action campaigns in the segregated South, voter registration in Mississippi was a more dangerous activity than direct action in many other places.

In campaigns in Greenwood, Ruleville, Indianola, and other towns, Moses and other SNCC workers became more focused on "the concerns of the poor, unemployed, or marginally employed rural" African Americans, rather than those of the black middle class (p. 105). Like many of his colleagues in SNCC, Moses was radicalized by this process, and, after the fall of 1964, he retreated from a leadership role in Mississippi and became an outspoken opponent of the Vietnam War. He then pursued a more nationalistic, anti-integrationist politics. After Moses received his draft notice in 1966, he moved to Canada rather than serve, and in the spring of 1968, he traveled to Africa with his wife. They taught school in Tanzania until 1977, when they returned to the United States. In recent years, Moses has been involved in the Algebra Project, an effort to teach inner-city and minority children mathematic skills that he believes are the key to economic survival and success in contemporary America.

Burner's study is a cogent guide to the philosophy and organizing strategy of Robert Moses and of the early SNCC, and it documents the twists and turns of the Mississippi movement through the political biography of an important activist. It does not, however, tell us much that is new about the movement, or about Mississippi. Ultimately, one wishes for more, for perhaps a present-day assessment of this past, by Moses and by his colleagues. They were people who made a revolutionary challenge to twentieth-century America, a challenge that has not been answered, or even addressed, in our recent decades of political exhaustion.

KIM LACY ROGERS
Dickinson College

DAVID L. CHAPPELL. *Inside Agitators: White Southerners in the Civil Rights Movement.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1994. Pp. xxvii, 303.

David L. Chappell writes that when he made the "startling" (p. xv) discovery that some white southerners supported the civil rights movement, he undertook this study of their political role in the struggle. Readers should not expect the usual group of activists. Southern whites who fought to change race relations before the emergence of the movement, such as those associated with the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) or the Highlander Folk School, are deemed historically insignificant because they failed to pass the litmus test of actually ending segregation. Southern white sit-in students, freedom riders, Freedom Summer volunteers, and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee members are relegated to the endnotes. Even the southern white woman pictured on the dust jacket—Grace Lorch, who came to Elizabeth Eckford's aid during the crisis at Little Rock's Central High School in 1957—merits only one sentence. The white southerners who really matter are those Chappell labels "moderates," who broke away from die-hard segregationists with some prodding by savvy black strategists, concluded that the costs of upholding the racial status quo were too high, and helped develop a federal civil rights strategy.

As the days of "We Shall Overcome" become steadily distant memories, Chappell quite properly seeks to shed the moralism that has often made it difficult to analyze the politics of civil rights. Moral appeals constituted only half of the overall plan pursued by "the black movement," he argues; the other half involved manipulating and dividing the white South so that extremist defenses of segregation were both offensive and self-destructive. His case studies of protests in Montgomery, Tallahassee, and Little Rock demonstrate how a disciplined movement repeatedly exposed the vulnerability of a crass and

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clumsy segregationist defense. The major exception came in Albany, Georgia, in 1961–62. There, Police Chief Laurie Pritchett stymied civil rights leaders by respecting their intelligence, adopting their tactics, and enforcing segregation without violence or lawlessness. In Chappell's view this ironically made Pritchett an "inside agitator," for the chief showed that segregation could be effectively maintained only by abandoning its racist assumptions, a contradiction that doomed its defense.

Meanwhile, the national Democratic Party turned to southern white moderates for political salvation. As the John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson administrations secured civil rights legislation designed to mollify southern whites, white southerners in the Justice Department encouraged local, voluntary compliance with desegregation. Chappell thus finds both black leaders and white government officials using the same group to advance their civil rights agendas. No wonder southern white moderates could "call the shots" (p. 195).

This provocative thesis is not an entirely satisfactory explanation of the civil rights movement's strategy. SCEF, Highlander, and southern "radicals," in addition to establishing the basis for an interracial movement, made it possible for other southern whites to assume a "moderate" position. Chappell also seems uncomfortable with the implications of southern diversity, preferring instead to categorize blacks and whites so that they confirm his emphasis on the importance of relating means to ends. And the frustrated Albany Movement was indeed exceptional, for civil rights leaders could count on the existence of more "Bull" Connors than Laurie Pritchetts in the South. Chappell nevertheless offers a way of examining the civil rights movement that includes a wider spectrum of white southerners in that momentous struggle.

JOHN M. GLEN
Ball State University

ALAN DRAPER. *Conflict of Interests: Organized Labor and the Civil Rights Movement in the South, 1954–1968.* (Cornell Studies in Industrial and Labor Relations, number 29.) Ithaca, N.Y.: ILR Press. 1994. Pp. ix, 234. Cloth $39.00, paper $17.95.

Alan Draper's book opens a new chapter in labor and civil rights history, providing the first in-depth documentation of organized labor's response in the South to the civil rights revolution. Draper acknowledges that he has not attempted to study the social history of workers or union organizing. Rather, his study investigates the reactions of union leaders at the state level to the crosscurrents set off by the Supreme Court's desegregation decision in 1954 and by the black freedom movements of the 1960s. He shows these leaders to be a somewhat timid lot in the 1950s, when they did their best to side-step the furor over school desegregation. Nonetheless, they did repeatedly attempt to undercut the virulence of the white reaction (without much success) by pointing out to their members the simple truth that the segregationist and right-wing movement aimed at destroying the unions as well as integrated public schools. And by the 1960s, labor council leaders at the state level became somewhat bolder. They realized that black enfranchisement offered the only way to get rid of antilabor politicians, most of whom lived in majority black districts. Simple arithmetic showed that the southern one-party political system would not fall, nor would the Democratic Party become responsive to working-class needs, until blacks could vote. This political insight forced labor leaders such as Claude Ramsey in Mississippi and Barney Weeks in Alabama to take courageous stands against their own members. As a result, according to Draper, a "conflict of interest" emerged between white rank-and-file workers who sought to preserve a caste system by excluding blacks, and labor leaders who sought to create a class-based two-party system by including them. In Draper's view, this dichotomy between class and racially based perspectives has since become a defining feature of southern and, increasingly, national politics.

One of Draper's contributions is his documentation of an overwhelmingly racist response by southern white workers to black demands for equality. White building trades union members, joined by industrial unionists, led many of the violent attacks against civil rights struggles in the 1950s and 1960s. Unionized white workers participated in murdering civil rights workers, joined the White Citizen's Council, the Ku Klux Klan, and other white supremacist groups in startling numbers, and provided a major electoral base for the racial demagoguery of white politicians. As white workers repeatedly voted against their own economic self-interests, a two-party system did emerge. Unfortunately, it was one heralding Republican and big business triumph, as white workers, in politics as on the job, proved "unwilling to exchange their racial privileges . . . for a vision of their interests based on racial coalition" (p. 168).

In presenting this story, Draper gives few clues as to how it might have been different. He suggests that his book corrects the "romantic" views of new southern labor historians (myself among them), who think that working-class racism could have been overcome with a more progressive labor leadership. Our views are not that simple, nor is the history we have written about. But Draper's study now begs historians to unearth far more of the story of working-class southern whites as well as southern blacks, and to make a closer examination of the forces driving labor and civil rights causes apart as well as those bringing them together.

MICHAEL HONEY
University of Washington, Tacoma

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JAMES W. CORTADA. *The Computer in the United States: From Laboratory to Market, 1930 to 1960.* Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe. 1993. Pp. xix, 183. Cloth $45.00, paper $16.50.

The interplay between technology and society has always been a compelling force in human history, although its capacity to force rapid change has rarely been more blatantly obvious than in the twentieth century. Examples abound, yet few technologies have exerted a more pervasive influence since World War II than the computer. From scientific research to national defense, from manufacturing and office work to health care and entertainment, it is difficult to think of broad areas of life in the United States that have not been touched—directly or indirectly—by computers.

Recognizing the broad and accelerating importance of computers after 1960, James W. Cortada has provided a brief account of the development of the computer during the previous three decades, paying special attention to how those early devices were marketed and adopted; as he puts it, how they were moved from laboratory to market. Following a rather dry and overextended historiographical introduction, Cortada departs from the mainstream of the computer history literature by pointing away from the internal technical histories of the individual machines themselves and toward the process by which the new computer technologies were first developed in the laboratory and then disseminated into the marketplace. Cortada illuminates the interaction among university scientists and engineers, corporate technical and marketing people, government funding, and commercial users, thus showcasing the complexity of technological innovation and dissemination. His analysis of vendors, which is the most original aspect of his book, explores the extent to which companies were willing to embrace computers with the confidence that they could eventually find or generate a market for them.

Cortada, a long-time employee of IBM and a prolific historian, has attempted in this book to provide a synthetic overview aimed at "the general public" (p. xvi). Despite these aspirations, this volume is unlikely to attract a sizeable audience. In large part this stems from Cortada's rather circumscribed set of questions, which are focused primarily on the technological and commercial development of the computer prior to 1960. Serious students of the history of technology, business, and science policy will undoubtedly find the scope of his analysis of interest—especially the interactions among innovation, marketing, and adoption—yet anyone wanting to learn about the cultural, social, economic, and political aspects of this technology will come up empty-handed. The book's appeal is further handicapped by its dull style and poor editing. Nevertheless, as an introduction to the topic and as a guide to the existing scholarship, this study has much to commend it.

JEFFREY K. STINE
National Museum of American History
Smithsonian Institution

KIM MCQUAID. *Uneasy Partners: Big Business in American Politics, 1945–1990.* (The American Moment.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1994. Pp. xvi, 224. Cloth $28.95, paper $12.95.

This slim book by Kim McQuaid, in a narrative of less than two hundred pages, offers an account of business-government relations in the postwar era that will prove very serviceable for classroom use. The book does not offer much new in fact or theory but does offer a readable, competent, and coherent account of business and government in the recent past. The author writes knowledgeably, demonstrating a thorough command of the relevant literature, a literature to which he has effectively contributed in a number of previous works. The bibliographical essays for each chapter are excellent, in themselves a very good introduction to the literature of business-government interaction since 1945.

The themes that emerge are familiar. After World War II the key role in the formation of business policy soon was grasped by "corporate liberals," leaders drawn from the highest circles of the corporate world, who intended, through a strategy of compromise and accommodation with the New Deal state, to restore big business' influence over the nation's political economy. Corporate liberals dominated elite business groups such as the Business Council and the Committee for Economic Defense, and these groups for the most part set the policy agenda for the business community. Organizations such as the National Association of Manufacturers and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, broadly representative of the business community, were, especially in the early years of the postwar era, not well attuned to the sophisticated accommodationism of the corporate liberals, but for the most part they were kept in tow by the elite organizations.

The chapters on the Truman period (which focus on the postwar struggle over labor policy and the shaping of the Marshall Plan) on the Eisenhower era (the full flowering of a mutualistic symbiosis), on the Kennedy presidency (the appearance but not the substance of conflict), and the early Johnson years (effective accommodation on tax and other key policies) are very good, skillfully synthesizing a rich literature.

The policy of accommodation and control broke down during the decade of economic and social reform that began in 1965. The wave of reform that began with the Great Society programs took business leaders by surprise and overwhelmed the defensive techniques they had used for so long to prevent adoption or, at least, effective implementation of

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interventionist policies hostile to their interests. The new "panindustrial" minimum standards laws threatened businesses with heavy regulatory burdens and were much harder to control than traditional industry-specific regulation. By the late 1970s big business had regrouped and formed a more effective peak organization, the Business Roundtable. The election of Ronald Reagan was, however, not the triumph of the corporate liberals, because the Reaganites were too ideological, too committed to cutting back government interventionism (even in some instances the cherished institutions of business-government cooperation), and too confrontational and maximalist in attacks on panindustrial regulation. Big business influence helped to moderate the Reagan administration's policies and turn them in the later 1980s, especially during the Bush presidency, toward an Eisenhower-like stance.

As the book seeks to trace business influence on policy it must perforce sketch rather fully the backdrop of political-policy history, leaving sometimes too little room for a fuller treatment of business' role. But on the whole it accomplishes its objectives admirably.

ROBERT F. HIMMELBERG
Fordham University

DANIEL HOROWITZ. *Vance Packard and American Social Criticism.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1994. Pp. xviii, 375. $34.95.

Vance Packard won his national reputation as a popular social critic when he published three number-one best sellers back to back in 1957, 1959, and 1960. In this intellectual biography, Daniel Horowitz places Packard's career and social thought in historical context.

Reared in rural and small-town Pennsylvania, Packard attended college at Penn State and graduate school at Columbia, and then embarked on a successful career in journalism. Horowitz attempts to enliven the narrative with stories of minor crises and triumphs, but Packard's early life, it seems, was mostly uneventful. Horowitz wisely uses the early chapters to establish themes that shaped Packard's later world view. His Methodist parents and small-town, Depression-era youth imbued Packard with a populist "producer ethic" (p. 8) that valued traditions of family, community, and individual striving, and vilified the commercial forces that threatened to undermine them. His childhood alienation confirmed his sense of himself as an outside observer, and his early experiences as a journalist awakened him to the power of advertisers and corporations.

The book's most compelling chapters focus on Packard's best sellers and the responses they evoked from readers and critics. In *The Hidden Persuaders* (1957), *The Status Seekers* (1959), and *The Waste Makers* (1960), Packard wrote of the corrupting impact of affluence and the particular threats posed by manipulative advertisements, materialistic social climbing, and a wasteful consumer culture. With these books, he won his independence from the world of magazine and newspaper editors, but genuine independence eluded him as he still sought the praise of reviewers and the backing of publishers.

Horowitz agrees with the critics who attacked Packard's hasty writing, his neglect of American poverty, his nostalgic moralism, and his lack of rigor and originality. He emphasizes the contradictions in Packard's social thought. While Packard disavowed the importance of status and material comforts, he also enjoyed them. A cautious nonconformist, he was torn between concern for individual rights and respect for tradition. He denounced the manipulative techniques of mass media but used them to sell his own books, and he sometimes seemed to admire the very institutions and experts he lambasted.

But Horowitz argues persuasively that Packard deserves a larger place in the history of American social thought. He compares and contrasts Packard's social criticism with the works of other journalists, muckrakers, social scientists, and the New York intellectuals who established themselves as the preeminent postwar cultural arbiters. Packard emerges as an influential middlebrow figure who bridged the gap between social science and popular culture. With some ambivalence, Horowitz adds him to the canon of late 1950s social critics and thus illuminates a neglected brand of populist liberalism that helped launch the social conscience of the 1960s. By that decade, however, Packard's traditional values and his older style of journalism removed him from cultural center stage.

With rich sources (many supplied by Packard himself), Horowitz casts a critical but sympathetic eye on his subject. He offers a wealth of insight into twentieth-century journalism, homegrown American liberalism, and the role of the popular intellectual.

JOANNE MEYEROWITZ
University of Cincinnati

TOM WELLS. *The War Within: America's Battle over Vietnam.* Foreword by TODD GITLIN. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1994. Pp. xviii, 706. $30.00.

Representative Robert Dornan's attack on President Bill Clinton's Vietnam War opposition in January 1995 and the continuing debate over normalizing diplomatic relations are ample reminders that Vietnam retains a significant hold on the American memory. For the generation that matured during the 1960s, that conflict remains a defining moment that will continue to inform its political outlook. Although diplomatic and military matters still dominate historical accounts, scholars have increasingly examined the domestic confrontation over U.S. policy. This study of the Vietnam-era antiwar movement by Tom Wells, a Berkeley-trained sociologist and writer, is a welcome addition to the literature, written in a read-

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able style that captures much of the tension and fervor that characterized those years.

Contrary to Wells's claim that we previously lacked "a worthy *history* of the antiwar movement" (p. 7), the basic story of war opposition has been well told and analyzed in several excellent books, most impressively in *An American Ordeal* by Charles DeBenedetti and Charles Chatfield (1990). Wells's unique contribution is combining extensive coverage of the movement itself with a detailed examination of the government's response to antiwar protest, enabling the reader to watch the contending sides react to one another.

Wells accurately portrays the movement as politically diverse, identifies the benefits and problems of that diversity, and concludes that peace forces limited the policy options of the Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon administrations at crucial times during the war. He acknowledges that the movement did not end the war by itself, but he calls it "the cutting edge of domestic antiwar sentiment" (p. 5). Its success came through challenging White House policy, influencing several key government officials, threatening social disruption in the event of escalation after 1968, and in providing a constituency for dovish politicians to rally around. The wartime presidents pretended to ignore the movement, but in fact attempted to minimize its influence rather than try to understand and address its concerns. Nixon in particular felt that dissent undermined his ability to increase military pressure on the Hanoi government, and he seriously considered potential domestic reactions when making decisions. His intense dislike of protesters led to the illegal actions that ultimately brought his fall from power.

The author does not, however, define these results as a clear-cut victory for dissent. Because the impact of antiwar forces took place behind the scenes, the lack of visible changes in government policy led many to conclude that their efforts were in vain. Wells believes that the resulting frustration was the key factor in the antiwar movement's escalating tactics. Whereas the majority of activists maintained a firm belief in nonviolence and pursued actions that were clearly legal, over time a growing minority accepted nonviolent civil disobedience as an appropriate tactic, and a much smaller radical fringe adopted violent methods to attract the government's attention. The movement also weakened itself through internal fights over proper strategy and ideology. National coalition actions usually took place only after tedious and sometimes bitter debates over speakers, slogans, and tactics. The government's use of spies, provocateurs, and propaganda further hampered the effectiveness of the peace forces and helped limit their appeal within the general public.

Wells conducted over ninety interviews for this study, and supplemented them with an array of secondary accounts and archival sources from the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library, the Nixon Project, and Berkeley's Bancroft Library. The interviews add emotion and interesting detail to the narrative and reveal occasional regrets from a few people on both sides of the debate. At times, however, the differentiation between past and present viewpoints becomes obscured as the author weaves the two together. Another significant concern is Wells's inclination to focus on the national antiwar coalitions and their confrontational actions. Although he provides careful attention to moderate, nonviolent organizations, by targeting the coalitions where radicals had their greatest influence through participation in the steering committees, the movement comes across as more militant than it actually was.

This work provides different emphases than some previous histories, yet the lack of dramatic new interpretations is further indication of an emerging consensus on the antiwar movement. The major works agree that it was an indigenous force originally built around existing peace groups and ultimately encompassing representatives from virtually all parts of American society. A series of loose coalitions held several diverse tendencies together for massive public demonstrations, but much antiwar activity occurred in local settings and persisted for the war's duration. The movement presented the public with legitimate policy alternatives and limited the acceptable options available to decision makers. Building on the solid foundation established by historians of the Vietnam antiwar movement, Wells's book represents a considerable achievement and a solid contribution to a topic of continued importance.

MITCHELL K. HALL
Central Michigan University

ROBERT M. BLACKBURN. *Mercenaries and Lyndon Johnson's "More Flags": The Hiring of Korean, Filipino and Thai Soldiers in the Vietnam War.* Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland. 1994. Pp. xiv, 206. $25.95.

Most books on the Vietnam War leave the impression that the effort to prevent a communist victory in South Vietnam was almost exclusively an American enterprise. Aside from a few studies on Australia's role in the conflict, the participation by other countries has been largely ignored.

In this short but useful book, Robert M. Blackburn takes on an important but little-known subject: the "more flags" program promoted by the Lyndon B. Johnson administration to enlist the cooperation of allies in supporting the Saigon regime. Launched in 1964, the program eventually included fifteen countries that provided assistance of various types to supplement the massive U.S. effort in South Vietnam. Some gave token support while the contribution of others was more substantial, including the deployment of combat troops.

The purpose of the "more flags" program was to provide visible evidence of free-world support for the survival of an independent South Vietnam. Yet, the

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author contends here, the reality was that most of the nations that took part did so for payment. Their troops were thus mercenaries, bought and paid for by the United States. A key example was the case of South Korea. Although the Korean government fully supported the United States in its struggle against world communism, it sent its first military units to South Vietnam in 1964 primarily to solidify its relationship with Washington. When the Johnson administration wanted more—leading to a maximum of 50,000 troops during the height of the war—Seoul demanded, and received, payment from the United States for their deployment.

The Philippines and Thailand presented a slightly different case, but with the same result. President Diosdado Macapagal preferred to limit Philippine participation to civilians employed in civic action teams, whereas Washington wanted the job handled by military units to provide greater visibility. A compromise was ultimately reached, but once again the Johnson administration paid a high price by secretly agreeing to cover the costs of the operation. Washington did not at first seek to engage Thailand in the "more flags" program because Thai units were already heavily engaged in Laos. Eventually Bangkok agreed to send troops to South Vietnam, but the United States provided the expenses.

Of all participants in the program, only Australia and New Zealand took part without demanding a subsidy from the United States. For the former, the issue clearly had security implications. Fearful of Indonesian radicalism and the decline of British power in Asia, Canberra adopted a "forward defense" strategy by sending combat troops to South Vietnam, while encouraging the United States to maintain its military presence in the region. New Zealand agreed to provide non-combat units.

In pointing out the mercenary character of the "more flags" program, Blackburn concedes that other motives may have inspired countries or individuals to take part in the effort. Over 5,000 died during the course of the war. But he is critical of the way the Johnson administration handled the issue. Its attempt to keep U.S. financial contributions to participants secret not only misled the American people but also tacitly "pronounced judgment on the morality and ethics of using mercenaries in service to America" (p. 153). This is a useful contribution to our understanding of a neglected corner of the Vietnam War.

WILLIAM J. DUIKER
Pennsylvania State University

LEROY ASHBY and ROD GRAMER. *Fighting the Odds: The Life of Senator Frank Church.* Pullman: Washington State University Press. 1994. Pp. xvi, 749. $32.00.

Frank Church was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1956 and served there until the voters of Idaho narrowly rejected his bid for reelection in 1980. During his long career, Church became a controversial and nationally known figure because of his longstanding opposition to the Vietnam War, and because of his investigation and public exposure of the many misdeeds of multinational corporations as well as the CIA and FBI. Thus, he emerged in the late 1960s and 1970s as a staunch defender of civil liberties and social decency at home and a sharp critic of American foreign policy. No isolationist, he demanded that America practice overseas what it preached at home about the virtues of democracy and the primacy of human rights.

LeRoy Ashby and Rod Gramer have captured the key elements of Church's life and career with wide-ranging research, fluent writing, and a penetrating analysis. Their balanced and fair-minded biography of Idaho's most important national figure since William Borah (Church's boyhood hero) is a major contribution to the still thin historical literature focusing on key congressional figures of the past thirty years. They draw a picture of a politician whose presence in the Senate truly made a difference. As a strong environmentalist, for example, Church pushed hard—often with success—for legislation to protect and expand wilderness areas in the West. In addition, he was the "leading voice in Congress on behalf of aged and aging Americans" (p. 479) and played the main role in securing the big increase in Social Security benefits in 1972. It is highly unlikely that the Panama Canal treaties would have passed in 1978 without his skillful and dedicated floor leadership, a point President Jimmy Carter crassly ignored when it came time for him to thank those senators responsible for making this success possible.

Although Ashby and Gramer admire and respect Church's hard work on behalf of many important liberal causes, they do not ignore the fact that some of his long-time Senate colleagues, including William Fulbright, thought he was "strong on rhetoric but likely to fold up in the clutch" (p. 419). Nor do they overlook his poor judgment and opportunistic behavior when, as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, he made such a terrible fuss in 1979 about the presence of the so-called Russian combat brigade in Cuba, which his good friend George McGovern rightly called the "greatest mistake of his career" (p. 597).

Perhaps the greatest failing of many liberals in the 1970s and 1980s was their refusal or inability to devise programs and a strategy that would touch base with those many voters who felt left out or forgotten. Church, a shrewd and insightful observer and analyst of American politics, understood the need to emphasize "populist themes" while downplaying a cultural agenda. Unfortunately for him, he was unable to make that case with sufficient force in 1976 to wrest the Democratic presidential nomination from Jimmy Carter. Having started his campaign late in the game and with little money to promote his candidacy, Church's bid for the White House went for nought even though he won a number of primary battles.

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In 1980 Church was swept aside in the upheaval that sent Ronald Reagan to the White House and gave the Republicans control of the Senate. In 1984, at age 59, he died from pancreatic cancer. Thanks to this fine biography, Church's story has been well told, thereby ensuring him a respected place in the history of American liberalism.

WILLIAM C. BERMAN
University of Toronto

CURTIS PEEBLES. *Watch the Skies! A Chronicle of the Flying Saucer Myth.* Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution. 1994. Pp. x, 342. $24.95.

Curtis Peebles has written a devastating and at times hilarious account of the human penchant for stubbornly embracing lies and enriching those who peddle them, a study that may suggest to readers important parallels between the relatively harmless flying saucer myth and far more mischievous fantasies involving political and racial conspiracies.

Peebles traces the history of the UFO myth from a March 1945 story in the science fiction pulp magazine *Amazing Stories* through the Air Force investigations of the "classic" sightings and on to the development of a UFO industry that has persisted—even thrived—to the present. The reader comes to understand how the universal human craving for meaning and wonder can be perverted into error and nonsense when it is exploited by entrepreneurs adept at extracting profit from ignorance and credulity.

Peebles also shows the quandary of official government agencies when they investigated rumors of UFO sightings (reported by, among others, Jimmy Carter and Louis Farrakhan). If they released their studies, the mere fact that official attention was paid to the sightings would be taken as proof that these baseless rumors were worthy of having attention paid, lending the bizarre enterprise a stamp of legitimacy. Yet if the authorities withheld their reports so as not to contribute to the delusion, they were accused of a "cover-up," tantamount to an admission that the sightings were real and that the government, perhaps acting in concert with the aliens, had malign motives for keeping the public in the dark.

Peebles's efforts to discover parallels between national and world events and the waxing and waning fortunes of the UFO myth are, for me, less successful. Instead, his analysis seems to reveal how misinformation can be elaborated into a complex meaning system until it attains a fascinating and self-sustaining critical mass as the initiated iron out inconsistencies and promiscuously absorb all manner of nonsense into an exciting and soul-satisfying tissue of lies. Peebles has exhaustively read the official, unofficial, and "anti-official" sources, and has provided a marvelous case study—because it is of a phenomenon that has little moral or emotional resonance for most non-devotees—helping to explain how more noxious historical and racial conspiracy theories take on lives of their own. I left the book unconvinced that either historical events or the psychological make-up of the converts explain the growth of these delusions. Rather, conspiracy theories are so intrinsically interesting—they are soul-snarers *par excellence*—that out of a multitude who gaze at them out of idle curiosity, a small percentage will become addicted. If only all of these lunacies were as harmless as UFO spotting.

This is the definitive book on a delusion that is paradigmatic of organized ignorance in modern times. If the Smithsonian Institution Press puts this insightful book out in paperback, it will be an ideal reading for courses on twentieth-century American history, communications, popular culture, and political theory.

RICHARD GID POWERS
College of Staten Island,
City University of New York

WILLIAM C. BERMAN. *America's Right Turn: From Nixon to Bush.* (The American Moment.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 192. Cloth $38.95, paper $12.95.

Anyone who teaches American history will find William C. Berman's book a useful source in preparing lectures on the politics of the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. Few people will feel moved to read it from cover to cover, however, since it is mainly a summary of political events, electoral trends, and voter alignments. It reads in places like a vast compilation of *Washington Post* headlines from the last three decades, spiced up only by the apothegms of political scientists.

Berman's central theme is that the Democratic electoral coalition, dominant from the 1930s into the 1960s, broke up because liberals such as George McGovern and Jesse Jackson associated it too closely with unpopular reforms. As a result the Democrats lost vital voter groups that had assured their political supremacy since Franklin D. Roosevelt: blue-collar workers, urban Catholics, and white southerners. Berman demonstrates that supporting busing, affirmative action, feminism, abortion rights, and gay rights were all costly errors for the Democrats. In purely electoral terms they would have done better to stay away from these symbolically loaded issues, of which the Republicans took advantage in becoming the majority party.

Berman's evidence demonstrates, I think, a marked level of consistency in voters' behavior from the 1950s through the 1980s. America has not really "turned right" but has rather remained true to a few core principles, and voted for whichever party seemed best to represent them. In the 1950s and early 1960s the Democrats championed a fierce anticommunist foreign policy and soft-pedaled the "rights" issue so as to preserve their diverse electoral base. They opposed high taxes, intrusive big government, and any hint that their leaders connived at immorality or sloth. From the voters' point of view, Kennedy Democrats

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were satisfactory on all counts then, just as Reagan Republicans were satisfactory in the 1980s. These voters were always socially and morally "conservative" but welcomed the elements of a welfare state (social security, Medicare, and welfare) that offered them more personal security. The boom years of the 1960s enabled the Democratic Party to launch far-reaching reform projects like the War on Poverty without alienating voters, but it lost them when they came to believe that they were paying high taxes to support black welfare cheats in the harsh "stagflation" years of the 1970s. Zealous Republican activists (Richard Viguerie, William Rusher, Ronald Reagan) saw an opportunity there and took it, helped along by angry pro-life evangelicals and rich corporate sponsors.

Berman shows how the rapid growth of European and Pacific Rim economies challenged American supremacy and became a factor in domestic politics. Indeed he concludes that "the triumph of conservatism in the twenty-year period from 1968 to 1988 was rooted in the politics of race and the globalization of the American economy" (p. 164). He also notes the increase of independent-minded voters who were willing to put Reagan and Bush into the White House while holding on to bread-and-butter Democrats in the House and the Senate through most of the 1970s and 1980s. Finally, he emphasizes the striking ease and speed with which the Republicans recovered from the stigma of Watergate in the 1970s, especially when compared to the continuing disarray of the Democrats, who could neither embrace nor successfully disavow the burden of liberalism. Berman does not see President Bill Clinton's election in 1992 as a challenge to the new majority alignment, and the outcome of the 1994 midterm elections has done more to confirm than to refute his arguments.

PATRICK ALLITT
Emory University

CANADA

EDWARD BELL. *Social Classes and Social Credit in Alberta.* Foreword by MAURICE PINARD. Buffalo, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1994. Pp. xviii, 196. Cloth $42.95, paper $17.95.

William Aberhart's Social Credit movement, which became the government of Alberta in 1935, has been depicted as a right-wing, rural, agrarian-based, petit-bourgeois movement by many scholars who have followed unquestionably C. B. Macpherson's *Democracy in Alberta* (1953, rpt. 1962). Although not the only scholar to challenge Macpherson's Marxist political analysis, Edward Bell has been the first to provide empirical evidence that the Social Credit movement was much more urban based and obtained its greatest strength among the working class in the cities.

Bell has challenged Macpherson's understanding of Social Credit as primarily an agrarian movement of the petite bourgeoisie. Not only was Macpherson's definition of the lower middle class not convincing but also the statistical basis for his argument was flawed.

By using Aberhart's writings, Bell shows that, contrary to Macpherson, Social Credit in the forms it took under both Major C. H. Douglas and Aberhart called capitalism into question and involved a radical transformation of the economy. Aberhart's Social Credit was hardly a defense of conservative economics when it advocated the elimination of banks, money, life insurance, and the introduction of a dividend for all and a command economy in place of a free-market system. Bell attributes Macpherson's errors to ideological blinders and a lack of research into the available primary sources. Because Aberhart did not completely accept the teachings of Karl Marx, Macpherson dismissed Aberhart's economic plans as reactionary.

Bell, a sociologist, uses polling-station returns from the 1935 and 1940 elections for Calgary, Lethbridge, and Medicine Hall—the largest urban centers in Alberta (Edmonton's polling-station records were not available)—and links them to economic maps of those cities to show that the highest percentage of votes for Social Credit came from working-class districts. His findings demonstrate that support for Social Credit varied "inversely with class level" (p. 101).

Less convincing is Bell's opposition to Macpherson's argument that western alienation and opposition to the National Policy played a great role in the Social Credit victory. Bell claims that because Aberhart's published pamphlets did not contain references to discriminatory freight rates and tariff walls—the common themes of the progressive movement—anti-imperialism or central-Canada bashing therefore were not crucial to Aberhart's movement. A cursory examination of the transcripts of Aberhart's pre-election radio broadcasts, however, does reveal a high degree of antipathy to "eastern" interests: banks, corporations, and old-line politicians. Bell has also overlooked the contents of *The Alberta Social Credit Chronicle.* For example, the September 13, 1935, issue carried an article examining interlocking corporate structures and political power. The piece showed that westerners were being exploited by central Canadian wealth.

Finally, using social theory, Bell examines six factors that contributed to the Social Credit victory in 1935: the opportunity caused by the awful conditions of the Depression; a broadly based ideology which attracted many social classes; radio communication facilities; political coalitions involving the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) and Communists; a strong grass-roots organization; and resistance from the "enemy," that is, the old-line parties, the banks, and capitalistic agencies.

Although Bell's work still reads much like the graduate thesis from which it was generated, it is a valued contribution to our theoretical understanding

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of the Social Credit movement and forces us to rethink some of our earlier conclusions about its nature.

DAVID R. ELLIOTT
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RAYMOND B. BLAKE. *Canadians at Last: Canada Integrates Newfoundland as a Province.* Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 1994. Pp. x, 252. Cloth $55.00, paper $19.95.

Given the preoccupation of historians with the confederation of 1949, scholars will welcome this monograph, which advances the analysis of Canada-Newfoundland relations into the next decade. Raymond B. Blake explains the Liberal dominance of Newfoundland in terms of the early integration of the proconfederates with Canada's Liberal Party and delays by both the Conservatives and Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) in rallying elements of the opposition. The Liberals reinforced their favorable image through the prompt distribution of family allowances, old-age pensions, and unemployment insurance. Less generous was their treatment of local manufacturers, whom they left to compete with a flood of Canadian goods as best they could. Some failed, but the industry as a whole survived, thanks to increased purchasing power from the social programs. The fisheries, too, did not receive the developmental attention required to create an efficient industry. Federal initiative was forthcoming to extend Canadian sovereignty over its citizens employed at American-leased bases in Newfoundland, but this concession required a quid pro quo in the form of another military base at Goose Bay.

Blake shares an assumption of earlier scholars, such as David Alexander, that the federal government could and should have implemented a program of industrialization, perhaps focused on the fisheries, that would have given Newfoundland an economic base more comparable to those of other provinces. Whereas Alexander saw as the inhibiting factor the conflicting interests of the metropolis and regarded the Maritime provinces as natural allies, Blake emphasizes the potential jealousy of the Maritimes as an obstacle to both the development of manufacturing and the modernization of the fisheries. Taking his evidence of Maritime behavior from a dubious source—the excuses offered by the federal politicians—he chides Newfoundland spokesmen for not emphasizing more the uniqueness of their province's needs in seeking concessions from the federal government. Blake reinforces his theme of Newfoundland particularity by neglecting issues that tended to suggest a common regional interest—issues such as the extension of the Maritime Freight Rates Act to Newfoundland and term 29 that would base additional funding for social services on the level of those in place in the Maritime provinces. When discussing confederation's deficiencies in meeting Newfoundland's financial and industrial requirements, Blake says nothing of the Maritimes' similar needs, needs well documented in the report and studies of the Rowell-Sirois Commission, whose recommendations were still under consideration in this period. Indeed, he seems to dismiss contemptuously the Maritimes' and Prairies' earlier campaigns in these areas as "merely trying to squeeze more out of Confederation" (p. 45).

Hindsight judgments often force the reader to ask, "but could the people at the time have reasonably been expected to anticipate . . . ?" Such judgments may be warranted within his time frame, but when Blake skates over the next three decades to explain the present—for example, suggesting that the collapse of the cod fishery in 1992 could have been avoided had the fisheries been modernized in the 1950s—he undermines credibility.

Those looking for a study of the social and cultural integration of Newfoundland and Canada along the lines of Malcolm MacLeod's pioneering work on the preconfederation period will be disappointed. But as a piece of administrative history, this book is well researched and well written. It opens new material and presents a provocatively different, if not always convincing, perspective on the events of the immediate postconfederation era.

ERNEST FORBES
University of New Brunswick

LATIN AMERICA

MAGNUS MÖRNER. *Region and State in Latin America's Past.* (Johns Hopkins Symposia in Comparative History.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 142. $32.50.

Breadth is one of the outstanding characteristics of Magnus Mörner's superb career as a historian of Latin America. He has written books on migration, slavery, the Jesuits, European travel writers, rural economies, and other topics, dealing at some point with virtually every country in the region. His works have been published in more than half a dozen countries in English, French, Portuguese, Swedish, and Spanish. This book displays such a scope once again. To examine relations between the state and regions in Latin American history, Mörner discusses efforts by the Spanish to segregate the Indian population, class and race in post-independence Venezuela, riots against attempts to impose the metric system in northeast Brazil in the 1870s, and the political role of immigrants in Argentina. Moreover, he freely incorporates examples from other time periods and areas. In his lectures at Johns Hopkins University, the original venue for these essays, Mörner no doubt dazzled the public with his ability to overcome the reigning parochialism and make sweeping comparisons and surprising connections.

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Yet as a book focusing on the long-term relationship between the state and regions, the result is less successful. Despite both an introduction and a theoretical chapter, Mörner's argument is never sufficiently clear. He summarizes different interpretations of the state, yet, besides underlining its relative autonomy and the importance of its relations with regions and civil society, his own position remains vague. What is more unfortunate is his failure to incorporate the findings of much recent work on regional history in Latin America. From Chihuahua to Cochabamba, these studies have shown not only the benefits of incorporating regional analyses in understanding national and transnational phenomena but also the necessity of examining local concepts of the region and the state. The best of these studies have put regions at the center of analysis, highlighting how they have helped shape relations with the central state and how regional identities are constructed. This perspective of the region as an active political and ideological agent is not given enough weight in Mörner's account.

Nonetheless, the four case studies are fascinating and bring new light to a number of topics. Mörner contrasts the inability of the Spanish to enforce segregation in Mexico with the success of the Jesuits in keeping the Guaraní missions in Paraguay isolated. Emphasizing the links between "socioracial struggles," political practice, and relations with the national state, he examines the diverse fates of three regions in post-independence Venezuela. He analyzes the Quebra Quilos movement that resisted the Brazilian state's efforts to impose the metric system. Although engaging, his analysis would have benefited from a greater discussion of the meaning of modernization and standardization for the population of northeast Brazil. Another chapter reviews the political participation of foreigners in the city of Buenos Aires and two Argentine provinces in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Throughout the book, the writing is straightforward and engaging. The one criticism I have is, in fact, unusual: many of the chapters are too short. Mörner does not always bring the different elements of his argument together sufficiently in the conclusion. Most of the chapters end with a page or two of summary when, instead, the rich comparative points deserve further consideration. This is particularly unfortunate in light of Mörner's ability to find interesting connections, some of them potentially crucial for the historiography.

Readers have much to gain from this slender volume. The case studies are both intriguing and rigorous and will interest a broad audience. Although this book will not end up as dog-eared as some of his other classics, it will be read and returned to.

CHARLES F. WALKER
University of California, Davis

EMILIA VIOTTI DA COSTA. *Crowns of Glory, Tears of Blood: The Demerara Slave Rebellion of 1823.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xix, 378. $35.00.

The slave uprising in the British Caribbean colony of Demerara in 1823 represented one of the tragic markers in the long and oppressive history accompanying the dismantling of the notorious Caribbean slave systems. Involving some 10,000 slaves on about sixty plantations precariously perched along the eastern seacoast, the loosely organized rebellion of slaves lasted only a few days. Against the professional military power of the planters and the colonial authorities, poorly armed slaves with indecisive leadership stood no chance. To the whites the rebellion failed miserably. Three whites lost their lives, one accidentally by "friendly fire." By contrast the army killed or wounded 255 slaves during the first three days and hunted others relentlessly. Those caught were hastily "tried" and summarily executed, or brutally flogged, or expelled from the colony. One white missionary, John Smith, was also arrested, tried, and sentenced to be hanged but died before the sentence could be carried out.

It is debatable that this bloody event constituted "one of the greatest slave uprisings in the history of the New World" (p. xiii), as Emilia Viotti da Costa asserts in this extraordinarily moving and analytically nuanced narrative, although this book certainly represents an impressively significant contribution to the historiography. Rather than focusing on Smith, as so many others have, this narrative moves gracefully at several levels. At the core, of course, is the slave rebellion involving contiguous estates and workers bound together by kinship, common oppression, common ethnic loyalties (especially Coromantee), and common occupational subservience. Around this is intricately woven a perceptive examination of the complex revolutionary tensions between metropolis and frontier as well as across classes, castes, colors, and conditions that permeated every slave system through the ages, especially the sugar colonies of the Caribbean. There the strange world of masters and slaves, of arbitrary rights and customs, and exaggerated notions of order and obedience severely challenged newcomers like John Smith. "Missionaries and their wives . . . carried with them their dreams, their notions about the social order, about politics and religion, about family, class, gender, sex, and race, notions about protocol and etiquette, fairness and unfairness, right and wrong, of what was possible or impossible, notions about the ways men and women should live and die. They came to a new world in which some of their notions made no sense, and others were likely to be considered dangerous by the colonists" (p. 91).

Viotti da Costa brilliantly exposes the inherent contradictions that made Smith simultaneously a martyr to a wide range of public opinion in Britain and an insidious threat to the vast majority of planters in the

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colony. To the British the case represented a challenge to their ideal notions of imperial authority, English justice, and civic order. Demerara planters did not share those notions. "The system of authority characteristic of the slave system required the humiliation of the slaves; Smith spoke of their dignity. It postulated the slaves' dependence; he encouraged their autonomy. It aimed at destroying their leaders; he gave them power. It worked to destroy group solidarity, to prevent the formation of networks of social cooperation; Smith gave them a community of brethren. Instead of fear, he gave them hope. By behaving the way he did, Smith challenged the myth of the benevolent master and the contented slaves, validated slaves' dreams of freedom, and legitimized their rebellion. In the eyes of the colonists he was guilty. He had broken the rules of propriety and had to be punished" (p. 291).

Among the outstanding achievements of this work is its common accessibility to specialists across a variety of disciplines as well as the general public. Eminently readable and solidly researched, this work deftly explores the multifaceted links between individuals and groups, colony and metropolis, and divergent views of the world. Above all it illustrates how language, meaning, and intention became tragically confusing obstacles in a situation in which everyone was a stranger in a strange land.

FRANKLIN W. KNIGHT
Johns Hopkins University

ROBERT H. JACKSON. *Indian Population Decline: The Missions of Northwestern New Spain, 1687–1840.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 229. $29.95.

Robert H. Jackson is to be congratulated for producing a monograph that makes two important contributions to our knowledge of the native colonial experience in Spanish America. First, by focusing on territory only of peripheral significance in the overall scheme of empire, Jackson helps fill a gap in a historiography still dominated by studies of Central Mexico and Peru. Second, by moving beyond attributing native population decline following contact and conquest to disease alone, he furnishes a more sophisticated analysis of part of the demographic collapse that, in all likelihood, caused the greatest destruction of lives in human history.

In spatial terms, Jackson's definition of northwestern New Spain embraces three different regions, each of them displaying distinct features of culture and environment: the Pimería Alta of northern Sonora and southern Arizona, borderlands in colonial times as much as today, and Alta and Baja California. The missions that were founded in all three regions receive systematic treatment that sees their variable demographic history take on nuance, and at times assume elaborate complexity, under Jackson's microscopic lens.

Four chapters form the core of the book. Chapter 1 charts the rise and fall of the mission project, which began in 1687 with the Jesuit incursion into northern Pima territory led by Eusebio Kino and ended with secularization at the hands of the Mexican state in 1840. Jackson seems to be persuaded by the argument of Daniel Reff that the Black Robes were accepted by native communities in the first place because their presence "offered a point of reference for reorganization" (p. 16) following devastating depopulation and social upheaval in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Although stability may have been hoped for, no such thing materialized. Jackson establishes that viable, sustainable life in the missions was simply not possible, for Indian numbers were not maintained by natural increase but by repeated forays into the hills to capture and congregate new converts.

Chapter 2 charts the vicissitudes of mission existence, characterized above all by chronic endemic sickness that ensured high infant and child mortality and low life expectancy; women and children, especially, could not expect to live long. Jackson spells it out quite unequivocally: "Increased mortality," he asserts, "and not the inability of women to bear children was the primary cause for the demographic collapse" (p. 17) throughout northwestern New Spain. Coming to grips with the biological and nonbiological factors responsible for increased mortality is the focus of chapter 3. Here Jackson breaks new ground. While acknowledging "the importance of disease as a cause of high mortality" (p. 126), Jackson makes a convincing case for alternate explanations, especially with regard to "the quality of life" in the missions of Alta California, considered "the worst-case scenario of the three mission groupings studied" (p. 142). A poor diet, lack of proper sanitation, forced segregation of the sexes in damp, overcrowded dormitories, corporal punishment, and zealous exploitation of labor took a heavy toll on the native population. Not surprisingly, Indians in Alta California saw flight and fugitivism as their best chance of survival, an observation made by Sherburne F. Cook some years ago. Chapter 4 makes some interesting comparative connections, with Jackson evaluating the demographic experience of native communities in northwestern New Spain in the light of what has been documented for parts of Peru, Western Europe, and the Philippines.

This book will appeal to a broad constituency, in particular borderlands specialists, colonial Latin Americanists, and historical demographers who like their subject soaked in statistical data.

W. GEORGE LOVELL
Queen's University
Kingston, Ontario

OAKAH L. JONES, JR. *Guatemala in the Spanish Colonial Period.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1994. Pp. xxi, 344. $38.95.

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One can only speculate as to the audience for which this book is intended. Oakah L. Jones, Jr., contributes little that is new in the area of scholarship, even though he carried out archival research in Spain and Guatemala. Yet, if a one-volume synthesis of colonial Guatemalan history is intended, the book does not synthesize social, economic, and political history in a coherent way and thus fails to accomplish its goal. Moreover, the intellectual level of the book makes it of doubtful value to scholars, teachers, and students. Jones explains his thinking in this way: "If I have a thesis it is that Guatemala was the most important political, economic, social, religious, and cultural region of colonial Latin America between New Spain (Mexico) and Nueva Granada (of which today's Colombia was the central region)" (p. xii). That is as profound as the book gets.

Jones began his career with several studies in the U.S. borderlands field, and the traditional historiographical approach of that specialization is used in this survey of Guatemala. The book consists of descriptive summaries or overviews of the conquest, colonization, government, the church, labor institutions, agriculture, commerce, the founding of the university, and important events. Included are many brief biographies of important men who figured as conquerors, bishops, or presidents. Jones describes governmental organization, laws, institutions, natural disasters (such as the earthquake of 1773, which is treated with considerable repetition), military campaigns, militia regulations, and even buildings at some length. Indeed, he seems to believe that the study of history is the study of government (at least that is what is suggested by his comments on pages 31 and 280). Culture, for Jones, means universities, writers, and artists. The economy is explained by listing crops, products, and producing areas. Events are seen as more important than socioeconomic structures. Finally, colonialism is interpreted as constructive, despite some occasional abuses. As Jones summarizes the case, "Spain's greatest legacy for today's Guatemaltecos is the establishment of their territory, language, religion, society, and customs" (p. 267). Considering that Guatemala is today the most Indian country in Latin America, that conclusion is truly astounding.

Indeed, this book falls outside any Latin American historiographical context. Jones treats the Indians as exotic background material and focuses mostly on the Spaniards, who are portrayed as the bearers of culture and civilization; it is as if modern ethnohistory did not exist. Similarly, the recent historiography of the economy and society is summarized for purposes of description but is not integrated into an analysis or interpretation. The author's emphasis on the law is misplaced, for modern research demonstrates that laws were frequently ignored.

Even Jones's treatment of government is inadequate, for—somewhat incredibly—it leaves out politics. The book does not even mention the connection between governmental officials and the illegal commercial *repartimiento*, even though the latter was as important in Guatemala as it was in Mexico and Peru. According to Jones, royal officials came to Guatemala, did their duty, were replaced by others who also did their duty, and so on. Political conflict, and even its mere existence, is ignored.

In fairness it should be noted that at least one well-known scholar—who wrote the jacket blurb—found the book to be "an impressive survey, authoritative and well written." I, however, found it to be useless.

ROBERT W. PATCH
University of California, Riverside

MARGUERITE GUZMÁN BOUVARD. *Revolutionizing Motherhood: The Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo.* (Latin American Silhouettes.) Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources. 1994. Pp. 278. Cloth $45.00, paper $15.95.

In 1977 a group of women organized to demand information regarding the whereabouts of their children who had disappeared during the infamous Argentine "Dirty War" (*Guerra Sucia*) that took place between 1976 and 1983. These brave women, frustrated by judiciary slowness and lack of compliance with writs of habeus corpus, began marching in front of the executive palace, the Pink House (*Casa Rosada*), in the Plaza de Mayo, a traditional symbolic space claimed by patriots and the official world of Argentine politics. Initially dubbed by the government as the Mad Women (*Las Locas*) of the Plaza de Mayo, they rechristened themselves as the *madres* of that same plaza. After experimenting with different times and types of display, the *madres* eventually dedicated Thursday afternoons for their marches and dressed themselves in white scarves symbolizing diapers and purity of motherhood. Often bearing photos of their beloved disappeared, they became the conscience of Argentina, one that has often been difficult to tolerate not only during military dictatorship but also during peacetime.

Marguerite Guzmán Bouvard has written an enthusiastic and supportive account of the *madres*' struggle against government reluctance to pursue those responsible for the plight of their children. During the course of their campaign several *madres* were also "disappeared," threatened, and followed. But they did not give up and as of the late 1980s were still subject to police harassment and threats against their lives. This book is a contribution to Argentine studies and women's studies because it preserves the *madres*' efforts through oral interviews and a chronology of events and activities, particularly after 1983, that have been ignored by Argentine journalists but noted in the *madres*' own publication.

For specialists in the field, however, this book is highly unsettling. Most of Guzmán Bouvard's history of the Dirty War is derived from secondary works

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without any knowledge of earlier Argentine history. Theories of the *madres*' behavior is rooted in the works of Vaclav Havel and advocates of maternalist politics in the United States without any mention of the history of the intransigence of the Argentine Radical Party and its leader, Hipólito Yrigoyen. There are also no indications that the author is familiar with the history of maternalist movements in Latin America or, for that matter, Argentina.

Guzmán Bouvard describes the *madres*' world view as a form of maternalist anarchism, one that can never be compromised. She bases this opinion on the Spanish anarchist experiences of one of the *madres* without consulting the history of Argentine anarchism to see if such policies have been pursued by earlier or current Argentine anarchists. She defends the *madres* without reservation even though she notes that the *madres* have split within Argentina, and they have difficulties working with other groups of *madres* in Latin America. Guzmán Bouvard admits that many Argentine women, including feminists, criticize the strategies of the *madres*, but she prefers to align herself with the Europeans who constantly award the *madres* prizes and contribute financially to their resistance.

Guzmán Bouvard's approach to the *madres* is straightforward and honest. She began the research to help her students "believe once again in the effectiveness of individual and collective efforts toward change . . . [She] focused on women who were human-rights workers because their long practiced roles and their unique contributions have not been accorded the attention they deserve" (pp. 2–3). The author has amply fulfilled that desire. She could, however, have turned her book into an even more important study had she been willing to try to understand why the *madres* are so problematic for Argentines at the same time that they are heroines for Europeans.

DONNA J. GUY
University of Arizona

MICHAEL GEORGE HANCHARD. *Orpheus and Power: The* Movimento Negro *of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, Brazil, 1945–1988.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 203. $29.95.

In this ambitious book, Michael George Hanchard has set himself an important task: to explain why Brazil, a society whose huge population of African descent is subjected on a daily basis to racism, has seen no sustained Afro-Brazilian social movement "comparable to the civil rights movement in the United States" (p. 5). In the process of trying to answer this question, Hanchard does positive service to scholarship on race and color in Brazil. The book has a creditable chapter on the history of debates surrounding the definition and meaning of Brazilian racial democracy and a useful summary of at least some of the history of Brazil's black consciousness movement since World War II. Most interestingly, in the chapter entitled "Formations of Racial Consciousness," Hanchard presents rich and original interview material suggesting some of the processes through which black activists in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo came to see through the myth of racial democracy.

Hanchard's explanation of why the movement has been weak is, however, rather less rich and original; indeed, parts of his explanation are frankly unpersuasive. Inspired (not always clearly) by Antonio Gramsci, Hanchard suggests, unremarkably, that the *movimento negro* has been impeded by the "external" force of "resource deprivation," and the continuing power of the myth of racial democracy (p. 137). "Internally," meanwhile, the movement has suffered from the evils of "culturalism" and leftist sectarianism. Hanchard seems especially concerned about the former, which he defines as "the preoccupation with genealogical inquiries and artifacts of Afro-Brazilian expressive culture." This "preoccupation," he claims, has led the movement "away from strategies of contemporary political change and more toward symbolic protest and a fetishization of Afro-Brazilian culture" (p. 99).

This argument, although plausible at first glance, fails in my view to grapple seriously with the role of culture in identity politics. Hanchard rests content to point out that the "micropolitics of cultural representation" are different from "the macropolitics of racial violence, market inequalities and lack of formal political representation" (p. 100). But simply insisting on the difference between these two forms of politics begs the question of the connections between them. Hanchard's own evidence unwittingly highlights just how simplistic the "culturalism as culprit" thesis is. He wishes, for example, to illustrate the problems of "culturalism" by pointing to Black Soul, a movement of dance parties in the mid–1970s. The movement, he claims, "never left the confines of the dance hall . . . Despite their symbolic repercussions, the parties were ends in themselves" (pp. 116–17). Yet he also notes that participants in Black Soul became "catalysts for family members who never before had confronted issues of racial oppression and identification. Thus, hair and clothing styles became important not only in their symbolic representations but in their association with a collective identity that could not be defined solely within the boundaries of Brazil" (p. 113). He further observes that "Black Soul events were fertile occasions for pamphleteering and dissemination of information regarding marches, discussions, and other events pertaining to the movimento negro" (p. 117). Given such processes, why should we rest content with a characterization of this "culturalist" movement as "leading away from strategies of contemporary political change"? Should not Hanchard at least take seriously activists' own claims that valorizing Afro-Brazilian culture challenges the ideological structure of racial democracy and takes a key step

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toward the creation of a collective Afro-Brazilian identity?

In the end, what makes Hanchard's discussion of these issues less than convincing is its rather exclusive reliance on the spoken discourse of leaders. At no point do we actually witness the movement at work through direct observation, nor are we shown how the movement looks "from below" to non-leading participants or, perhaps most importantly, from the "outside," to Afro-Brazilians who, for whatever reason, have decided to give it a wide berth. If we are trying to understand why this movement—or any movement, for that matter—has failed to appeal more fully to its targeted constituency, is it not reasonable that, methodologically, we ought at least consult with members of that constituency?

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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

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Other Books Received

The following books were recently received in the *AHR* office. Books listed here do not include works scheduled for review.

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Communications

A communication will be considered only if it relates to an article or review published in this journal; publication is solely at the editor's discretion. Letters may not exceed seven hundred words for reviews and one thousand words for articles. They should be submitted in duplicate, typed double-spaced with wide margins, and headed "To the Editor."

TO THE EDITOR:

As usual, the June 1995 issue of the *American Historical Review* (volume 100, number 3), offered various useful historical insights. However, a close examination of the Table of Contents and the overall published contents showed a limitation in the way blacks and various black issues have continued to be generally treated in the pages of the *AHR*. This is particularly so when it comes to the history of the African continent.

Earl Lewis, in "To Turn as on a Pivot: Writing African Americans into a History of Overlapping Diasporas" (pp. 765–87), provides a scholarly overview of how several crucial aspects of African-American history were either neglected or overlooked in the early volumes of the *AHR*. Furthermore, he lamented the fact that even Benjamin Brawley's 1921 seminal book, *A Social History of the American Negro*, was not noticed by the early editors of the *AHR*. Considering Brawley's work very significant, Lewis described it as an "interpretive history of African Americans."

Certainly, Brawley was considered a giant in the history profession. His professional achievements, as underscored in the Lewis article and elsewhere, included his service as one of the first associate editors of the *Journal of Negro History*. It was, therefore, a matter of great consolation that Lewis rightly offered the explanation that this *particular* omission was not a matter of absolute neglect.

To the journal's credit, Lewis noted that between 1895 and 1922, it published ten essays and more than a half-dozen reviews, mainly written by or about African Americans. In fact, it was not surprising that W. E. B. Du Bois—with a Harvard education and described by Lewis as "one of the country's most learned men"—earned the distinction of having been the first African American to have an article published in the *AHR* (in 1910, some fifteen years after the founding of the publication).

In many ways, the recent editors of the *AHR* have improved the journal's coverage of Africa, including appreciable space for book reviews in particular. In retrospect, however, one may conclude that it would have been useful for *AHR* readers to peruse a researched article in the June commemorative issue offering historiographic details on either African continental history or on the initial appearances of journal articles on the continent's history. Also, such an article, possibly written by historians or writers from the African continent for publication in the *AHR*, could have underscored the current status of African history in view of the prominence the subject has attracted from the UNESCO historical series.

Conversely, it is appreciated that today's editorial staff of the *AHR* is very much interested in giving African-American history a fair chance in prominence by publishing Lewis's piece in the historic hundredth commemorative issue. Again, what about a similar detailed article on Africa, the "mother continent" of all blacks, including their African-American kith and kin?

For example, thumbing through the lengthy reviews' section of the commemorative issue, one sees the usual coverage of periodic and geographic areas, with an assortment of space provided: General (pp. 872–83); Ancient (pp. 883–86); Medieval (pp. 886–92); Modern Europe (pp. 892–928); Near East (pp. 928–29); Asia (pp. 929–33); United States (pp. 933–75); Canada (pp. 975–79); Latin America (pp. 979–81); Collected Essays (pp. 982–90); Documents and Bibliographies (pp. 991–94); and Other Books Received (pp. 995–1003). What about Africa?

It is true that the present-day editors of the *AHR* are doing their best to accommodate African historians and historical issues in the columns of the journal. Yet one wonders why a vast continent, with its own rich history, was not given even an entire page for a substantive review in the section Reviews of Books.

As shown in the June commemorative issue, the only mention of books on Africa is a *minute* detail here and there: for example, on page 987 of the "Collected Essays" portion of the *AHR*, *Pawnship in Africa: Debt Bondage in Historical Perspective* (1994; pp.

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vii, 341), edited by Toyin Falola and Paul E. Lovejoy, earned twenty-six lines in an overview; then, in the section titled "Documents and Bibliographies," on page 992, Oreste Baratieri's *Pagine d'Africa (1875–1901)*, with a foreword by Nicola Labanca (1994; pp. xliii, 194), is given four lines. Also, in the section titled "Other Books Received," page 999, Timothy D. Sisk's *Democratization in South Africa: The Elusive Social Contract* (1995; pp. xiii, 342) was given three lines of mention.

My concern is that there are many good African historians hovering around every nook and corner of the United States and Canada. Therefore, I continue to wonder if it is a problem for the *AHR* editorial staff to find "suitable" African historians or essayists to offer their services. After all, it is a fact that many of these African historians are *bona fide* members of the American Historical Association, who are willing to write essays or book reviews for publication.

Unlike several other academic journals, the *AHR* categorically stipulates: "Unsolicited book reviews are not accepted." Therefore, it means that African reviewers have to be either commissioned or invited to submit such reviews. Otherwise, one may underscore that Greg Dening, in his ethnographic essay in the June commemorative issue (pp. 854–64) might be right in some of his conclusions: that, during the past century, the *AHR* has not changed its rites and totems in any large measure!

AKWASI B. ASSENSOH
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A substantial number of reviews were moved from the June and October issues to make room for the double Centennial article sections; these reviews are appearing in December.

THE EDITORS

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

TO THE EDITOR:

Without appearing churlish, let me respond to Richard W. Kaeuper's largely sympathetic review of *The Subject of Violence: "The Song of Roland" and the Birth of the State* [*AHR*, 100 (February 1995): 142–43], which has just reached me. The review nicely captures the ambition of the book in its first two paragraphs: to render an account of an initiating text in the post-classical, European epic tradition in historical terms whose pertinence perdures to this day. I add only the desire to do so while respecting the integrity both of the text and of the historical discipline to which I, as a literary scholar, appeal as the poem's co-text: not a secondary "context" but an extension of the same codes in the body politic as operate in the text. Respect for the integrity of the different disciplines invoked is essential in interdisciplinary study. That is the only way they can be made to cohere, or be rejoined, intellectually and institutionally.

Kaeuper's first criticism is perfectly justified. *The Subject of Violence* largely disregards Anglo-Norman political history, with its stronger kingship. The situation is complicated by the fact that the Anglo-Norman kings impinged directly on the French kings' ambitions in Normandy, where they operated as dukes and theoretical vassals of the king of France. In a conflict between models of "feudalism" and monarchy, categorizing the acts of the Norman dukes represents a bit of a problem: feudal lords or kings? Nevertheless, there is unquestionably an omission, to be corrected in the future. *The Subject of Violence* was perhaps too narrowly and exclusively focused on the "French" experience of state construction, as "French" is conceived in our contemporary terms. Call that a first strike against attempted interdisciplinarity.

Kaeuper's second criticism puzzles me. I do not recall arguing that the poem "discards" (his word, his quotation marks) feudalism. I do argue that the monarchy, both in historical reality and in the text, proceeds by the subordination and *subsumption* of feudalism, in a process that continues, in France, until the eighteenth century (pp. 144–48, 165 and following). Language counts. To subsume something is not to "discard" it but to incorporate it, perhaps with a new functioning. Kingly manipulation of feudal roles, including the king's own, was a major technique of monarchical power.

It is the third point that really rankles. Given the thoughtful respect with which the review treats the book and its author, the suggestion that unnecessary technical terms were superficially "applied" to a simpler, more straightforward, more accessible analysis is shocking and misleading. As the Introduction indicates, the original analysis was indeed performed in a highly technical manner, deploying analytic tools defined and honed in an abstract theoretical framework: that of the narrative semiotics developed by A. J. Greimas and his colleagues. If it seems to the reviewer that the analysis merely grows out of "close reading," that is a rhetorical effect which disguises the actual work performed, much as a historian might choose not to reprint most of the statistical tables on which he bases his narrative, letting only occasional figures appear in his text.

Kaeuper praises my efforts at interdisciplinarity in reading widely in history. The recognition is appreciated. The vocabulary he objects to, however, comes from another adventure in interdisciplinarity, where literary study has been influenced by models drawn from linguistics. The terms objected to, far from bits of *appliqué* glued on and disfiguring commonsensical analysis, are precise tools of investigation, defined in another discipline, as means of extracting information and constructing a representation of textual

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meanings: exactly those meanings Kaeuper identifies as "large and important themes" at the beginning of the review. To put the matter crudely, the reviewer likes the product but is unwilling to pay the freight.

Was the semiotic framework necessary? I cannot know (it is a phenomenological point of some importance) whether the same analysis would have been possible to me without the technical framework. The fact is that the analysis was produced by the use of semiotic techniques of analysis. As a matter of principle, it seems to me, one wants to respect the methods by which useful information was elicited from complex realities, particularly when dealing with research from another discipline. That reasoning led me to label two chapters dealing primarily with historical questions as "excursus," against the objections of a literary friend who labeled them "potted history." It was important to recognize history's autonomy and my disciplinary trespass.

In my experience, the argument about technical language always performs an ideological function. Either it hides theoretical hostility to the particular method employed, or it sacralizes the web of value and disciplinary certainties woven through a supposedly neutral and transparent language, equally accessible to all. I tend to lose patience with this argument. It betokens inattention to well-formed arguments in the public domain for generations. It signals the unwillingness to cope with the disciplinary displacement required by interdisciplinary work, discussed in the introduction to *The Subject of Violence.*

Another literary colleague, well versed in semiotics as well as literary medievalism, and one of the readers of the manuscript, complained of my use of a technical term he thought really beyond the pale, a semiotic technicality even he did not know. The word, which a medieval historian will recognize, was "synallagmatic," referring to the feudal contract. "Synallagmatic" is not one of the technical terms Kaueper's review objects to. It does object to "protopod," as if it, too, were a technical term, like those dreadful monsters "metaphor," "metonymy," and "isotopy," all of them standard terms of art in textual studies. In fact, it is a metaphor drawn from biology. There is a kind of imperialism to disdaining all linguistic forms except what passes—falsely—for neutral, objective scholarly discourse: that discourse hides too much, including the fact that it hides.

As I have argued elsewhere, medieval historians, especially in America, generally disregard the major and crucial source of information about the culture of the laity: its vernacular texts ("Althusser Anonymous in the Middle Ages," *Exemplaria,* 7 [1995]: 55–74, 67 and following). These texts can no longer be read simply as realistic representations of historical practices: they have to be read as elaborations and transformations of socio-cultural values, a proper and a necessary object of research for the historian. As one distinguished medievalist has put it, faced with new conceptualizations of the text and the activity of reading, "Americans who study medieval history have folded their tents and slunk away" (Caroline Walker Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption* [New York, 1991], 21). In order to read literary texts usefully and responsibly, historians will have to play catch-up with modern methods of reading, just as literary types like myself have had to read extensively in history. Interdisciplinarity is hard work: learning not just information but the mental frameworks in an adjoining discipline is a slow, painful, and difficult process of disciplinary displacement, which impoverishes the sense of competence and confidence any scholar has acquired in his own field. That labor and that grief, however, are the cost of interdisciplinary study. Timorous fear or aesthetic distaste before strange new words is a silly obstacle. Recalcitrance at disciplinary displacement protects far more turf than new theorizing and its vocabularies.

In any case, I am grateful to the *AHR* for reviewing a work of textual criticism that attempts to become interdisciplinary and for the thoughtful attentiveness your reviewer brought to it . . . with a small reservation.

PETER HAIDU
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RICHARD KAEUPER REPLIES:

When given Peter Haidu's book to review, I pledged to a colleague that if the method featured in it taught me what I could not have otherwise learned, I would undertake to master the method thoroughly. What I found (and reported in the review) was that the major themes of the book, useful and interesting as they were, did not finally depend on the method, with its elaborate diagrams and polysyllabic jargon.

What I did not say in the review was how I was sure this method was not necessary to these conclusions. I must now say what seemed to me ungracious and to be omitted in the review. I have taught most of these basic themes in "The Song of Roland" to my classes for a good number of years. I have read this text (and many others) carefully, as a historian interested in the values they present; I have not found it necessary to be a scholar trained in the theories Haidu suggests are essential.

RICHARD W. KAEUPER
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TO THE EDITOR:

In his review of *Behind the Front Lines of the Civil War* (*AHR*, 100 [June 1995]: 924–25), William G. Rosenberg takes the author, Vladimir N. Brovkin, to task for his alleged misrepresentation of "revisionist" views of modern Russian history. He quotes the following passage from the Brovkin book: "The rebellion of the Tambov peasants [against the Communist regime]

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. . . is one of the better-known and tragic chapters of the Russian civil war. And yet it remains at odds with the mainstream Western view. For those who are preoccupied with explaining the visionary Bolshevik construction of the future, [it] appears as a reactionary phenomenon: backward peasants resisting the Bolshevik modernization." Rosenberg objects to this statement, asking "What 'mainstream' Western view?"

Well, Rosenberg's own, for one. He must have forgotten that in 1977 in *Soviet Studies* (no. 4, p. 616), in an equally critical review of the pioneering study by Oliver Radkey of the Tambov rebellion, which depicted its leader, Alexander Antonov, as a man of vision and political understanding, Rosenberg wrote: "Nonsense! Here was a peasant social bandit in the broad and common historical sense of the term, emerging in a period of profound social and political dislocation to lead a band of hapless deserters and peasant rebels in a hopeless quest for freedom."

RICHARD PIPES
Harvard University

WILLIAM G. ROSENBERG REPLIES:

Polemics continue to muddle serious historical issues. Whether Antonov's peasant rebellion might be better understood within the categories of "peasant banditry" or as a movement lead by "a man of vision and political understanding" deserves further scholarly analysis, especially in the light of new archival documents and the important recent studies. (See especially V. Danilov and T. Shanin, eds., *Krestian'skoe Vosstanie v Tambovskoi Gubernii v 1919–1921, "Antonovshchina": Dokumenty i Materialy* [Tambov, 1994], and O. Figes, *Peasant Russia, Civil War* [Oxford, 1989], esp. 340–53, on "Banditry.") While other interpretations are certainly possible, my reading of these materials suggests that the concepts of banditry make most sense, especially as they have been deployed in a broader historiography. It also reinforces my earlier understanding of the movement's passion and drive but also of its hopelessness as an alternative to the much more powerful forces arrayed in Russia's horribly brutal civil war.

In raising these questions almost twenty years ago, I wrote that Oliver Radkey had not taken into consideration an extensive general literature on peasant rebels, referencing Eric Hobsbawm's work on peasant "social bandits": persons whom "the state regards as criminals but who remain within peasant society and are considered by their own people as heroes, champions, avengers, figures for justice, even leaders of liberation" (Hobsbawm, *Bandits* [New York, 1971], 13). I suggested this prevented Radkey from setting the rebellion into the more general context of peasant expectation and dislocation, arguing that repressive Bolshevik policies such as the "hated and cruel grain levies were the proximate causes of Antonov's rebellion, but the breakdown of traditional authority, the necessarily brief and self-indulgent taste of freedom during the spontaneous 'settlement' of the land issue in 1917, the desire, ultimately, to live without the constraints and obligations of state authority—these seem to have been the more general causes of the Green uprisings." I wrote the following about Antonov himself, from which Pipes cropped his excerpt: "As a student Antonov was expelled for 'hooligan acts'; and as a hard-drinking young 'revolutionary' he was sentenced as a criminal for killing a Saratov 'capitalist.' His 'political' role in 1917 consisted basically of heading the Tambov milita; and his first victims after he was outlawed by a local Bolshevik congress were those he killed because they were responsible for his death sentence. Yet Radkey would have his readers believe that Antonov was a man 'endowed by nature with the priceless gift of clear vision which higher education had neither implanted nor obscured . . . ,' who 'understood Communism as so many with greater cultural advantages have failed to do' (p. 55). Nonsense! Here was a peasant social bandit in the broad and common historical sense of the term emerging in a period of prolonged social and political dislocation to lead a band of hapless deserters and peasant rebels in a hopeless quest for freedom." In my overall evaluation of the book itself, which was indeed a pioneering effort, I noted that despite what I thought were its analytic limitations, "it is unlikely that a more definitive narrative of the Greens will emerge . . . [I]t is totally absorbing, and truly remarkable in the way it painstakingly uncovers a deliberately obscured episode."

Perhaps Antonov was a man of greater vision than I have thought, although documents from the Cheka archives recently published by Danilov and Shanin seem to confim my earlier view. (See especially the biographical account prepared by the Tambov provincial Cheka in 1921, pp. 271–72, from RGVA, f. 235, op. 2, del. 2, ll. 37–38.) Certainly, as Danilov clearly demonstrates, a tight lid was kept on relevant archival materials in an effort to discredit him and his followers. Again, the complex issues surrounding peasant resistance during the Russian civil war, a central aspect of early Soviet social history with profound implications for subsequent Soviet development, deserve further review in ways that properly engage the principal questions and materials.

Whether and how "revisionists" can be rhetorically flipped into some oddly constructed "mainstream," especially on an issue where opinions are understandably diverse, is another matter entirely, and one that does not, I think, deserve further attention.

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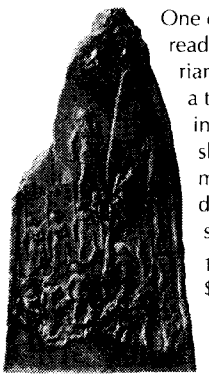
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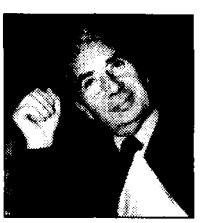
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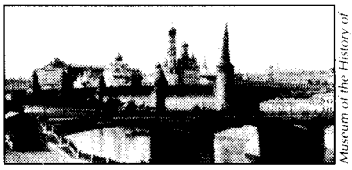
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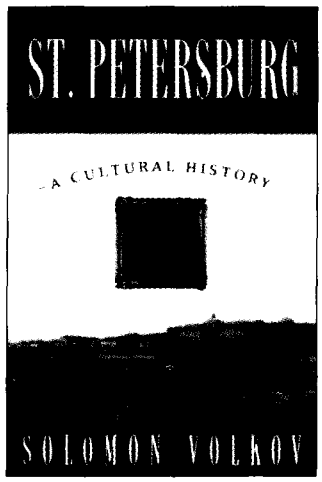
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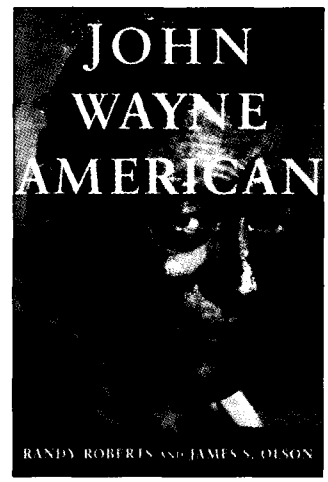
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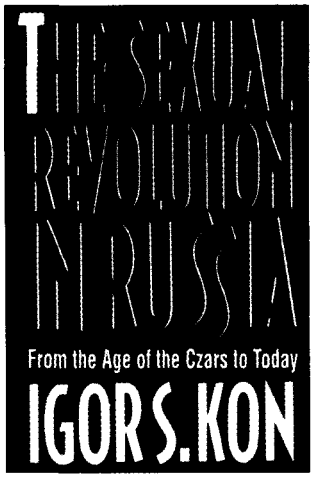
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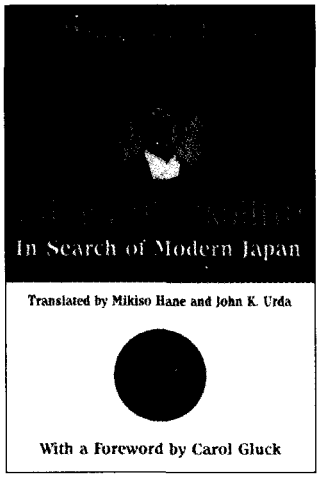
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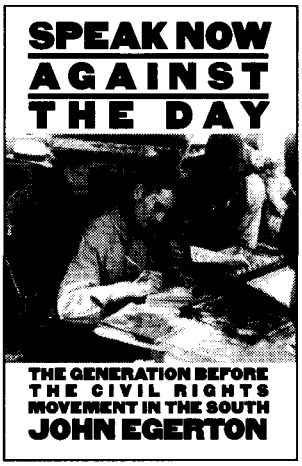
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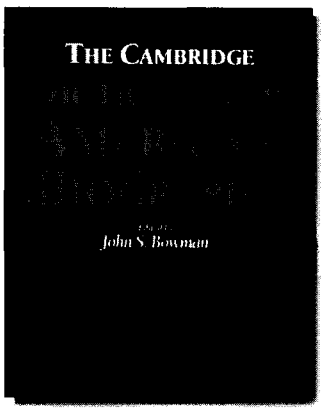
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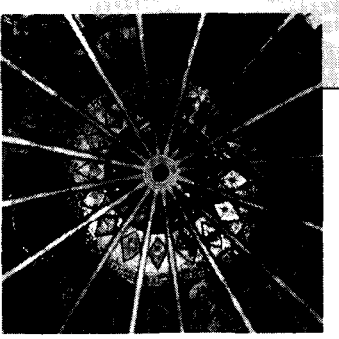
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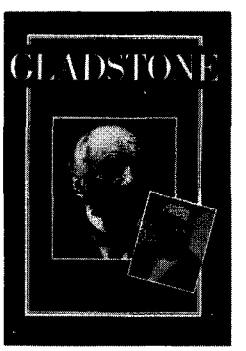
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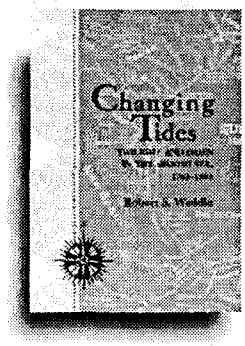
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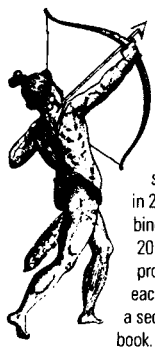
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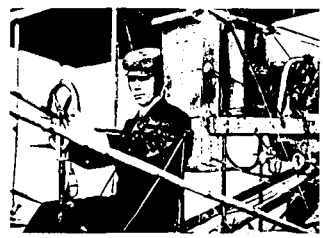
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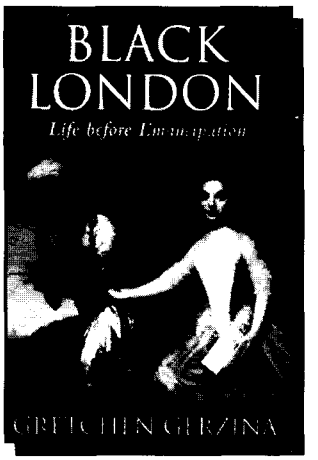
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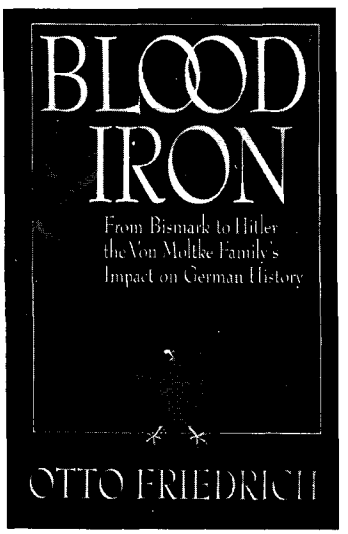
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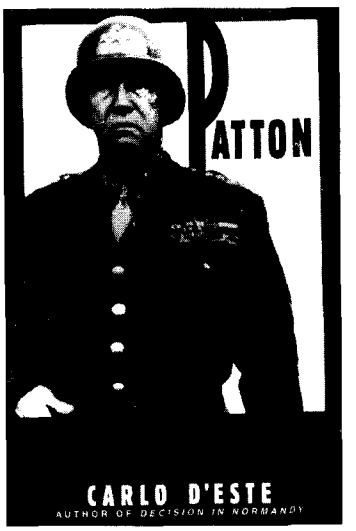
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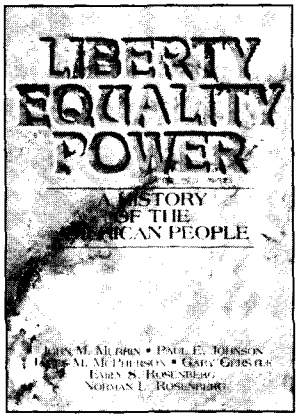
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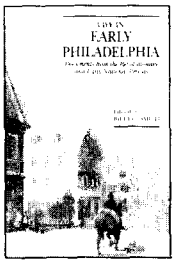
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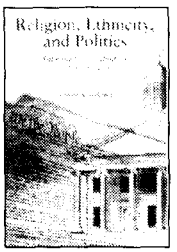
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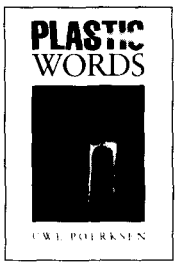
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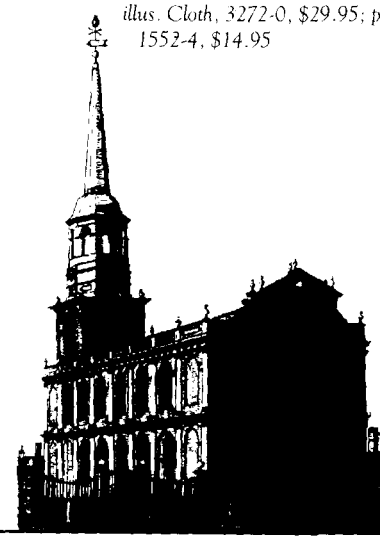
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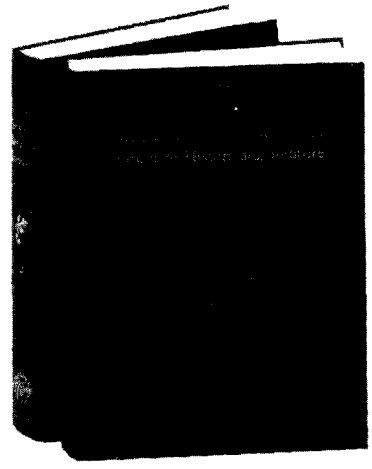
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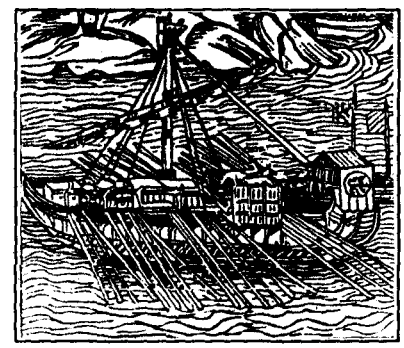
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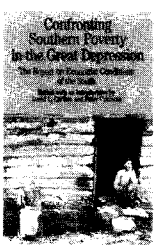
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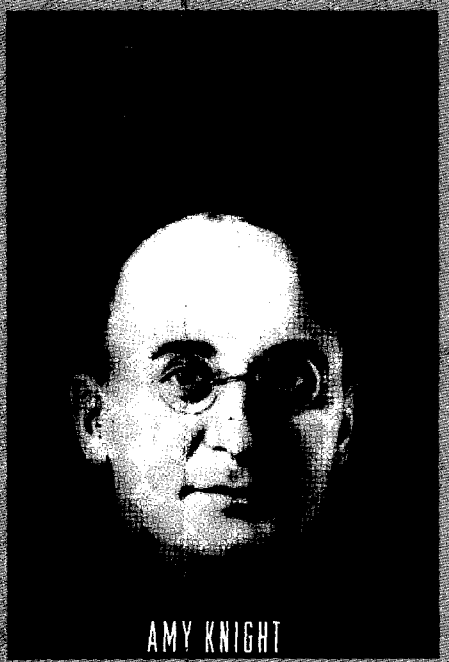


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